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PREFATORY NOTE.

IN connection with the first number of a scientific Journal it may be felt that some exposition is desirable of the aims and objects of the Society of whose work it is a record.

For this it is only necessary to refer the reader to the inaugural address of the Patron, wherein he will find a clear and accurate definition of the range of our proposed activities, and a valuable fund of suggestions as to the various fields in which our "spadework for the scholar and the specialist" can most profitably be carried on. It would not perhaps be out of place to mention that Sir John Hewett, when opening the Senate Hall of the Allahabad University on 3rd August 1912, referred at some length to the desirability of founding a Society in this province.

It only remains to remind members of the Society and other readers of the Journal that it aims at being not only a record but a stimulus. On subjects germane to the efforts of the Society the intelligent question of the amateur will be almost as welcome as the learned exposition of the savant. Verbal discussions may perhaps seldom be possible, owing to the scattered nature of the Society; the "Notes and Queries" section of the Journal should to some extent take their place. It is therefore hoped that members will render the fullest assistance to the editors of the Journal by supplying material for this section, as well as by the production of articles of greater length. Notes on subjects of historical, archæological, or ethnological interest, photographs of undescribed statues and carvings, rubbings or any other mechanical reproductions of unpublished inscriptions, and statements of problems which other members may be able to solve, will be equally welcome.

NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION.

THE question of transliteration presents some difficulty as the 'usage of various societies differs, and the pronunciation of several letters is not identical in India, Persia and Arabia. For general use in the pages of the Journal the Society suggests that it will be sufficient to spell Indian names of people and places after the ordinary current fashion without using diacritical marks. Most readers of the Journal have sufficient knowledge of these names to recognise their pronunciation at sight. In the case of transliterating an inscription, or a vernacular term which is being discussed, it is desirable that strict scientific accuracy should be attained. In such cases, therefore, it is proposed to follow the practice of the Royal Asiatic Society with a very few changes detailed below. These changes are suggested on the ground that they represent the pronunciations which are most familiar in India.

- (a) In Sanskrit and Arabic ch is suggested instead of c.
- (b) In Arabic s with various marks is used for se and swād instead of th^a and z
- (c) In Arabic z with marks is used for zāl instead of dh.
- (d) In Sanskrit and Arabic sh is used for श and ش instead of ś and sh.

TRANSLITERATION SCHEME

5

Tables are given below :—

I.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

अ a	ओ o	ट t	ब b
आ ā	औ au	ठ th	भ bh
इ i	क k	ड ḍ	म m
ई ī	ख kh	ढ ḍh	य y
उ u	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
ऊ ū	घ gh	त t	ल l
ऋ ṛ	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ॠ ṝ	च ch	द d	श sh
ऌ ḷ	छ chh	ध dh	ष <u>sh</u>
ॡ ḹ	ज j	न n	स s
ए e	झ jh	प p	ह h
ऐ ai	ञ ñ	फ ph	क्ष <u>ksh</u>
	ज्ञ jñ		

• (Anusvāra) . . . m̐

° (Anunāsika) . . m̐

: (Visarga) . . . h̐

X (Jihvāmūliya) . . ḥ

X (Upadhmāniya) ḥ

ˆ (Avagraha) . . . ˆ

Udātta ˆ

Svarita ˆ

Anudātta ˆ

II.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

l at beginning of word omit ;		ك k	ا ā
elsewhere َ or ِ		ل l	ي ī
ب b	س s	م m	و ū
ت t	ش sh	ن n	
ث ṡ	ص ṣ	و w or v	DIPHTHONGS.
ج j	ض z	ه h	ي ai
ح ḥ	ط t	ي y	و au
خ <u>kh</u>	ظ z̤		wasla َ
د d	ع َ	VOWELS.	hamza َ or ِ
ذ z̤	غ gh	ا a	omit silent َ
ر r	ف f	ي i	or َ when not
ز z	ق q	و u	pronounced

ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PASHTU.

HINDI.

پ p	ت t
چ ch	د d
ژ zh	ر r
گ g	

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

IN what survives of the dialogue where Plato tells us of the lost Atlantis, there are passages of almost startling parallelism with the traditional history of India.* He narrates the great battle of 9,000 years before his day, between those who dwelt outside the pillars of Hercules and those who dwelt within them. On the one side were the cities of Greece, led by Athens; on the other the ten kings of the island of Atlantis. It might be the story of the Mahabharat; and Atlantis itself might be the magic city which the Pandavas raised, with its moat as wide as the sea and its walls as high as the heavens, in the forest of Khandavaprastha. Equally reminiscent of our Indian classics is the picture of Athens in those proud days, when "the land was the best in the world and was able to support a vast army raised from the surrounding people," and the inhabitants "were renowned all over Europe and Asia for the beauty of their persons and for the many virtues of their souls." Several of you will recall passages of similar fervency in our Hindu epics, depicting Aryavarta in the dawn of the world. But perhaps the most striking Indian parallel is where Plato goes on to describe Athenian society in the heroic age. It was composed, he says, of three castes, "the artisans, the husbandmen, and also a warrior class originally set apart by divine men." Save for the omission of the priests,—a symbol of the scepticism of the Greek mind,—the division is singularly akin to the three classes of the Aryan Varna, before the servile population

* Plato's Critias.

became the fourth of the great categories on which our modern caste system is based.

It was not however for these parallelisms, which must be commonplaces to many of you, that I have turned to the Critias to-night. It was to quote a subsequent passage, which has a special bearing on the purpose of this meeting,—the passage in which Plato speculates on the vicissitudes of the historical sense. He explains that the interest taken by men in history and antiquity is a thing of modern growth. In the golden days, the gods dwelt on earth and “governed us like pilots from the stern of the vessel, which is an easy way of guiding mortals, holding our souls by the rudder of persuasion according to their own pleasure.” But when the days of innocence had waned and the gods had gone back to high Olympus, they left on earth only a race of men who dwelt in the mountains; “and they were ignorant of the art of writing and had learned only the names of the Chiefs of the land, but very little about their actions. The names they were willing enough to give to their children; but of the virtues of those who preceded them and of their laws, they knew only by obscure traditions; and as they themselves and their children were for many generations in want of the necessities of life, they directed their attention to the supply of their wants, and of them they conversed to the neglect of events that had happened in times long passed; for mythology and the enquiry into antiquity are introduced into cities when they have leisure, and when they see that the necessities of life have already been provided, and not before. And this is the reason why the names of the ancients have been preserved to us without their deeds.” So wrote the Greek philosopher; and he might have been holding the mirror to India. Apart from epic rhapsodies, which in their historical value are little better than obscure tradition, what do we know of the great Chiefs of the Aryan race? In post-Vedic epochs we have spaces of darkness, centuries of silence. Lists have been preserved of the kings of unknown dynasties: but what can

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

9

we tell of their chronology, still less of their virtues and their laws? We know their names, but not their deeds. Without the Greek historians, what should we have known of the mighty Chandragupta? Even Asoka, had it not been for his own handiwork, would have been little but a name and a legend.

The Court chronicles of the later Muhammadan writers throw some light into the secular gloom; but the spirit of history slumbered, with a few fitful dreams, during the "many generations in want of the necessities of life." All this, we flatter ourselves, is now changing. With the greater diffusion of wealth, with internal peace, with more assured leisure, the historical sense is awakening. As a subject of study in our colleges and schools, history is beginning to take its proper place. Time was when it could be taught by anyone who had read the examination text-books: but that reproach, I trust, is departing from this province, and its parting knell was sounded when the Allahabad University created the chair of Indian Modern History. Outside academic circles however the conception is also moving. Historical societies and archæological societies, their handmaids, are springing up throughout the land; and we have decided to-night to take our part in carrying on the torch.

What, it may be asked, is a historical society to do? What are its aims, and what benefits does it offer? Before we answer these questions, let us first be satisfied what history itself does for us, and what it teaches. Is its study purely an intellectual pleasure, or has it also a practical object? Seeley's favourite maxim, he tells us, was that history "should not merely gratify the student's curiosity about the past, but modify his view of the present and his forecast of the future;" and this maxim rings as true in the India of to-day as do the speculations of Critias. Curiosity about the past is dormant among the masses, as is the way with peasantry all the world over; but it wakes with

the spirit of enquiry, and educated men in India will no longer be content with an anthropomorphic pantheon as the origin of their institutions, or the builder of their ancient monuments, or the founder of their families. As pride in a bygone India spreads, the demand for a better knowledge of its story will deepen. History thus has a place, a place which will steadily grow in importance, among the intellectual needs of this country. But it is the latter part of Seeley's axiom which is most profoundly true of India; history, he says, if wisely read, must teach you and me to modify our view of the present and our forecast of the future. Now without touching the fringe of any controversy—for I am particularly anxious to avoid all differences of opinion this evening—I claim the assent of us all, Indians and Englishmen alike, administrators, politicians and calm philosophers, to the ineffable value of the lessons of history in these times of our transition. There is nothing more luminous in the history of any country than the permanence of human tendencies. Unless we can trace out these tendencies in Indian history, learn the various forms they assume and familiarize ourselves with their symptoms, our survey of the present runs grave risk of being distorted, and our plans for the future of being misdirected. Take, for example, religious tolerance which, in spite of some historic eclipses, shines all through India's past. It has its limitations and its terms. To understand these other than empirically and precariously, one must know something of the great alien invasions and their sequels, and the rise and fall of the chief reforming creeds. Take again the theory of centralization in government. If we wish to learn how far it can be carried in India, and where and why it collapses, let us not despise the experiences of the Mauryan Kings and the Moghul Emperors. Take almost anything with which one has to deal in ordinary life, whether it be an institution like the village panchayat or an abstraction like the intangible but priceless personal *izzat*, and history, or the philosophy which is embedded

therein, will help us to understand it better. To those therefore who help in administering this country, some acquaintance with the people's history is almost as essential as a knowledge of their language. To those who work, whether within or without the portals of government, for India's future, the lessons of history are no less valuable. Legends of a golden age will bring them no complacency, or visionary reversion to some archaic ideal. It will be for them to study and analyse the past, and thus in patient labour to arrive at the genius of the people and the true direction in which the ages have been marching. They will clear away the cobwebs from many catchwords, and formulate their ambitions with greater confidence.

Is then, you may interpose with a pardonable smile, our historical society to achieve all this? Not even its hottest adherents would make so portentous a claim. But we believe in history as a practical teacher, and we are founding this society in the hope that it will play its own small part in the curriculum. If it does nothing else, it will bring together men and women for a common intellectual amusement, for the gratification of a curiosity which is not ignoble; it will unite us in more generous ties than mere fortuitous social intercourse. But it will do more. It will stimulate the spirit of research, and healthy rivalry both in the discovery of materials and the weighing of evidence. We shall often disagree among ourselves, as is the habit of men over anything that really interests them; and the best that we can hope to do will be little more than spadework for the scholar and the specialist. We have opportunities however which the specialist cannot always command. Each of us has some local knowledge, some private chink through which we can peep into the past. The pooling of our knowledge, its discussion and its publication will educate ourselves and lighten the labours of the historian of the future. It will give us a common interest and bring us into congenial companionship. I congratulate you therefore on the steps that have been taken to found this

society. It will start under the happiest auspices in the warm approval of all classes of the community, and names which are known and respected in the world of learning have already been offered for its membership.

When the formation of this society was first broached, a question was asked as to the need for such a provincial organization. Would it overlap or clash with the Asiatic Society of Bengal, whose purview is the whole of India? I think the answer is clear. There is ample room for both in the vast field to be traversed; and the younger society will strengthen and feed the older by bringing fresh recruits into the army of historical research. But, if in any part of India thoughtful men may fitly combine for the study of history, it is surely in these provinces, for it is here that great chapters of history have been made. To substantiate our claim, we can call thousands of years to witness. We can go back to the ages of the gods, when it was at Benares that Siva found deliverance from sin, at Muttra that Vishnu became incarnate in Krishna the herdsman, and at Ajodhya that the greatest of all the incarnations came to Rama in the palace of his royal father. Or we can appeal to our epic splendours. Was not Hastinapura ⁽¹⁾ the cradle of the Kurus; and were not Kampil ⁽²⁾ where the fair Draupadi was born, and Ahichhatra ⁽³⁾ the twin capitals of the great Panchala kingdom? Or, turning from myth and legend, we can invoke historic memories of unequalled richness. In our province lies Kanauj, in itself an epitome of India's past. Ptolemy knew of it in the first century A. D., the Chinese pilgrims described its glory in the seventh century, Mahmud of Ghazni plundered it, the Rathors held it, Akbar made it a provincial capital, the Mahrattas overran it: it shows like a geological section every stratum of history in the last 2,000 years. But Kanauj is only one of our many ancient cites and storied towns. Take down the volume of the Imperial Gazetteer which contains

(1) In the Meerut district. (2) In the Farrukhabad district.

(3) In the Bareilly district.

Mr. Burn's brilliant summary of the history of the United Provinces, and you will find a focus of historical interest in almost every district. Not the least of these is the venerable city in which we meet; and there is a peculiar fitness in the selection of Prayag for the seat of our society. It was in the fertile valley of the two rivers which unite beneath our walls that the heroes of the Mahabharat were reared, that the most famous of the old Hindu dynasties rose and fell, and that the Muhammadan invaders fixed their stately capitals.

Turn from the kingdoms of this world to the empire of the human mind, and you will remember that it is on the plains of the Ganges and the Jumna that the fiercest spiritual battles of India have been waged. Ours is the land which witnessed the consolidation of Brahmanism, and constituted its chief political and religious centre. Here also was the original home of the two great revolts against its doctrines. Jainism, in spite of its architectural legacies, left no permanent mark on these provinces; but Buddhism has given us some of our most cherished relics. At Sarnath you can stand, not without emotion, on the very spot where the Buddha preached his first sermon and kindled, as he said himself, "the lamp of life for those that sit in the valley of the shadow." At Kasia comparatively recent excavations now allow you to see the majestic recumbent statue, clad in pure gold by devout pilgrims, which marks the place where the Buddha passed away. His faith has travelled into distant lands and left the country where he taught it; but its most ancient monuments are with us and its fragrance and something of its spirit remain. Centuries after Gautama's time a sterner proselytism began, and the creed of Islam is still a more militant spiritual force among us than in almost any other part of India. From days when Rome was young, these provinces have been the theatre of great events in the lives and minds of men; and no single area could more aptly be chosen as a unit of historical research.

There is history in its innumerable *dih*s, those shapeless mounds which dot its plains; in the mysterious ruins which lurk among its forests; in its countless shrines and crumbling tombs; in its very dust. "The soil of this place," wrote Amir Khusru about Budaun, "is so sacred, owing to its being the resting place of so many saints, that its dust should be used as collyrium for the eyes." Our faith may not be strong enough for this, in the teeth of modern bacteriology; but the poet's fervour is symbolic testimony to the wealth of historical material which lies all round us.

And now, having wearied you sufficiently with a justification of our society and of its provincial scope, may I venture a few suggestions as to the range of its activities? They have been jotted down without system and with little knowledge; they are only the ideas of an amateur, who has no claim on your consideration except that he has wandered much in the province and seen many things of consuming interest. In the forefront of our work, because of its relative ease, I would put the collecting and the interpreting of literary materials. The hidden wealth of this province in manuscripts is quite unknown: it is certainly great. The Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Benares has done excellent work in searching out and cataloguing Hindi manuscripts; but it has hardly crossed the threshold of the subject, and I know of no corresponding quest for Muhammadan works. There are several famous libraries in private hands; and the arcana of temples, mosques and theological schools have never been fully explored. Much of the material has probably little beyond doctrinal or literary interest; but memoirs and family histories and local chronicles unquestionably abound, and they may all contain some kernels of wider value. Each member of this society, through the circle of his own acquaintance, can probably get access to untapped sources of this kind. Whether he can examine the documents himself or induce the owner to submit them to expert scrutiny, is a matter for his discretion: the mere

discovery of the whereabouts of such material, and of its supposed contents, is a step towards its ultimate utilization. Next to manuscripts would be the search for coins : but on this topic the presence of more than one distinguished numismatist in this room counsels me to a discreet silence. It need only be said that the opportunities for this fascinating study still exist in every bazar, in every village market-place. After coins, in ascending order of difficulty, I should place epigraphy, but here again the presence of experts suggests caution. They will probably agree, however, that great numbers of inscriptions up and down the province, on stones and metal plates and buildings, have yet to be read and collected. I have myself seen many in the Jhansi district alone, on rocks and sculptured stones and temple walls; and one may assume that at least some proportion of what may yet be read above the ground, there and elsewhere, would well repay the labour of copying, in so far as this may not have been already done.

Of that greater treasure which awaits the spade of the explorer, who can speak without enthusiastic impatience? Speculation, even on *à priori* grounds, can hardly be too daring as to what this province may conceal in its bosom. The realm of Chandragupta and the early Mauryan Kings stretched from Peshawar to Patna and Ujjain, and probably covered the great part of the modern province of Agra. Is it too much to hope that relics of their greatness may be lying fathoms below the surface on which we live, as recent discoveries have shown them to lie at Taxila and Pataliputra? Is it at all certain that we have exhausted the lavish store of Asoka's edicts? May not some trace of Harsha's glories yet be disclosed? As we come nearer to modern times, the chances of survival become greater and it is easy to imagine an endless series of possible finds for the excavator in our districts. It is superfluous to ask where he is to look for them. Some of the more ancient sites have still to be located, and some may be irrevocably lost; but many are perfectly well known. The ruins and

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

mounds at Kanauj are unexplored; no one has touched the mounds at Sambhal. Each of you must remember some unnamed mass of débris, for which living memory has no story, but which may shroud the habitations of departed greatness. I can recall, in a corner of the Budaun district, miles of continuous mounds along a deserted river-bed, of which neither record nor local tradition had anything to tell. They probably mark some buried city, some missing link perchance in the history of a great dynasty; who can say? At present they are a mere antiquarian mystery. And now for a word of caution; in these reflections there is no suggestion that our society should set to work with spade and pick upon every ancient mound within our reach. Far from me be any such counsel of vandalism, even if the stern eye of Sir John Marshall* were not upon us. Excavation, like every other art, needs training of a special kind and the closest supervision. At the outset our part will be that of preparation. There is little more that we can do than to locate likely places, collect the stories or traditions attaching to them, ascertain what finds have already been made in the neighbourhood by villagers or otherwise—often, I may say, a delicate task,—and possibly persuade the owners of the land to consent to trial diggings being made under the directions of the Archæological department. In time we may hope for promotion to the liberty of independent work, as our experience grows and we collect a trained staff. There is no reason why our society should not ultimately be competent to explore some part of a field which is far too vast for the Imperial authorities to overtake within any measurable time.

Meanwhile, there are various bye-paths of history which the amateurs among us may pleasurably and more easily follow. Among them I would instance ethnology, caste customs, folk-lore and unwritten traditions. To some extent these have no lot in the study of history proper, but all of them offer possibilities in raw material for synthesis

* The Director-General of Archæology.

by the professional scholar. A considerable quantity of such material was collected for this province by Mr. Crooke in his "Northern India Notes and Queries," a periodical which unfortunately expired for want of an editor after his retirement. Among caste customs, for example, some of the most significant are the practices regulating where certain domestic ceremonies, such as the *mundan* of children, should be performed, and in what directions or in what communities a son-in-law may be sought for. In these usages it always seemed to me that there lurk hints, not only of the classification of early society, but of the centres from which the settlement of the dominant races radiated, and the degree of their effective amalgamation with the earlier inhabitants. In the fantasies of folk-lore it is easy to waste time which could be turned to better purpose; but in many parts of the country there are traditions which deserve collecting and analysing for the echoes of history they may contain. Sometimes they attach to historic names, Vikramajit or Prithwiraj, to whom the peasant ascribes whatever is ancient and not obviously superhuman. Sometimes they centre in local heroes, of whom no memories have yet been penned. Who, for example, was Lajja Ram, whose name is used to scare the fretful child into silence in the villages of Budaun?

"When Lajja comes to take his toll,
The Lord have mercy on your soul."*

Was he the Herod of some distant imperial master or merely some local brigand? And what is the story of Alha and Udal, the warriors of 52 battles, who live in Bundelkhandi song? Not only in song however; for Alha, like King Arthur, never tasted of death. He wanders still among the forests of Orchha, and strides up the hill of Mahiyar in the dark o' the moon to visit Devi's temple and light the lamp which is kept ever trimmed and ready for his coming.

The tree of history has many branches, and I must not occupy more of your time in describing them. Each of you

* "Jis par charhe Lajja Ram
Tis par karo kirpa, Ram."

will look for the fruit which he prefers : some of it is pleasant and easy, some has a rarer flavour and is harder to attain. But in closing may I mention one branch which has a particular attraction for a constantly growing class of students,—the study of social and economic development. The range of material here is unusually wide. Sociology and political science begin in the Rigveda, and sidelights on the economics of the day are always shining through the memoirs of the past. They have at times a fantastic appositeness to our modern problems. The idea of a pilgrim tax, for example, to eke out local funds is a perennial favourite in this province; and after a recent argument with one of our local authorities on the subject I chanced to open a volume of Manucci, almost at the very passage where he describes the Moghul rule in Allahabad. In his time, it appears that every Hindu who bathed at the sacred conflux here had to pay a fee of $6\frac{1}{4}$ rupees to the imperial exchequer,—a considerably higher tariff than any we should now dream of. Similarly, when the rôle of sub-committees was being discussed the other day in connection with our impending legislation, I was cheered to find that the municipal committee of Pataliputra, when it was Chandragupta's capital in the 3rd century B. C., conducted all its business by dividing itself into six boards of five members each, who apportioned among them the whole work of the city's government. I may add, as a hint to our select committee,* that their chief sources of taxation were a licence tax on trades and tithes on all sales within the municipal area. But for the student there is plenty of more substantial food than these occasional tit-bits. There are masses of uncollected information about trade-guilds and market customs, weighment fees and transit dues. For rural areas there is a mine of matter in our settlement reports. The chief storehouse however in this field which I would commend to the investigator is the document known as the *wajzb-ul-arz*, or memorandum of village customs, which

* Then sitting on the draft of the new United Provinces Municipalities Bill.

used to be prepared for every village when the land revenue was re-assessed. Its modern form is greatly curtailed and utilitarian, but in our older settlements it was often copious and full of interest. The customs it recorded were mostly those of tenure, succession, pre-emption and the selection of village officers. The writers, however, used to overflow into the side channels of miscellaneous usages; and I have always felt that much valuable raw material awaits any one who can read and collate these lowly records with intelligence.

For the obviousness of all these suggestions I owe an apology to this learned audience; but I am anxious that our society should not be merely an academy of savants but also a meeting place for all of us who have an interest in India's past and future. Busy though most of us are, we can all spare, and be the better for sparing, odd moments for congenial work which carries us away from the dust of the arena and the controversies of the day. That those moments need not be spent in vain, is ensured by the variety of the work to be done. Professor Rapson reminds us that, when Sir William Jones founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, the history of this country before the Muhammadan conquest in the 11th century was a complete blank. To that Society accrues no small share of the honour for the splendid work that has since been done in recovering the outlines of India's mediæval story. Great gaps, however, remain to be filled in, and our Society comes forward to shoulder a portion of the task. It will have access to material of which the extent and value are yet ungauged. It is rooted in interests which have a claim alike on our patriotic enthusiasm, our industry and our judgment. It will yield its members much quiet pleasure and it will stimulate a habit of thought which should tend, if I may use Seeley's wise words once more, to modify our view of the present of this great country and our forecast of its future.

EXCAVATIONS AT GARHWA.

BY SIR GEORGE EDWARD KNOX, KT., I.S.O.

FIFTY years ago the Imperial Government at Simla issued an edict that a new Imperial Gazetteer should be prepared. The order and instructions filtered slowly down to Allahabad as to other districts and in 1873 I as Assistant Magistrate of Allahabad was duly ordered to prepare with all convenient despatch an up-to-date Gazetteer for the Allahabad District. No funds were allotted in the Budget, no staff given, no straw, but the bricks were to be made. Fortunately for myself the general referee for the Provincial Gazetteer, Mr. E. T. Atkinson, was stationed at Allahabad. On referring to him, among other instructions I received, I was told of several remains in the Allahabad District which might well be exploited; among them were the ruins of Garhwa near Sheorajpur, and it was in consequence of these instructions that I found myself one winters night encamped under the walls of the Garhwa Fort, as it was then popularly known. When day broke I surveyed the spot with the deepest interest. Jungle of all kind was rampant within and without and even to enter except as a monkey or as a bird was impossible. Fortunately I was not camping to schedule time; in less than an hour the jungle was in a blaze, and by the evening I was forcing my way over cinders and past smoking timbers until I came upon a colossal statue of Brahma, and fragments of various statues. Just beyond, a temple in ruins but much of it well preserved was very conspicuous. To the South of it were three colossal stone statues upon a raised plinth and the plinth seemed to run on to the West. It was covered with masses of

bricks and rubbish. Operations were commenced here and before sunset we came upon a large broad slab of red sand-propped against the wall. It proved to be the tortoise stone. It was lifted with great difficulty and when lifted incarnation of Vishnu. Water was brought and with cries of *Bam Mahadeo* poured over the head. Thus encouraged, excavation work was eagerly pushed on and by the time I had left nine avatars of Vishnu had been raised and placed against the wall in a continuous row extending West. Near by was an inside well and out of it several pieces of sculpture were unearthed representing mainly scenes of domestic life, young ladies arranging their toilet, a game of Pachisi and the like. An Allahabad Assistant is not a rich man, but a picnic was arranged on the spot and a goodly number of people came down to see what had been found. But antiquarian research was at the time interesting neither to the Local Government nor to Allahabad society and the discovery did not prove even the proverbial nine days wonder. The site Garhwa lies some four miles to the north-west of the Railway Station Shankargarh on the line between Allahabad and Jabalpur just where the tableland which has been sloping down from the out-lying spurs of the Vindhya mountains takes its last dip before it descends to the banks of the River Jumna. The islet upon which the temple and its surroundings stand is lapped by the waters of a streamlet. Owing to the Western Wall this streamlet which now encloses the temple has been dammed up and spreads out into a large sheet of water. In the old days and even now in the rains the only approach from this side is by boat. There must have been sheets of water on all sides for the most if not the whole year round. This islet may be described as a pentagon in shape some 300 by 250 feet across.

The idea that it ever was a fort may safely be dismissed. No Rajput would have build his fort in such a spot. All the forts large and small in the vicinity, Kalinjar, Murpha, the countless forts that are dotted over

Jhansi are sufficient proof that in those days forts were build on eminences which gave the chieftain a good look out on all sides around him. Garhwa looks out upon nothing, on the contrary it is overlooked. Mr. E. T. Atkinson inclined to the idea that it was "one of the forts in the country of Malaki wa Dalaki destroyed by Ulugh Khan in 1248 A.D. This tract lay between Kana and Kalinjar, and Garhwa would lie on the easiest road between these places." I venture to think that he was mistaken and that Malaki wa Dalaki would never have selected such a low lying spot and one so easily approached at any rate from the Jumna as Garhwa would have been. To any one familiar with Chitrakot and other Bundelkhand shrines the shrines at Garhwa seem quite familiar. The name by which it is now known, Garhwa, must not be allowed to mislead. Garhwa may mean nothing more than an enclosure or the name may have attached itself to the place after Raja Vikramaditya, a remote ancestor of the present Raja Banspati Sinha of Bara, surrounded the place with the present walls and loop-holed parapets which give it somewhat of the appearance of a fort. But the walls are low squat walls of no thickness, and are not protected by any ditch or strengthening of any kind. There is evidence too not without value that its original name was Bhaṭṭagrama. One of the walls bears an inscription which names as the founder of the temple one Raṇapala of Bhaṭṭagrama. This is the inscription, it will be found on a pillar inside the temple, build in the south-west corner of the enclosure.

"Sri Navagrāma Bhaṭṭagrāmiya Vāstavya Kāyastha
Thakura Sri Kunda Pālputra Thakura Sri Raṇa Pālasya
Mūrttiḥ Gaṇita Karoyam Samvat 1199."

The figure under which this inscription runs is herein said to be the image of Sri Raṇa Pāla and we learn from it that Sri Raṇa Pāla was a Vāstavya Kāyasth, and that he was a resident of the new village Bhaṭṭagrāma. This

temple, when the Gupta inscriptions are taken into consideration, must take rank as comparatively modern. One of the Gupta inscription dates back to Samvat 86 (A.D. 164), and will be alluded to again. Notice will presently be drawn to the existence of Buddhism, of Surya Worship, and of mediæval Brahmanism obliterating Buddhism, as succeeding each other within the walls of the enclosure. It is from this internal evidence that I assume that the enclosure contained a collection of shrines visited by pilgrims of successive ages. The probability is that attached to each shrine were one or more cells after the fashion of those days

THE CONTENTS.

THE Eastern wall of the enclosure is faced by a succession of steps leading down to the waters' edge and near the northern postern stands a water gate. Entering by the water gate and going due south will be found three colossal figures of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. The inscriptions to be found under each of the figures testify to their being the gift of the Jōgi Jwālāditya, the son of Bhaṭṭānanta. The inscriptions contain no date. General Cunningham gives reasons for believing them to belong to the 10th Century. All these figures are four armed, have lotus haloes behind their heads and are sitting crosslegged. Beneath the feet of Shiva is the figure of Nandi. Mr. Oertel, who has examined the figures very closely, gives the following interesting and graphic account of them. "Above Shiva's head are five small linga with Brahma on the left and Vishnu on the right. Flanking the bottom are two guardian figures and immediately above them on the left a crowned male figure carrying a bow, and on the right a female figure, probably his wife, carrying a spear in one hand and gifts in the other" * * * * * above these again are figures of elephants, lions and makras (the mythical crocodiles) supporting the two sons of Shiva, Ganesh on the left and Kārtikeya the War-god on the

right." "The large Vishnu figure occupying the centre of the colonnade measures 8 feet high by 5 feet wide. It is flanked by a male and a female figure which appear to be the same already noticed in connection with the first statue. Above are similar mythical figures of rampant makras and lions. The conch on the left side leaves no doubt as to the identity. Above the head are some floating figures of fairies or Apsara holding a crown over the head of Vishnu. Above are the Fish and Boar incarnations on the right. The sacred goose, the Vahan of Brahma, may be seen below the Brahma image on the left; two figures in worshipping attitudes flank the base. Two richly attired female figures may be seen standing on either side with offerings in their hands. The two lower hands of Brahma are resting folded on his lap with the palms upwards: the upper right hand holds a lotus bud and the left a book."

Each of the statues is over 6 feet in height and 4 feet broad. They are made of coarse grey sandstone. The inscription on the image of Brahma suggests that the image was made at Chitrakot close to Karwi. The inscription on the image of Shiva and that on the image of Vishnu show that they are the gifts of the same person, Jwaladitya, son of the honourable scholar Ananta. The statue of Brahma is very fine, the face fortunately appears to have escaped mutilation. The same may be said of the statues of Vishnu and Shiva and they are all three well worth studying as they show ornaments and dress prevalent at the time. Interspersed with these figures, are several pieces of sculpture or fragments of sculpture. They are not to be taken as having originally been where they now are. Many were disintombed from the tanks opposite which these figures stand and were placed where they now rest for purposes of photography. At the time I arranged these fragments keeping them, as far as possible, near the place in which I found them. Some of them are very interesting and of all these I had photographs taken. There is one which recalls to mind

EXCAVATIONS AT GARHWA

25

figures very familiar to an English visitor of Cathedrals. It represents a male and a female both in the attitude of prayer and we might almost take them to be portions from the tomb of some crusader. The game of *Pachisi* is very well sculptured. Noteworthy too is an arrangement of back hair. Next in order along the Eastern Wall are the statues which I had the privilege of disentombing. Lying very deep in the ground in the north-west corner of the enclosure I came across nine of the avatars of Vishnu, each avatar represented by a separate slab of sandstone which must have stood over 7 feet in height. They are the Matsya, Kachhipa Vārāha, Narasiṃha, Buddha, Bāmana, Rām Chandra, Parasrām and Krishṇa. Each of these statues abounds with delicate carvings and above each there is a band of figures connected with the scene depicted below. General Cunningham thinks that these statues belong to the large temple. As I found them I held then and still hold that they were probably buried to escape further mutilation and that they stood either in the temple or at a chapel or chapels in the south-west corner of the enclosure. They were in order according to the received version of the avatars. Each of them lay face downwards and the appearance was as if they had been hurled from the position at which they stood and buried more less *in situ*.

It is evident from General Cunningham's report of 1871-72 Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. 3, page 57, that he went within an ace of restoring these statues to day light, but stopped short for want of levers but he is in error when he says, "They had fallen over and against each other so awkwardly and inconveniently." In 1873 I found each of them laid out side by side as though separately buried. They were remarkably free then from mutilation as photographs taken at the time show. I incline to the belief that they were carefully buried on purpose to avoid mutilation when the Mahomedans came—a belief confirmed by other statues I found elsewhere close by also

free from mutilation. This carries us to the southern postern of the eastern wall; turning to the north will be found two *baolis* and south again of the *baolis* the building which is now known as the *Das Avatar Ka Mandir*. Between the southern of the two *baolis* and to the east is a most interesting colonnade. The temple opens towards the east. It is of the usual style, a sanctum or *Garbhagriha* about 25 feet square and in front of that an open pillared hall or *mandapa*. All the statues have been removed from the outside as well as the inside of the temple. There is nothing to show to whom it was dedicated. But the carvings that remain suggest that it was sacred to Vishnu, and this is what we would expect from the rest of the enclosure. In the days of its prime the enclosure was probably entirely given up to Vishnu worship. The colonnade which runs west of the temple just mentioned calls for more than passing notice. General Cunningham says they must certainly belong to the period of the Guptas. It is evident at a glance that the sculpture is the work of very different hands from those who fashioned the triad or the temple. There are two tall square pillars upwards of nine feet in height, two round pillars with capitals now broken and an architrave 13 feet by 3 feet in length. The faces of the two tall pillars are divided into panels of different sizes. In each of the lowest panels is a tall figure of a giant porter with a small female by his side. In the remaining panels are:—

- (a) Female figure reclining.
- (b) King with tall head-dress seated, two attendants.
- (c) One large and two small heads with foliated ornament above.
- (d) To left King seated on low couch, his left arm round the Queen's neck and right hand extended towards the Queen: in the middle the Queen seated facing the King and holding

EXCAVATIONS AT GARHWA

27

out a flat dish before him. To the right a female attendant fanning the Queen.

(e) To the left King standing, left arm round Queen's neck. Queen standing in middle and bending towards the King. The King has a sword and sling belt: the Queen a two string zone. To the right behind the Queen a male attendant.

(f) Heads of three figures.

(g) Two men seated with a Pachisi board between them, right squares visible at the side. Both figures have their right shoulders bare.

(h) Three females standing and one kneeling to the right of a small couch the female on the left has her back turned to the others and is apparently looking at her face in a mirror. †

Here too is the Gupta inscription, the discovery of which is due to Raja Sheo Prasad. It is incomplete and was found by him built into the wall of one of the rooms of the modern dwelling-house. If he is right this inscription goes back to the day of Sri Kumāra Gupta, son and successor of Chandra Gupta the Second. It appears to be an inscription recording a "perpetual gift of 10 dinars for some special purpose in the Sambat era 86 (or A.D. 164), during the reign of the supreme lord, the king of kings, Chandra Gupta." This carries us back to the day when Buddhism was the strong creed in this part of India. There are two other Gupta inscriptions which seem to me to refer to the same matter as the first Gupta inscription. There are further evidences of Buddhism—a Buddhist railing is to be seen and the pillar of a second small Buddhist railing with the usual carved socket hole for the reception of rail-bars on the side.

In Volume X of the Archæological Survey Reports, page 13, will be found a full description of the figures carved upon the great architrave extended across the pillars. The most interesting one of them is a medallion to

the extreme left. In the centre of this medallion the Sun-god is seated in a seven-horse Chariot and on each side stands an attendant shooting downwards the rays of the Sun. Is this Aruṇa or is it some reminiscence of Greek sculpture which has found its way so far down? General Cunningham finds in the figures on the architrave strong evidences of Buddhism. Special care should be taken to preserve this most interesting colonnade from falling into further ruin. I pass by a building to the north of the *baolis* which is undoubtedly modern and seems to have been the residence of some Mahomedan who came in when the Mahomedan invasion swept over this part of the country. Fragments of what must have been sculptures belonging to the different chapels and in some cases inscriptions were built into it without any regard to the nature of their contents. There remains the shrine now known as the Nawa Graha Shrine. For a description of this I am indebted to Mr. F. O. Oertel. "Leaving," he says, "the temple enclosure and proceeding along the western wall of the Fort one comes to a cell measuring 22 feet by 8 feet placed near the north-west portion. In the centre of this cell is a huge crowned standing image 11 feet high by 6 feet 7 inches wide with halo, two arms holding lotus flowers. This apparently represents Ravi or Surya, the Sun-god, and is probably the finest image of this kind known to exist. To the left of Surya are six standing images, each 5 feet 6 inches high, these probably represent the regents of the remaining six planets (for the Sun and Moon are also counted as planets, which give their names to the days of the week, *viz.*, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn. All six are represented as four armed, crowned, standing, divine figures with halos and rich ornament, attended by groups of male and female fairies, carrying garments floating in the air above and two female figures holding lotus standing below; the right hand of each regent carries a lotus and the left a book. The right lower hand which is raised holds a rosary which is held straight down,

by the side a pot or *lota*. These six figures are all almost exactly alike and can only be distinguished by tiny animal figures placed near their right feet. It is not easy to recognize these animal figures. Beyond these six figures is one more, represented only from the waist upwards and of much larger proportions than the preceding with a large head and peculiar head-dress. This must be a Rahu, the ascending node in an eclipse. To complete the Nawa Graha there should be Ketu the descending node, the lower or missing half of the Rahu, but this is not found with the rest."

Time will not permit me to draw attention to the other fragments to be found, so I hope, still on the spot. The place is well worth a visit from any one who has an interest in antiquarian research and lying as it does so close to the capital of this province, it seems a pity that it cannot be properly preserved. If carefully studied it might throw light upon a page of history of which we have at present very little knowledge. The general idea of the district south of the Jumna (or to put it more accurately the Aryavardha), is that it was a place inhabited by persons little removed from barbarism. But I suspect Manu here of having undue preference for the Aryavardha and possibly a jaundiced eye upon anything outside. Kalinjar, which is well worth studying, Karwi, Kotra and other places are all lying along the banks of the Jumna and south of it and they help one to realize the wonderful rule of Kanauj at its zenith. It is equally interesting to know that there seems to have run along the south of the Jumna liberalism of a much freer type than any that prevailed in the Doab and its upper condensed strata. Further traces of this would be well worth discovering and, if discovered, would render the whole of the country-side near Karwi and Kalinjar of still deeper interest than it already has in the eyes of scholars.

NOTE.

BY B. H. BOURDILLON, I.C.S.

ON paying a first visit to Garhwa early in 1916, I found the enclosure in much the same condition as it was when first visited by Sir George Knox. The interior was completely filled by dense jungle, through which we could only force our way with great difficulty; any comprehensive view was quite impossible, and a survey of the place in its then condition was out of the question. As a witness to the condition of the jungle I may mention that in one place we found the skull and bones of a panther that had died a natural death in this unfrequented spot. Owing to the kindness of Kunwar Bharat Singh I was enabled to have the jungle cut down, and the buildings and statues exposed to view, and on the occasion of a subsequent visit the plan (Plate 1) was prepared by Mr. H. B. Wetherill, I.E.S. A brief explanation of this plan and of the accompanying photographs may serve to illustrate the foregoing lecture. Plate 2 (fig. 1) is a photograph of the eastern front, showing the north-east bastion, and fig. 2 gives a view of the latter half of the colonnade, taken from the south, across the eastern *baoli*. Starting from the southern postern and working to the left the first four cells shown in the plan are empty. Then comes the shrine of the Triad, with the colossal statues of Shiva, Vishnu, and Brahma, in that order, on the pedestals which will be seen against the southern wall (Plate 3, figs. 2, 1, 3.). Against the wall between this shrine and the S. E. bastion are statues of the incarnations of Vishnu in the following order :—Matsya, Kachhapa, Varāha, Narasinha, Buddha and Krishna, the latter now much mutilated. The first four of these are shown in Plate 4. The Bāman incarnation is standing up against the wall of the Triad shrine, next to a large Nāga figure, and the Rāmchandra, as fine a piece of work as any, is lying in three pieces, but complete, in front of the other avatars. The Parasurāma can

EXCAVATIONS AT GARHWA

31

be seen in the old photo of the temple (Plate 5, fig. 2), erect in the doorway. It is now recumbent in the same place, shorn in two at the ankles, but otherwise practically perfect. This photograph of the temple was taken some 50 years ago, and up till last cold weather the building had remained in much the same state of preservation. But the pipal tree has grown enormously, and though it has done something to preserve the temple from the inclemencies of the climate, it threatens eventually to cause its overthrow. In fact Plate 5, fig. 1, which was taken in February 1916, and represents the northern wall of the inner shrine, shows a state of things which no longer exists. The whole of the outer facing, as far down as the base of the figure of Vārāha, has collapsed, and I was unfortunately unable, with the means at my disposal, to discover the position of this fine piece of carving among the huge blocks of fallen masonry now piled up on this side of the temple. It should undoubtedly be unearthed, and placed in a secure position.

In the N. W. corner is the Navagraha shrine, Plate 6, fig. 1 being a photo of the colossal image of the Sun. No trace can be discovered of the image of Ketu which presumably once held a place in this shrine, and the image of Rahu presents several difficulties. Not only is the whole face missing, there being so clean a line of cleavage in the middle of the head that it is doubtful whether it ever existed, but the statue, against all tradition, represents the trunk from the waist upwards, instead of the head alone. This portion of the figure is of the same size as the full length figures of the other planets. More of a puzzle still is the statue shown in Plate 6, fig. 2. This is at present standing against the S. E. corner of the temple, which is certainly not its original position. General Cunningham thus describes it, "The figure on horseback will represent Raja Sankāra Deva in the Hindu military costume of the 12th century." He appears to have on a quilted dress, with long ornamental boots reaching above the kneecaps. He

wears also both bracelets and armlets, and the *janeo*....As he carries a sword in his right hand he...must be a Kshatriya." This theory, founded as it is on somewhat slender data, is possible only on the assumption that the steed in question is a horse. The head is missing, but the tail and feet would decidedly appear to belong, not to a horse, but to a bull, in which case General Cunningham's theory falls to the ground, as also does the alternative proposition that the figure is that of the Kalki Avatar, the future and final incarnation of Vishnu. The head-dress is very similar to that worn by the images of Shiva, Vishnu, and Brahma. Below the steed is represented a fight between two animals, probably a tiger and an elephant, though the larger of the two bears a strong resemblance to a pig.

Plate 7 shows a collection of a few of the numerous and mostly unidentified smaller statues which abound in the vicinity of the temple.

It is most unfortunate that nothing whatever has been done to preserve this exceedingly interesting collection of statues. The Gupta carvings and statues, with the exception of a beautiful Toran pillar illustrated in the tenth volume of Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, have been removed to the Lucknow museum, but the many fine statues that remain run a grave risk of suffering further dilapidation if steps are not taken to preserve them. Nowhere else in India will it be possible to find a temple to the Sun, colossal statues of the Hindu Trinity, and a complete set of the principal Avatars in one and the same enclosure, to say nothing of the smaller statues, many of which are probably of considerable value, while others possibly remain to be disinterred. The enclosure should be thoroughly cleared and kept in good order, and the statues arranged by expert hands, and afforded some protection from the weather. It would also be worth while to search the *baolis*, in which there are several feet of water and mud, for coins and other small articles. The jungle was partially cleared in March 1916, but has since encroached

again to an enormous extent, and in another year's time will be as thick as ever unless efficient steps can be taken properly to conserve this most interesting set of remains.

(Previous references to Garhwa, notably with regard to the Gupta architrave and inscriptions, may be found in Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vols. III and X, and in the 1874 Volume of the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, p. 123. The Gupta inscriptions will be found in Vol. III of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.) (J. F. Fleet.)

THE FOLKLORE OF KUMAON,
With reference to Folklore in general.

BY THE REV. E. S. OAKLEY, M.A.

WHEN I was honoured, through my friend Dr. Venis, with an invitation to address this learned Society, it occurred to me that though I have no sort of claim to expert knowledge in any branch of History, properly so-called, there is yet one subject to which I was able to devote many hours spared from a busy life in the good years before the advent of the War. Folklore, the subject to which I refer, is a study subsidiary and auxiliary to History, and may by a stretch of courtesy be admitted to a humble place in its precincts. It has this attraction too, I am encouraged to think, that it is a subject in which everybody, learned or simple, is more or less interested, seeing that we all have in us something of primitive human nature and inherited and traditional links binding us to the early past of our race. Having, then, been enabled to collect a considerable amount of material bearing on the folklore of this Province, I propose to give a few illustrative selections, with such passing reference to the popular traditions of Europe as may throw light on the subject in general. I shall invite you to spend a few minutes with me in Fairyland, that country where almost anything may happen, where everything is alive and endowed with soul, the world in which the childhood of all nations was passed. It is a world that we find still to some extent existing in the secluded valleys of this romantic province, among a people as yet but little touched by the modern spirit, and whose simple thoughts about life and Nature often carry us back

to a remote antiquity, reminding us of old tags and relics of primitive folklore in Western lands. The old-world notions which there exist only as faint echoes almost overborne by the tide of modern science and present day interests, are here found in rich profusion, enabling us to piece together more effectively the fragments of tradition in those more advanced communities. There is no question (I need hardly say) of the folklore of any country being *derived* from that of another, except in certain well-defined cases, for, just as the human body is everywhere in its general features identical, so the human mind in its workings under similar circumstances begets a similar set of ideas. Without such a key to the interpretation of Folklore, the study of it remains the mere farrago of nonsense and collection of old wives' fables which a hasty and unsympathetic criticism has sometimes deemed it, while, by the light of such an intelligent theory, numberless apparently arbitrary and unrelated facts arrange themselves in orderly sequence, and are found to be illustrations of invariable laws of mind.

Briefly, then, I would remind you at the outset that the earliest condition of man everywhere was one in which the imagination predominated over the reason. Man felt himself to be a soul endowed with will and feelings, and attributed the same qualities to well-nigh every natural object around him. The sun and moon to him were persons, endowed with semi-human qualities, and especially the animals whose quick movements and mysterious attributes called forth his wondering attention, were endowed not only with human but often with super-human qualities, appearing wiser or more powerful than himself. So it is that in the naïve fictions that we call fairy tales, and which are often in their essential features of immense antiquity, this attitude of mind still persists, and animals talk with men, favoured ones of whom are gifted with the power of understanding their speech, inanimate things are regarded as living and sentient, certain natural objects

come to be regarded as of peculiar importance, answering to men's hopes and fears, and possessed of strange potency of help or injury. Hence, we have animism and fetichism, those almost universal types of early thought. Ordinary events like the rising of the sun, the procession of the seasons, the growth of harvests, were thought to depend on the incantations of wizards, or other supernatural causes. So we have the rise of magic, sorcery, totems, taboo, and a whole universe of elaborate rules and prohibitions. This is a very scanty and imperfect outline of the science which has been so laboriously worked out during the last half-century, but it will serve as an introduction to our present brief discussion.

THE EXTERNAL SOUL.

Especially important to an understanding of the folktales of various races is the primitive idea of the soul or life. The phenomena of sleep and dreams readily suggested that the soul might leave the body and return, that in fact it is separable from the body and may even have its location in some distant place. This is a familiar feature of fairy tales of an antique type. In one Kumaon story the soul or life of an ogress is kept in the body of a parrot which lives on a pipal tree across the seven seas. The hero travels thither with the help of a magic sandal, climbs the tree, and kills the parrot, whereupon the ogress dies. In another story a sorcerer's soul resides in a parrot kept in a cage. When the hero severs the legs of the parrot the wizard becomes lame, and when he kills it outright he dies. In yet another, a demon informs his daughter that his life is quite safe, for it is secure in the body of a beetle, which again is hidden in the body of a parrot, which is kept in an iron cage, which is securely locked in an inner room, there being six outer rooms to be passed through before it can be reached. In still another story the life of a wizard is hidden in a knife, and when the secret is

disclosed, and the knife is found and broken, the wizard dies. The last mentioned story is a lengthy one with some highly interesting details, for instance the dead body of a chief is not burnt but floated down a river on a bier, which may possibly refer to some custom of Dasyus or aborigines, and mention is also made of dwelling-houses with a central pillar, a style of building which has been obsolete for ages—an illustration of the preservation of archaic details which is one of the most interesting features of folk-tales.

THE MELUSINA TYPE OF STORY.

Another common type of story, met with in the folklore of many lands, embodies the idea of a fairy husband or wife who can assume the form of an animal, usually a serpent. The classic example is the story of Melusina, a princess in the Duchy of Luxemburg, who takes the shape of a fire-breathing serpent bearing in her mouth a key or ring, which must be taken away by her deliverer with his own lips. There are numberless stories from various quarters of the world in which a fairy prince or princess is doomed to wear a monstrous or animal form until disenchanting by a deliverer who uses the appropriate means, though there usually remains the danger of the fairy bride or husband returning to the original form. Sometimes it is added that the animal skin or covering, or feather-robe (in the case of Swan maidens), must be kept out of the way of the fairy beings, or they will recover them and disappear. The story given below, told in a Kumaon village some years ago, has some of the immemorial features peculiar to this class of tale, with the additional detail that a complete deliverance is achieved for the enchanted person. The barest outline of the story is here given:—

There was once a great man and his wife, and they were without offspring. The husband in displeasure drove out the wife, who became a wandering beggar. One day she found a small stick-like object resembling a young

snake. She kept it in her basket, and the next day it grew and filled the basket. She put it into a larger basket, which it soon also filled. Ere long she returned to her husband's mansion and took up her abode in a barn (bhákar), the husband taking no notice of her. In a few days the serpent filled the barn. (There is a suggestion here of the dragon stories of Europe and the famous Lambton Worm.) The woman went and told her husband that she now had a son, meaning the serpent, and required a house for him. With careless generosity he built her a large three-storied house, and she placed the serpent there. It coiled itself all through the house and lay with its head on the threshold. The woman now told her husband that her son had grown up and she required a wife for him. A poor orphan girl was found, and she was married to the serpent. She was made to wait on the snake and anoint him with a magic oil provided by the self-styled mother-in-law, who seems to have been a witch. The girl wept at her dreadful fate, but her mother-in-law bade her be patient, and to live in the house with the serpent. On the third day the serpent put off his skin and appeared in a handsome human form. The girl informed her mother-in-law, who instructed her that night to take the serpent's skin while her husband slept, and to burn it along with her bodice. She did so, but carelessly left a small portion of it unburnt. The husband awaking looked for his snake-skin, and at last found the small unburnt bit and from that re clothed himself and again appeared in his former shape as a serpent. The mother-in-law instructed the young wife to be more careful the next time, and to burn every particle of the skin along with her (the mother-in-law's) bodice. This was done; the fairy husband was unable to return to the serpent form, and remained as an ordinary man, and they all lived happily ever after. Many stories of this kind are current. They seem to go back to an early age when the barriers between human and animal life were still vaguely conceived.

THE SOUL'S JOURNEY AFTER DEATH.

The idea that alms given in one's life-time will be repaid in the future world is found in many old legends. It is clearly expressed in the Vendidad of the Zend-Avesta, where we find it stated, "At the head of the Chinvat bridge (over which souls have to pass after death), the holy bridge made by Mazda, they ask for their spirits the reward for the worldly goods which they have given away." Referring to the idea of the return of alms, Sir Walter Scott in his 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border' quotes a passage from an old MS. in the Cotton Library, descriptive of the Yorkshire district of Cleveland in Elizabeth's reign: "When any dieth, certain women sing a song (still extant) to the dead body, reciting the journey that the party deceased must go, and they are of belief that once in their lives it is good to give a pair of new shoes to a poor man, forasmuch as after this life they are to pass barefoot through a great laund, full of thorns and furzen." These "dead-shoes" were also given in Sweden and Germany. It is interesting to find a similar belief embodied in a Kumaon folk-tale, which runs as follows:—

Once a King proclaimed throughout his dominions that he would give a lakh of rupees to any man who would consent to be entombed alive. Half of the sum was to be paid in advance and the other half if he came unscathed from the ordeal. A rich miser offered. He was taken in procession to a cemetery by the King's officers accompanied by a great crowd. On the way he was met by an ascetic, who asked for an alms, telling the miser that as he was going to be buried he ought to give away something for the benefit of his soul. As he had nothing else about him to give, the miser in jest handed to the holy man the shell of an almond which he picked up from the ground. The ascetic said, "You will receive the reward of what you have given me." The man was then buried in a tomb, which was closed up. While in this living grave he saw many hideous sights. Horrid demons came to devour him, and venomous snakes

assailed him, but the almond-shell stood him in good stead, for it was interposed between the fangs of the serpents and himself every time they tried to bite him. Next morning the King came to the place and ordered that the tomb should be opened, expecting the entombed man to have perished, but to the surprise of all he was found alive. He was taken out, bathed and sumptuously attired, and told to accompany the King to his palace in order to receive the remainder of the promised reward. He, however, flatly refused to go, declaring that he must return home at once to attend to his affairs, promising, however, to come again later. On reaching home, without a moment's delay he began distributing his wealth to the poor. He gave away all his possessions, leaving nothing for himself or his family. On going to receive the second half of the money from the King, he related what had happened to him in the tomb, and taking the rupees, distributed them also to the poor.

WITCHCRAFT.

The old belief in the loup-garou or were-wolf (a man or woman who has the power of assuming an animal form) which formerly prevailed in various parts of Europe, and even nowadays has not altogether lost its terrors, finds its exact counterpart in the superstitions of the Bhoksas, an aboriginal tribe living at the foot of these hills, and in Garhwál the first Commissioner of Kumaon, Mr. Traill, nearly a hundred years ago, mentions a Bhoksa at Srinagar who was credited with the power of turning into a tiger. He would eat a herb which would transform him into the required form, and afterwards eat one which restored him to the human shape, and was said to have devoured many persons. The Tharus also in the Tarai are credited with similar powers, and with the power of the evil eye. Some years ago I was told there was a Bhoksa wizard still living who in the form of a tiger had eaten not less than 400 people. It is said that a poor and broken man among them

finding himself unable to make a living by ordinary means will resolve to be a wizard. He will partake of a certain herb, and give another herb to the members of his family, promising them that he will return after a certain number of years, when they must put this herb in his mouth, and he will reassume the human form. Those who have not forgotten their Vergil, will be reminded of Moeris, mentioned in the 8th Eclogue, who by the use of baneful herbs could transform himself into a wolf. Having become a tiger by eating the magical plant, the Bhoksa wizard goes about seeking whom he may devour, and collects the jewels of all the women whom he slays. At the promised time he will return to his home. If the members of his family are afraid, and fail to take the proper measures, he will devour even them, but if they remember to put the herb in his mouth they will be safe, and their relative will be restored to his first form. The Bhoksas, both men and women, have a high reputation for witchcraft. Witches ride through the air, like their European sisters, borne by demons. Another link of association with our western superstitions is the belief that the power of witchcraft cannot pass over a running stream. Readers of the "Lay of the Last Minstrel" will remember how young Buccleuch was saved in this way. It is a common idea that a witch or wizard can only enchant between the two next streams, so at Almora sorcery can only be exercised between the bounds marked by the two rivers Sual and Kosi which enclose the ridge on which the town stands. As in Burns' description of the flight of Tam'o Shanter from "Alloway's auld haunted Kirk" pursued by witches, the crossing of a stream renders powerless the pursuit of spells or demons. There are certain safeguards against witchcraft, which are interesting both from their likeness to and difference from the European remedies. A very powerful agent is the mustard-seed. The burning of the seeds is said to drive away the effect of charms. A few of the seeds are waved round the head of the bewitched man and put on the fire.

while a mantra is recited. This burns up and removes altogether the power of the sorcery. Such mantras or charms are called *Rakhwáli* or protectives, and are equally efficacious against demons and ghosts or sorcery, especially in case of disease. They contain many old and obsolete Pahari words and are evidently of considerable antiquity, and are usually handed down from father to son, in families of exorcists.

NIDHI, OR TALISMANS.

The belief in certain objects as possessed of magical power is wide-spread and takes us back to the period of fetichism. Shakespeare speaks of the fern-seed which enables a man to walk invisible, and the minor superstitions attaching to the even ash, or ash-twigg with an even number of leaves, and the four-leaved shamrock, and the like, are familiar. In Kumaon there are various articles known under the general name of Nidhi, a Hindi word signifying "depository" (of magical power). One of the most famous of the Nidhis or talisman is the Shyálsinghi or jackal's horn. The animal that possesses such a horn becomes king of the jackals. The horn appears only when the royal jackal shrieks, and at other times it remains invisible. Whenever the king thus cries, all the others are obliged to acknowledge him as their lord, by their howling response. If any of the pack neglects to do so his head breaks and he dies. The leading jackal is supposed to cry "Main Dilli ká bádsháh hún," which he utters thrice. To this the others reply in chorus "Ho, ho, ho!" "You are, you are!" Many wonderful properties are ascribed to the jackal's horn, and the possessor of it secures power over all, even kings and governors, can defeat his enemies, compel love and liking, is protected from the effect of weapons, and is sure to prosper.

A mysterious talisman is the *Chintamani*, which might be supposed to mean a fabulous gem yielding to its possessor whatever he may desire. In one Kumaon fairy tale.

however, it is represented as a piece of wood which an ascetic gave to a man while he was roaming in a forest, and by means of which he called up a palace, a wife, and various other luxuries, but when the precious piece of timber was carried off by the machinations of an ogress, the whole scene disappeared and he was left desolate. The man put an end to himself in his despair, but his faithful dog cleverly recovered the chintamani, which was then employed to provide amrit or life-giving nectar that restored him to life.

The flowers of the night-blooming *Berhu*, a species of fig-tree, are regarded as a talisman. If anyone can see the flowers open he will become a king.

The belief in the *Páras-patthar*, or philosopher's stone, the touch of which converts baser metals into gold, flourishes still in the Hills, among women and rustics. Shakespeare refers to the toad, ugly and venomous, which yet "bears a precious jewel in his head." The elephant and rhinoceros are believed here to have the same, and the distinguished powers of any great man are liable to be attributed to a similar cause. Rumour in India will have it that the late Mr. W. E. Gladstone's family were offered a fabulous sum by scientists for his head, that they might get possession of the jewel which endowed him with such remarkable wisdom.

The divining-rod of witch-hazel does not appear to be used in Kumaon, but in its place one hears of diviners who can discover water or treasure by means of *scent*. They take up earth in their hand and sniff it, or put their noses to the ground.

OMENS AND DEATH-SIGNALS.

Dreams, as in Europe, go by contraries. If you find yourself crying in a dream, it portends that you will soon have cause to laugh. The ill effect of ominous dreams may be removed by thinking of fire, the sun, gods, or sacred emblems. If a snake crosses one's path, one is sure to meet

with calamity. The bad omen may be averted by tearing off a bit of cloth or a few blades of grass, and laying them on the road, otherwise that road must not be taken. If a crow says "Kaw, Kaw!" it foretells visitors, like the crowing of a cock in Britain, but if it says "Pakao, Pakao!" (as it sometimes does), or if it crows at night, it portends speedy death. Also if a jackal shrieks three times on the north side of a house, and anyone is ill at the time, it is a most unfavourable omen. If it cries thrice on any other side of the house good hopes may be entertained. If a lighted lamp goes out or is extinguished by accident, after dark, it is a bad sign. Should the dejected householder have survived all these dangers, and should he meet an empty basket or dish on going out, he is doomed to misfortune, but a full one promises success. Sneezing is reckoned a bad sign. Folklorists explain that sneezing was generally regarded among primitive people as dangerous to the soul of life (that kittle commodity), which might be expelled by this means, so we have the "God bless you!" in Britain, to avert the threatened ill, and in Kumaon people say "Chiranjio" (live long!), but nowadays only to young children. So the general tendency of ancient superstitions to be softened down into childish rhymes, or even jests, is here illustrated.

SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT IRON.

It is well known that a Stone Age and a Bronze Age preceded the general use of iron, and hence the conservatism of primitive religion forbade its employment in sacred rites, the gods being supposed to resent its use as once a new-fangled invention, while at the same time it has a deterrent effect on ghosts and other evil-disposed spirits. Their dislike of the metal makes them unwilling to approach persons protected by it, and therefore it is of great potency as a charm. The nailing of a horse-shoe on stable-doors is familiar. Thus, when Scotch fishermen

(we are told by Mr. J. Mackenzie) were at sea, and one of them happened to take the name of God in vain, the first man who heard him called out "cauld airn!" at which every man of the crew grasped the nearest bit of iron and held it between his hands for a while. Pieces of iron, such as nails or knitting-needles, used to be stuck into meat, butter, cheese, etc., in the north of Scotland, to prevent "death" from entering them. At the festival of All Souls in Prussia, in pre-Christian times, no knives were used, so as not to injure the ghosts. There are many references to fairies being afraid of iron. Any iron instrument placed in a cradle protects children. Fairy wives would sometimes fly away from their human spouses if struck with iron. Both these ideas relative to iron are found prevalent in Kumaon. Thus a weapon of some kind is (or was) put under the head or bedding of a person suffering from fever to ward off evil spirits. Old people used to keep a knife in their pocket as a protective. A knife is taken along when a child is conveyed from one house to another at night or in a procession, to prevent its becoming possessed. After a birth an iron tool is kept in the room where the infant sleeps. The common explanation is that by the utterance of Vedic mantras on some great occasion all things were dissolved, but iron refused to melt. The metal is thus marked as not amenable to divine influence. The Kumaon practice of branding the skin of children with a hot spindle-iron, for some diseases, may possibly be due to similar ideas. We may also refer to the production of fire from the fire-drill in Vedic sacrifices, and the injunctions of the Shastras that the principal vessels used for sacrifice should be made of wood and not of metal.

GHOSTS.

The souls of children who die are believed in Kumaon to become for a time lights on the hill-sides. It is pointed out that one may sometimes see many small bright lights,

which quickly disappear, leaving perhaps only one shining. These are the souls of little children. It is almost startling to find that the Ignis Fatuus or Will-o'-the-Wisp was believed in England to be the soul of a child which had died unbaptised. In Brittany the Porte-brandon appears in the form of a child bearing a torch which he turns like a burning wheel, and with this, it is said, he sets fire to villages, which are sometimes by night suddenly enveloped in flames. In Lusatia, where the wandering child-souls are regarded as harmless, it is believed that they may be relieved from their wanderings as soon as some pious hand throws a handful of consecrated ground after them. The question naturally arises in the mind as to whether all such resemblances are mere accidental coincidences, or whether we have to recognise a possible inheritance of such ideas from some pre-historic racial centre or starting-point.

Ill-behaved ghosts in this province sometimes amuse themselves by throwing stones. One observer describes having heard in a certain haunted locality a sound resembling the beating of a bag of walnuts on a stone, which is circumstantial enough. Kumaon ghosts resemble European ones by being readily deceived and easily frightened. In fact they may be described as half-witted. They cannot injure anyone who is not afraid of them, or a pure-minded person; an idea so splendidly wrought out in Milton's "Comus." It is enough in most cases, if one sees a ghost, to strike two stones together. The apparition will be afraid and retire. Striking a spark with iron, or keeping an iron weapon near one, has the same effect, because (as it is explained) this inspires the ghost with an idea of one's boldness, and sufficiently daunts his feeble, flickering intelligence. We know, however, another explanation of this, which may be more probable. Ghosts fear a dog, but cats are friendly to ghosts, so at night people will not allow a cat to enter the house, as it is believed that a ghost or demon sometimes assumes the feline form. The European connection between witches and cats as familiar

spirits may rest on some such idea. Possession by ghosts is a troublesome feature of life in Kumaon, and may take many forms. At a place between Ranikhet and Ramnagar there are some graves of British soldiers. The ghosts of these defunct heroes sometimes take possession of people in the neighbourhood, who then go about demanding *sharáb*, *cheroot*. On being supplied with these articles the possessed persons come to their senses again, and the ghosts leave them. People sometimes meet ghosts who talk in an incoherent manner, as though trying to imitate human speech, and on parting offer gold or silver coin, or other desirable things, which on subsequent examination turn out to be mere fragments of bone. This is strongly reminiscent of the "fairy gold" of European tales, which turns out to be dross, leaves, or coal. It suggests the inference that ghosts (*bhút*, *pret*, *pisách*, etc.), in India correspond to the British fairies or pixies. These supernatural beings under various names have much in common, and though euphemistically styled the "good folk" in England, are of uncertain moral quality, and, as those who have read any large number of fairy stories know, as often as not mischievously inclined.

A typical ghost story tells how, during a small-pox epidemic, a government *chaprassi* entered a certain village of which all the inhabitants were either dead or fled, except in one house where a man lay still apparently alive. The *chaprassi* was invited by this patient to stay with him and cook some food. While engaged in the operation, he happened to ask the man where he could find salt. To his horror the sick man reached out a hand to the far corner of the room, some yards away, to take the salt. The *chaprassi* perceiving that this was a dead body possessed by a ghost, fled in terror, pursued over some mustard-fields by the ghost. The next morning he ventured back, with some friends, to the place, and they found the body lying dead, but between its toes were the yellow mustard flowers.

showing that it had passed through the mustard crop in pursuit of the *chaprassi*.

When a person swoons for a time and then returns to consciousness, it is believed that his soul has been taken to Dharm-ráj or Yama, the king of the dead, by the messengers of that grisly monarch, who, on having it presented before him, declares that a mistake has been made—they have brought the wrong man—and they are reproved and ordered to restore the soul to its former tenement, and call the right person in his place. Hence the man recovers and someone else dies.

Perhaps the weirdest narrations of the kind that one has met with in conversation with the people in Kumaon are stories of the rebirth of souls. Some years ago a number of people died of cholera at Ramnagar and other places, on the way up from the great Hardwar fair. As there was not enough fuel to consume their bodies, only a little fire was laid on their foreheads, and they were left in the jungle. Their relatives and friends on arriving home performed their funeral rites fully, and one has been gravely assured that five or six cases have been known at Almora of men who returned to that place after being dead, and were restored to their proper form by the use of appropriate rites. The birth-ceremony, tonsure, naming, and sacred thread ceremonies were performed in turn for them, and they were then admitted into caste as ordinary members of society. This was told me independently, but I was interested to find the matter reported in that excellent, now defunct, periodical "Punjab Notes and Queries" and quoted by no less an authority than Dr. J. G. Frazer in his famous "Golden Bough," where we are further informed that a man erroneously supposed deceased in ancient India was treated as dead to society until he had gone through the form of being born again. In ancient Greece he was washed, dressed in swaddling clothes, and put out to nurse, and not until then could he mix with living folk. (Golden Bough, vol. I, p. 22).

THE FOLKLORE OF KUMAON

49

FOLKLORE OF PLANTS AND TREES.

Wordsworth has recorded of that dull person, Peter Bell, that

‘A primrose by a river’s brim,
 ‘A yellow primrose was to him,
 ‘And it was nothing more.’

The Kumaon peasant is not so matter-of-fact; he sees strange potencies in many familiar-looking forms of plant-life, and his ideas cast light on some old superstitions of our own. The Scots have a rhyming proverb, “Rowan, ash, and red thread, keep the devils from their speed,” and certain plants or herbs are counted lucky in various parts of Britain, as the myrtle, which in Somerset is kept in windows as a lucky plant. In Kumaon the nettle is a protective against evil spirits, and a twig of it is taken with young children when going abroad. Thorny plants, like the *timur*, are credited with the same power. Mustard-seed is used in exorcisms, to get rid of disease or avert the evil eye. Certain trees and plants are regarded as having supernatural qualities. An autumnal wild plant of a single stalk called *Yakanbir* (single hero), is said to become a ghost at night, and is sometimes seen at midnight increased to a stupendous size. If worshipped during the daytime and invoked at night, the ghost embodied in the plant will become the slave of the worshipper, provided he is bold enough to seize and hold it. It will accomplish every desire of the sorcerer who has acquired power over it. The small seeds of the plant are also counted highly efficacious in magic, and are used along with mustard-seed by exorcists.

The sacredness of the pipal tree is well known. Its root is said to be inhabited by Brahma, its trunk by Shiva, and its boughs by Vishnu. The women of Kumaon are wont to worship the pipal tree on Saturday morning, because under it there lives a goddess Alakshmi (meaning poverty or misfortune), who is visited on that day by her sister the goddess of good fortune Lakshmi. Another

explanation offered is that the tree is the elder sister of Lakshmi.

According to a popular estimate of trees and plants, they are divided into classes : those of good shape are called Brahmans, large trees or plants are Kshatriyas, useful or profitable ones Vaishya, and evil or mean ones sudra or Dom. A demon origin is ascribed to many while others are thought to be of divine nature. The *másh* grain is of great efficacy when children are ill by possession. A small loaf of it is waved round the head of the child, then grains of *másh* are thrown where four roads meet, and a lamp is lighted (it must be within sight of the snowy range). It is supposed that a *pari* or fairy takes them away, and with them the evil effects.

The wild edible vegetable *Kairua*, found in the month of May, has some curious taboo connected with it. A woman who has an elder brother is not allowed to pluck it, except at the time when he gives her *betauli*—a custom by which the sister gives sweetmeat to the brother and receives money in return.

The *kharak* tree (*celtis australis*) has a bad reputation, as its roots burrow in walls and damage buildings. It is also feared for superstitious reasons, and children are forbidden to go near it, as it is the abode of demons. The *Betaun*, a tree with hard wood, is a ghost tree. Hence it is removed from the vicinity of houses and its wood is not used for ordinary furniture. It is said to shriek at night (reminding one of the superstition about mandrakes), and whoever hears its cry is sure to die. A similar belief attaches to the *Kairua* just mentioned.

Certain trees were in Europe worshipped anciently as fire trees, or sacred repositories of fire. Such was the oak, and the cult of Zeus at Dodona is supposed to have had the same such origin. Here the plant called *Shami*, which grows on low banks by rivers, is considered sacred, because fire is produced by rubbing two sticks of it together.

The cocoa-nut when offered in certain sacrifices has been supposed by some to be a substitute for human sacrifice. The Kumaon folk-saying about it may be held to support the surmise. They say it ranks as a human being in sacrifice, because it was intended by the Creator at first for a human head, with its two eyeholes and mouth, but was later disapproved of and turned into a fruit.

Just as in Europe the Virgin Mary's name is given to many plants, so here they are identified with Sita. A species of long grass seen hanging from rocks (*sacharum spontaneum*), incorrectly called *Kush* grass by the hill-people, and used for thatching and for mats and string, is called Sita's hair. A curious fact about the *chir* or pine tree is that when cut it does not give forth fresh shoots. This is accounted for by a story that when Rama was in search of Sita he asked, among other trees, the pine tree, as to the whereabouts of his wife. The pine answered that it did not know, as it was always being blown about by the wind. Rama pronounced on it the curse that it should never produce shoots when cut down. The Himalayan oak (*bánj*) also refused to tell, and was cursed to be of use only for burning. The wild-cherry (*padam*) supplied the desired information, and was blessed by Rama, and therefore remains evergreen. The wild-cherry is sacred to Vishnu and is regarded as holy, its leaves being offered to the deities in worship. The wild rose (*kunja*) gave grateful shade to Rama, and was declared by him to be the king of the forest. One tree, it is said, will spread over two square miles by climbing and twisting over other trees.

The puff-ball fungus (*taragu*) is called the refuse of stars, and is believed to fall from the sky in meteoric flashes.

ANIMAL FOLKLORE.

A snake's life extends to twelve years, after which it turns into a partridge (*titira*). The partridge lives for twelve years and then turns back into a snake. So when

the partridge is eaten, its head is always left, as it is believed to contain poison. This idea probably arose from a fanciful resemblance between the head of a snake and that of a partridge, so potent in the region of folklore is mere association of ideas. Money and other treasure after being concealed for ages turns into a serpent. Hence snakes are seen about old buildings. If such a serpent is kept for some time it will turn into a man. This mingling of serpentine and human forms is found also in the classical age of Europe. It was as a snake that the spirit of Anchises appeared and accepted the offerings of the pious Aeneas.

The dog, the vehicle of Bhairava, is regarded by the Khassiyas of Kumaon as of divine nature, protecting a house from evil spirits by its barking, and being a well-wisher of mankind. It wishes for more people in the household that it may get more food, as each member of the family is accustomed to save something from meals and give it to the dogs in the courtyard. The cat on the other hand is of morose and demonic nature, and people do not drink water it has touched. In its heart it wishes that all the people in the house would become blind, as then it would have ample opportunity of stealing the milk, curds, and ghi. The goat, although used for sacrifice, is also inauspicious, because it wishes that all the houses were ruined, and then it would spring from one broken wall to another. Its jaws are not cooked by Brahmans, but Mahomedans use them, thinking they give strength, being powerful in themselves. Women, for some reason, are forbidden to split the head of a slaughtered goat.

The lizard is regarded as an emblem of slothful inefficiency. In the cold nights of winter it shivers and vows that on the morrow it will build a proper house for itself and its family, but when the morrow comes it lies on a stone in the sunshine, and says it is too hot to do any work. It nods its head hypocritically to a spider saying "Wait for me; wait for me." The frog in Kumaon folklore is a

somewhat querulous character, apt to suffer from wounded pride. The lizard once said to the frog, "O Baujee" (a term of respect meaning elder brother's wife), "please let me pass." The frog, much gratified, replied, "Thank you; you always address me politely, but that confounded Táná-máná (meaning the snake) always curses me." (Táná-máná is an abusive epithet signifying threads of cloth). The fire-fly (*jainanyá*) is reckoned a good little creature, though rather officious. It says "O God, with lighted torch I go here and there in the night, trying to count how many people there are, but I can find very few." The common fly is a person who can never get over having witnessed the great battle of the Mahabharat (Kuru-kshetra) long ago. "Ah, that was *some* fighting," he says, as he rubs his little hands together. It is in such folk-sayings as these that we find "the touch of Nature that makes the whole world kin." We can hear the young Khassiya mother prattling to her child, or the village patriarch amusing his grand-children.

The stories and sayings about *birds* are numerous and most interesting. There is a long poem in which a popular story has been versified by a Kumaoni poet, and in it nearly all the varieties of birds known in the province are named. It is believed that some people can nowadays understand the language of animals (*pashu-bhasha*). Our common phrase "A little bird told me" may be remotely traced to such an idea. An old Indian friend of mine was told gravely by a villager that he knew it, but on being urged to disclose the secret he replied that it had been taught him by Mahadeo and Parvati, and that if he revealed the mystery he would at once die. The woodpecker in a former stage of existence was a carpenter, and still pursues his task, impressed with the idea that there is nothing like timber; but others say that he was a blacksmith, and yet others assert that he was once a burglar. In the spring-time he chirps "Hot, hot, hot!" "Plough up your land"—from the Pahari word *hotna*, to

THE FOLKLORE OF KUMAON

plough. Very ancient superstitions in Europe are associated with the raven, cuckoo, wren, etc. The following birds are reckoned as more or less magical or divine in these hills: the Nilkanth or blue jay. Also the Baunnya or Bauntya, a kind of partridge which has a curious trick of stopping and dancing about. The Lampuchiya (long-tailed bird or ribbon bird) is said to be the wife of the nightingale, and is identified with the planet Saturn and with falling meteors. The Lumuriya chil, a species of kite (with a small pendent tail), is said to be sprung from Garúd, the vulture god, and to be a spy of Yama. As in Europe in the case of the so-called "lightning birds," any bird with red feathers is highly considered, such as the rái (nightingale), the male and female of which species are said to lay eggs alternately, though the male bird always calls the female to take the trouble of hatching the eggs. The red water-snake, by the way, is also in high repute, and is worshipped, and to kill one is equal to the slaughter of a hundred kine. The fact of the cuckoo's eggs being found along with those of other birds has been observed, but, in stories one meets with here, a curious reversal of judgment takes place—the other birds are counted the offenders, laying their eggs in the poor cuckoo's nest. The partridge (chakhurá) says "Chakh, Chakh," meaning "Taste!" It is calling to the other birds to sip the rays of the moon. It is regarded as a moon-bird, and is kept in houses as a protection against spells and witchcraft. The tilyuá, a shy bird with long legs, is an emblem of well-meaning but futile endeavour. It sleeps with its pathetic little feet directed upward, it is believed with the idea of preventing the sky from falling down on the earth.

KHAS-BACHAN.

There are vast numbers of riddles and similitudes prevalent in the province, dealing with the peculiarities of animals and plants. Some of these, known as *Rishibachan*, or sayings of the sages, are of an edifying nature.

and usually derived from the Sanskrit shastras. The common ones are called Khas-bachan, or popular sayings (sayings of the Khassiyas or hill-cultivators). Doubtless they help to wile away the long winter evenings in many a Himalayan village. I give one or two samples. Pár dhár men adhuk roto, half a chupatty on the mountain or ridge there : the half moon. I bear such a heavy load that I cannot hold my head up : the *kauni* millet. A dog made of wood barks on any side it is beaten : a drum. From one thán of cloth has 1,600 garments : the bhutta or Indian corn. Fair and clad in green, wearing nine lacs of pearls, I stand in the king's garden with folded hands : the Indian corn. Very small, with tiny teeth, but the cursed thing has made my son weep : the nettle. A green field with 32 posts in it : the leaf platter pegged together with sticks or thorns. A leper buried in the ground : ginger with its distorted root. A bird with one wing flew to the snows : the pine-seed with its single blade. An example of a *Rishi-bachan*, repeated for moral instruction, is an extract from the Bhagavat Puran, the 24 lessons drawn from different worldly objects by the holy Dattatreya (Skandha II, ch. 7). No. 1 is the earth, an example to us for its utter forbearance of all wrongs and its generous unfailing gifts. No. 4 is water, soft, bright, and comforting, pure in itself it cleanses all things; so should the saint purify the hearts of men from sin and ignorance. No. 6 is the moon, which changes and fades but returns again, as the soul (átmá) in all its vicissitudes remains imperishable, and thus nightly to the listening earth the silvery moon still preaches of immortality. No. 15 is the deer, fair and delicate but easily deceived, which hunters charm with the music of a harp, till, fascinated, it stands, and lets them slay it with their cruel arrows. Thus silly souls listen to evil songs, till, like stricken deer, they are ruined.

APOLOGUES AND FACETIOUS TALES.

There are many stories current, of which I already

possess a large number, describing the doings of animals and their tricks played on each other. The subtle devices of the fox and the jackal are favourite themes. Most of these stories are marked by a kind of humour, sometimes homely, sometimes grotesque. I give one short specimen, illustrative of the power of "bluff."

A male fox and his vixen felt the need of a home. The fox took a look round and found a tiger's den handy, in which he installed his wife. A young cub was born ere long, and for some days they lived in comfort, till one day the tiger came roaring towards his cave. The vixen exclaimed to her husband "Is it not just like you to make an arrangement like this—putting us in a tiger's den! What shall we do now?" "Don't be afraid," replied the fox, "wait and see." Going out into the open he shouted to his wife inside, "Ai Shyám Sundari (Mrs. Reynard), what are the children crying for?" The clever wife, entering into the plot, thereupon squeezed the baby and made it howl. "What are the children crying for? Why, they won't eat any more stale tiger-flesh: they want a nice fresh one." On hearing this the tiger fled in great alarm. On his way he met a long-tailed monkey (langúr), who asked him why he was running away. He related his story. The langúr, who is a bit of a cynic, laughed and said, "Why, you págal, it's only a fox; what are you afraid of? Come along back with me." The tiger was too frightened to go, so the langúr to encourage him, tied their tails together, and they ventured back to the cave. When they got near, the fox again jumped out, and cried "O brother monkey, you promised you would bring us seven tigers, but I see you have got only one tied there." The tiger, in uncontrollable terror, dashed off, dragging the monkey behind him. When he had run some distance he looked round, and seeing the monkey as he thought grinning at him—in reality it was dead and showing its teeth—he beat it, and tearing himself from it, fled for miles and miles into the jungle.

THE FOLKLORE OF KUMAON

57

POPULAR SONGS AND BALLADS.

Had time permitted, it was my intention to give a few specimens of popular songs, as distinct from religious hymns or dramas. The *Jwára* is a musical dialogue, as, for example, between a man and his wife, of a humorous turn. These songs have curious complicated refrains, and are sung to the accompaniment of small drums called *hurká*. The singers and chorus dance with drum in hand at the conclusion of each verse or stanza, so that the performance is often a lengthy one. One of these, which I have taken down, not inaptly represents the course of a conversation between a husband and wife, the latter trying to wheedle her spouse into staying at home when he wishes to go to the Plains (Bhabar) to make some money in the winter time in order to pay his debts. The last argument which she uses is a coquettish one and may be supposed to have been effectual. She tells him "If you don't come back, there are thousands of men who will feed me." The first line of each stanza consists of a varying refrain, that rhymes with the next line. Sometimes the song has a personal and rather libellous allusion, the name of some well-known person being introduced. Occasionally in burlesque love-songs known as *chákhali-mákhali*, which also take the dialogue form, a youth is disguised to represent the lady. One cannot but remark the limitation of themes and natural sentiments due to the absence of the element of unmarried courtship and free converse of the sexes. It is an interesting speculation how far these village dialogues, as in ancient Greece, have been the forerunners of the drama, in its characteristic Indian form of musical comedy.

So ends this brief and imperfect sketch of the Folklore of Kumaon, in which my object has been rather to arouse interest in the subject, and suggest lines of original research, than to treat any part of it exhaustively. I shall be satisfied if I have done something to show that it is only through sympathy that we can hope to understand "the soul of a people," and in bringing to light these quaint or

pleasing fancies, have suggested how closely related are all men in spite of our accidental differences, like these fellow-mortals in Kumaon, who as they journey through life, have found courage to live, by transmuting its poverty and commonplace through the power of imaginative joy. That there is a pathetic side to all this, and other, deeper considerations, which for once have been left out of view, we are none of us unaware, but I think it is a sufficient and not unworthy motive of this playful by-product of one's life-work to appeal to the general "human heart by which we live," whether as Europeans or as Indians, and call to mind that in the great purpose of God all nations of mankind are made of one blood, of one heart and mind, to dwell together on the earth, and fulfil one high united destiny.

*THE SHṚNGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTRHARI
WITH AN OLD COMMENTARY IN
HINDI WRITTEN EARLY
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.*

EDITED BY R. P. DEWHURST, I.C.S.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

THESE notes are intended as a brief introduction to the text of an old manuscript, which I received recently from Dr. Venis, and which I have edited at his suggestion. The contents of the manuscript constitute an interesting specimen of early Hindi prose, and the Sanskrit poem, which the Hindi commentary explains with great fulness and care, is a characteristic and brilliant example of Sanskrit poetry of the classical period. The manuscript consists now of 50 leaves, each ten inches long by four inches wide, and, with the exception of the first and last leaf, each leaf bears eight long lines, containing on an average about sixty letters, on each side. These 48 leaves are numbered on the second page of the leaf, the writing on each of which is upside down as compared with that of the first page. One leaf, viz., that which was originally numbered 49, is missing out of the complete manuscript of 51 leaves. The first leaf contains only seven lines on one side, while the last leaf has nine lines on one side, these lines including the final note recorded by the scribe, which shows that the manuscript was written by an amanuensis, who spelt his name Kisor Das and who completed his task on Monday, Magh Badi the third 1683 Samvat (i. e., January 1627 A. D.). The 51st leaf bears a note on the back in modern writing यह प्राचीन हिन्दी गद्य में टीका है but the word प्राचीन seems to be used in the

sense of ancient, not eastern as was originally supposed by those into whose hands the manuscript first came.

The manuscript is a Hindi commentary on a hundred Sanskrit stanzas, which purport to constitute the famous Shrġgāra-Shataka of the poet Bhartṛhari. Only 98 of the stanzas given can, however, be traced in the two printed texts of Bhartṛhari's poems, which I have had available for reference, and the numbering of the stanzas differs throughout. The very first stanza given in the manuscript is printed both in the Bombay text (1911, Vaibhava Press) and in Gopi Nath's edition (with translation, 1914) as being the first stanza of the Vairāgya Shataka of Bhartṛhari. The stanzas numbered 5, 63, 73, 76, 81 and 95 are to be found only in Gopi Nath's edition, and Nos. 13 and 100 in the Bombay text only, while Nos. 62 and 85 are not traceable anywhere.

It is clear that in the case of poems like the three Shatakas of Bhartṛhari, which consist of isolated stanzas constituting a separate little poem complete in itself, resembling in this respect the quatrains of 'Umar Khayyam, and differing constantly even in metre, the order of the stanzas is not a matter of any significance or consequence. The numbers of the lines quoted from the three Centuries in Apte's Sanskrit dictionary show that he referred to a text with an order differing slightly from the order given in the Bombay text, which I have used for purposes of comparison. The metres actually used in the stanzas written in the manuscript include the following familiar metres, which are of constant occurrence in the three Shatakas, *viz.*, Shikharinī, Anuṣṭubh, Vasantatilakā, Shārdūlavikrīṭa, Sragdharā, Rathoddhatā, Mālinī, Hariṇī and Āryā, and they also include one example each of two uncommon metres, the Shālinī (stanza No. 25, corresponding with No. 3 in the Bombay text) and the Dodhaka (stanza No. 54 = No. 9 in the Bombay text). The latter metre, which does not occur in that thesaurus of uncommon metres, the fifth canto of Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya, has, like the Drutavilambita metre, a strongly dactylic beat,

SHṚṄĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTRHARI 61

consisting of three dactyls followed by a spondee, repeated four times.

It is curious to observe that some one through whose hands the manuscript has passed was evidently puzzled by the fact that he could not trace the opening verse of the Sanskrit in the poem, from which it purported to be taken. He accordingly wrote over the word **सिंगार**, which is written in red ink, the word **नीति** in black ink, presumably because he found the first line in some edition or manuscript of Bhartrhari's third century poem, the Nīti Shataka.

A mistake has been made by the scribe in numbering the stanzas from No. 80 onwards. He wrote the number 79 twice, with the result that when he had completed No. 98 and its commentary, he was compelled to follow it by No. 100. This, together with many other indications, tends to suggest that the scribe was not himself the author of the Hindi *ṭikā*, but only a very careless and unintelligent amanuensis. He prefaced his transcription with the words **सिंगार सतु लिख्यते** instead of **शृंगारशतकं लिख्यते** and ended it with such solecisms as **सुभमस्तु** and **सुभं भवत्**. It is not likely that a commentary on a difficult Sanskrit poetical work could have been produced by a man of these limited attainments, and there are many mistakes, both of omission and commission, in the text throughout which make this conclusion absolutely certain. We find, for instance, **षलु** for **खलु** and **ह** repeatedly for **क्व** in the Sanskrit, and there are many omissions and confusions in the Hindi commentary, which show that the writer was not following the sense of what he was writing. In stanza No. 59 both in the Sanskrit text and in the *ṭikā* he writes the meaningless **मयूरवान्** (which also spoils the metre) for **मयूखान्** (rays), with a dot under the **व** to show that **व** and not **ब** must be read. Again in stanza No. 95 both in the text and commentary he writes **सुखा** as the conjunctive participle of **खप्** instead of **सुप्ता**, the word written being an absolute barbarism. The printed texts, it may be noted, both read **नीला**. Similarly in the commentary

on stanza No. 46 the barbarous third person perfect plural form **सेन्हिरे** is to be found.

Besides the hundred stanzas purporting to constitute the Shṛṅgāra-Shataka, there are four other Sanskrit verses quoted incidentally, and each of these is explained in Hindi. After the 46th stanza of the manuscript (the 34th of the Bombay text), which ends with the didactic maxim **विषदि हंत सुधापि विषायते** (in misfortune, alas, even ambrosia tastes like poison), a stanza is quoted from the Kirātārjuniya (Canto IX, line 30) of Bhāravi, briefly called **किरात** in the commentary, illustrating the same sentiment. This stanza, which is in the Svagatā metre, ends with the words **दुःखिते मनसि सर्वमसह्यम्** (to a mind in distress everything is unbearable). Similarly, after the 47th stanza (No. 61 in the printed text), in which the impotence of human powers before the god of love is emphasised, a stanza from the Prabodhachandrodaya, the drama of Kṛṣṇa Mishra, embodying the same idea, is cited and expounded. Again after stanza No. 81, which as already noted does not occur in the Bombay text, in order to illustrate the meaning of the word **परिमल** in the Sanskrit, the commentator quotes a stanza in the Mālīnī metre from what he terms the **सावकाव्य**, which is really the Shishupālavadha of the poet Māgha. In the commentary on the same stanza a line (No. 296) is also quoted from the lexicographical work known by the name of Amara Koṣha to explain the meaning of the same word **परिमल**.

Lastly, after stanza 82 (No. 35 in the Bombay text), in order to explain the meaning of the word **क्विकिंचित** a stanza is cited from a work styled the Shṛṅgāra Dīpikā. I have not been able to trace any poem bearing this name, though a work known as the Shṛṅgāra Tilaka is cited in Apte's dictionary and mentioned in the bibliography given at the end of Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature.

These are the only extra stanzas found on the existing leaves, but the opening words on the 50th leaf show clearly that on the missing 49th leaf a well-known

SHRĠGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTṠHARI 63

shloka had been quoted, which gives the names of the eight different kinds of sāttvika bhāvas, and which runs as follows :—

स्तंभः खेदोऽथ रोमांचः स्वरभंगोऽथ वेपथुः ।

वैवर्ण्यमश्नु प्रलय इत्यष्टौ सात्त्विकाः स्मृताः ॥

In the manuscript the Sanskrit verses are written with red ink, and the Hindi *ṭīkā* with black ink. The writing is very large, bold and clear, and consequently nearly all the leaves can be read with great ease. The exceptions are the leaves numbered 23, 24, 50 and 51. The first two of these have both had fairly large pieces torn out of the middle of them, and are also badly blurred in places. The last two leaves are torn and ragged along the end of every line, and the first of them is considerably blurred in several places. By referring to the Sanskrit, which is commented on, and to the context, and by familiarity with the general style of the writer, it has been possible to restore the text of the last two pages, but the first two damaged pages have not yielded results which have been so satisfactory, though a conjectural attempt has been made to restore them completely.

Both the Sanskrit and the Hindi, but particularly the latter, abound with errors of all kinds, *e.g.*, haplography, dittography, omissions of letters and even words, wrong spelling and inconsistent spelling, but most of these errors are so obvious that very little difficulty has been experienced in dealing with them. Many of them, if uncorrected, would destroy the sense completely, *e.g.*, नाहीं “not” is twice wrongly written for नाइ meaning “like.”

The chief interest in the manuscript naturally lies in the language of the Hindi commentary. The spelling of this is peculiar and utterly inconsistent. The postposition विषे, which appears nearly always (मांफ and मध्य being other substitutes) where में would be used in modern Hindi, is to be found written विषे, विषे, विषै and विषि.

There is great confusion and inconsistency in the use of the nasals and sibilants. The sibilant letter ष is invariably

used, where ख would be employed in modern Hindi. There is also great confusion between य and ज. Even in quoting Sanskrit words ज is sometimes used, where य occurs in the original Sanskrit.

The spelling in the case of the vowels is very anomalous. ई is always written for initial long "i", औ for ऐ and ओ sometimes, for ए, while in all words beginning with "o" the consonant व is written before the vowel. Thus we find वोष्ठ "lips", वोभिल (modern Hindi ओभल) "out of sight," वोषध "medicine" and वोट "covering."

The formation of the vowels "u" short and "u" long when initial is also peculiar, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between them. There is also no consistency in their use, the word उत्क्रंठा "longing" being for instance found in the same line with a short and a long initial vowel.

The use of anusvāra is extensive, but very irregular and illogical. We find, for example, on the same page both इतनीं बातें and इतनी बातें, which also illustrates the loose use of the diphthongs "e" and "ai", which pervades the manuscript. On that same page, बांनीं occurs as the equivalent of the Sanskrit वाचः.

The vocabulary employed is extensive and includes many obsolete and dialect words, for which dictionaries may be searched in vain. The words used are almost, without exception purely Hindi or Sanskrit in origin. The only unmistakeable exceptions are the Persian با (بیک), which occurs duplicated thus, बारीक बारीक, as the rendering of the Sanskrit प्रतनु, and जिह (جیه) a bowstring. There are, however, a few other words, which may be of foreign origin. A peculiar word गयार occurs several times in the sense of unpleasant or disagreeable. It seems to me probable, having regard to an idiom containing a very similar word current in modern Avadhi Hindi, that this word is a corruption of the Arabic غیر. There seems little room for doubt that नीक and नीकै which are of constant occurrence, are derived from the Persian نیک. Lastly, the curious word सिलसिले, which also occurs in the Satsaī of Bihārī Lāl (Doha 252, vide

my article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for January 1915) is found in this commentary, and it seems difficult to account for it except as a corruption of the Arabic *سلسلة*, meaning a chain.

Among the Hindi words, which occur in the commentary, the following seem to me the most noteworthy :—

टिपारी a box (an inverted from पिटारी, the Skt. पिटक and the diminutive affix रा. This inversion is common in rustic Hindi, e.g., Nakhlau for Lakhnau), ऐंचि pulling (a dialectic variant for खेंचना to pull, Skt. आ + कृष), जौन्ह and जुनहाई moonlight (Skt. ज्योत्स्ना), कुची key (the modern कुंजी, Skt. कुञ्चिका), दैदीय and दैदीयमान shining (from the Skt. intensive दैदीयमान), उरन out of debt (modern Hindi उरिन, Skt. उद् plus ऋण), आउ life (Skt. आयु), उताइल haste (modern Hindi उतावल, Skt. त्वर), उकार belching (Skt. उद्गार), माथे forehead (Skt. मस्तक), भौहें and भौचनि eye brows (Skt. भ्रू), छांह shade (Skt. छाया), खप्पर skull (modern Hindi खोपड़ी, Skt. खर्पर), ढीमर fisherman (Skt. धीवर), अंतराउ obstacle (Skt. अंतर), काइर cowardly (Skt. कातर), समी time (Skt. समय), मिस stratagem (Skt. मिथं), इछा and ईछा wish (Skt. इच्छा), विनती prayer (Skt. विनति, prostration), परीत ghost (Skt. प्रेत), बेरा time (Skt. वेला), घरीक one ghari (made by adding the numeral एक to घरी, the modern Hindi घड़ी, Skt. घटिका), पलास and पालास the dhak tree (Skt. पलाश), उसास a sigh (Skt. उद् plus स्वास्), उद and उदौ rising (Skt. उदय), आघ्रानु smelling (Skt. आघ्राण), तनक a little (Skt. तनुक), शरैया and सरैया a vessel (Skt. शराव), चेरे servants (Skt. चेटक), ठौर place (Skt. स्थावर fixed), उनए and जनए raised (Skt. उन्नत), कंचु and कंचुकी a bodice (Skt. कञ्चुक), पीडुरी calf of the leg (Skt. पिण्डक plus ली diminutive), भांति way (Skt. भिन्नता, from भिद् to break), भांडार store (Skt. भाण्ड + आगार), नाउ and नाउं name (Skt. नाम), अकटरै guessing (modern Hindi अटकल, Skt. अर्थ plus कलन), वोभिल and ओभिल out of sight (Skt. अगोचर), भौर whirlpool (modern Hindi भंवर, Skt. भ्रम्), उज्यारी bright (Skt. उद् plus ज्वलन),

युगत suitable (Skt. युक्त), बीजन a fan (Skt. व्यजनं), बिजुरी lightning (modern Hindi बिजली, Skt. विद्युत्), सुवा parrot (Skt. शुक्र), बटपरा footpad (बाट a road, Skt. वाट, plus परा falling, modern Hindi पड़ना to fall).

There are many Sanskrit words which occur practically unaltered or with only the addition of the final short u, *e.g.*, मर्दनु rubbing, गर्वु pride, उपवीतु putting on the sacred thread, चमत्कार shining, बासना clothing, श्लेष paronomasia, रुच harsh, तात्पर्य meaning, आग्या (आज्ञा) order, जंत्र (यंत्र) contrivance, गुह्यं private part.

There are also several words, the meaning of which is clear from the context, but the derivation of which is doubtful or quite obscure. The following is a list of most of these words below, with a tentative derivation of some of them :

मसौलि fat, गदहूल lotus flower, अर्हित, with or in the presence of, टुंइयां a small parrot (perhaps connected with the modern Hindi टुंज tiny), चोदर fragments (perhaps derived from छुद्र small), गोटमटारौ round and raised, जौगरौ folds of skin on the abdomen, आषूट a stone, छतना roots or sprouts, एडाई twisting or breaking, न्यान meaning apparently no other (Skt. न plus, अन्यत्), भंडिमा a foolish or improper speech, पोहे strung (referring to jewels), कोद direction, लकवाई a storm of rain (perhaps connected with लुक्ना to hide the idea being apparently that of a storm so violent as to drive people indoors), कुरा a flower (perhaps the oleander, modern Hindi करवीर).

The general style of the Hindi may best be judged by taking the only passage of independent prose, which occurs in the commentary. After commenting on the 51st stanza (60th in the Bombay text), the purport of which is that not even Brahma is powerful enough to prevent a woman from getting what she wants, the commentator remarks that this is illustrated by a story in the Bhāgavat, which he proceeds to relate. I append a transliteration of this story, the tenour of which is much too outspoken to please modern taste. It runs thus, the curved line over

long vowel or diphthong being chosen for the purposes of this extract to denote its nasalisation by anusvāra: Ek samay Kasyapu sandhyā samay vishē sandhyā kai Ishvar kau sumiranu karat baiṭhe hute. Tab itnē bīch Kasyap kī strī Ditithi kāmū ju atī byāpyau tab Kasyap ke āgē ṭhārḥī bhai ṭhārḥē hvaikari kahan lagī ki, “Aho prāneshvar Kasyap, tumhāre layē yah kāmū mohi atī āni byāpyau hai, su mere kām kī sānti karahū aru dekhahu Aditihi ādi dai, jīṭik merī sapatnī hai su tīni sapatnīni ke putrani kau sukhu dekhet mere param santāpu hotu hai, merē putru nāhī su mokahū kṛpā kari ratidānu dehu, mopar anugrahu karahu. Tab yah suni Kasyap yah bīchārī ki, Bhāi, ab ki yah sandhyā samo hai, ratidānu dībe kahū uchitu nāhī, su jau laū yah sandhyā bīchu jāi tau laū haū yāhi bātani lagaū.”

Yah misu kari Kasyapu Ditihi bātani lagāut hai, “Aho Diti bahutu nīkī tum bhalī bāt kahī hai. Ju kachhū tumhārai ichhā hai su haū karaū. Tā strī kau manorathu ko na karaī jā strī kī sangati arthu dharmu kāmū mochh hotu hai. Aru strī kī sangati grahasthu aur tīni hu āshraman kī pālan karatu hai. Aru apunu sansār samudr ke pār hotu hai. Su strī aisī baṛī hai Aru strī purush kau ardhāngu hai. Aru strī aisī hai jākai bal gr̥hasthu baṛe ripu indriyani jīṭatu hai, aur tīni hū āshramani indriyani dagāvatī hai. Su tīni indriyani ham tumhārai bal anāyās hī jīṭat hai, jaisē gaṛhpatī gaṛh ke bal shatruni jīṭat hai. Tāte sunuhu Diti, jau laū hamārī sampūrṇ āu bīṭihai tau laū ham tumahi uran na hvai sakihaī. Tātē abahi hamārī ek binatī manahū. Abahi yah mahāghor berā hai. Su ihi berā bhūt parit phirat hai, aru Mahādeu phuni abahi phirat hai. Su Mahādev jau dekhihai tau ham par dukhu pāihai, su tum ghariku dekhahu.” Itnī bāt jab hī Kasyap kahī Diti ke man ekau na āi. Kāmū ju atī hī byāpyau su daurikai Diti Kasyapu jāi gahe aru atī ātur hvai ratidānu māngan lagī, tab Kasyap man madhy dukhu pāikai Isvar saū aparādhu kshamāikāi Diti kahū ratidānu det bhae. Su tātē ihi prakār strī ju kachhu karyō chāhaī tākau antarāu na karahī.

This passage is sufficiently long to illustrate the vocabulary and the type and structure of the language employed. The inconsistencies and idiosyncrasies of the spelling have been left untouched in reproducing it. In editing the text obvious errors have been eliminated as far as possible, but the peculiar grammatical forms and terminations have everywhere been left intact, and variant spellings have not been altered.

I may note that the Sanskrit of those stanzas in the manuscript, which have been traced in the published texts of Bhartr̥hari, differs very much from the printed text. There are very few stanzas in which some slight verbal variation does not occur, and in many the difference is considerable, as will be seen from the notes which I have appended to the text. In one case a stanza (No. 14) of the manuscript is made up of two half-stanzas (parts of Nos. 51 and 52) of the Bombay text, both of which are in the Shikharinī metre. There is a quaint touch in the commentary dealing with the 20th stanza of the manuscript (No. 19 of the Bombay text). The commentator, after supplying two equally indelicate alternative explanations of the Sanskrit verse, apologizes for the nature of the reference and throws the blame on the poet, remarking “*Ṭikā kau karttā tau jaisau kabi kabitva kīnhaũ taisau bakhānyaũ.*”

GRAMMATICAL NOTES.

An analysis of the grammatical forms used in the Hindi of the commentary tends to show that the language employed is of the western Braj Bhākhā type.

The noun unless already ending in a vowel usually adds a short u in the nominative singular, and the accusative case is formed by adding हि. The plural is formed by the addition of नि, as तारेनि stars, आषरनि letters (Skt. अक्षर), मत्स्यनि and मीननि fishes, उपादनि contrivances, वस्तुनि things, चरेनि

slaves, दूतनेनि and दूतनीनि so many, ऐसेनि such, तरंगनि waves, चीन्हेनि marks, मायानि illusions, जौगरीनि abdominal lines, कंदरानि roots, पेडनि trees. The only instances of other plural forms noticed are पाखें eyelashes and भौहें eyebrows. The post-positions are विषे (Skt. विषय), मध्य, मांक, माक, मह and महं for the locative, ते, तें, तैं and सौ for the ablative, कहु, कहं कै, कें, के, की and कौ for the genitive, पर and पहं for the dative, करि for the instrumental, and तन in the sense of towards.

Adjectives are not numerous, and the following are the chief instances occurring :

बड़े large (Skt. वृद्ध), उजरी white (Skt. उद + ज्वल), सुधौ straight (modern Hindi सीधा, Skt. सिद्ध), पराये and पराओ belonging to another (Skt. पर), अकेलौ alone (Skt. एक plus ल), ढीले slack (Skt. शिथिल), निहचें certain (Skt. निश्चय), निकामी devoid of desire (Skt. निष्कामी), ऊंची high (Skt. उच्च), प्राय resembling, बारीक thin (Persian باریک), भौने thin (Skt. क्षीण), आधरे blind (Skt. अन्ध).

The pronominal forms are much more numerous. For the personal pronouns we find in the first person हों I, मोकहुं of me, मोपहं for me or on me मोहि me, हम we, हमहि us, and in the second person तू thou, तेरें thine, तोहि thee. Varying forms of the demonstratives are very common, e.g., in the singular आ, या, यह, ता, इहि उहि, तिहि and in the plural वे, वै, ए, ऐ, ति, ते, एउ, वी इनि, तिन, तिनि, उनि and जनि. For the relative pronoun we find in the singular जु and जा and in the plural जि and जिनि. The interrogative appears in the forms की, कहा, काहे inflected and काहि (accusative).

The cardinal numbers occurring are एक and एकु one, दोउ and द्वै two, सात seven and आठ eight. The forms तीन्ग्री all three, चौहुं all four, also occur, in addition to दुहुं both.

while the full series of ordinal adverbs is found up to seventhly, *viz.*, प्रथम, दूसरै, तीसरै, चौथै, पांचयें, छठें, सातयें in addition to the ordinals दूसरी and तीसरी.

Conjunctions and particles are numerous. The most common are अरु and, फुनि then (Skt. पुनः) and जौ if, while. The following also occur, *viz.*, पै then (Skt. पर), तहां then, इहां and ईहां here, औ and, उ, वै, हू and ई emphatic particles, कै whether, ककू (modern कुछ, Skt. किञ्चित्), कित when, तउ still, तर below, इत उत hither and thither, पाछे (usually nasalised पाछै behind), the modern Hindi पीछे, (Skt. पश्च), अथ and आगे forward and आस पास near, this being the only instance found of the meaningless appositive, which is so common in modern Hindi speech. The phrase बीच ही बिच "in the very middle," shows a curious shortening of the vowel of the repeated word.

Verbal forms are naturally very abundant, but they occur almost entirely in the third person, mostly the third person singular, and they do not supply material for a complete paradigm. The copulative verb "to be" occurs in the forms हौ I am, आहि and है he is, आहिं and हैं they are and हुते they were. By far the most common form of the verb is the present tense formed by adding हौ, है or हैं to the present participle, which ends in तु for the masculine singular, ति for the feminine singular, त् for the masculine and ती for the feminine plural. In the case of causal verbs the endings of the participle ought by analogy to be आवतु, आवति, आवत and आवती, but for the feminine plural the form with a short final i is always found. उ is often found substituted for वि. I have noted the following forms. The manuscript is careless and inconsistent in its spelling, and the final short u of the third person singular is often not written.

विराजतु and विराजति shining, प्रगासत (Skt. प्रकाश) revealing, रणत rattling, रहतु remaining, बर्तत turning, जानतु knowing, स्फुरत shining, लगतु and लागतु touching, बुभावति explaining, चलति moving, भ्रमतु wandering, जारतु burning, हालत being powerful, सोहत shining, ह्येतु and ह्येति being, जातु and जाति becoming, वरतु burning, कहतु saying, करत and करतो doing, पावत and पाउत obtaining, गंवावतु and गंवाउतु causing to lose, अवलोकित seeing, नाचत dancing, चितवति seeing, आरोपतु causing to grow, परत falling, बकत talking, बढावत, बढाउत, बढावति and बढाउति causing to increase, सेवत serving, फिरत moving, पुकारतु calling out, धरतु placing, चलत moving, हरतु taking, डरपत fearing, काढतु extracting, बढतु increasing, उपजावति causing to grow, उपजतु and उपजातु growing, काटति cutting, देति giving, बोलतु calling, अर्पति giving, वेधति piercing, होमति sacrificing, मारत striking, प्रज्वलतु blazing, विचारतु thinking, बसति living, मथत churning, वर्णत describing, कंपाउत causing to tremble, पारत crossing, खसावत dragging, सकतु being able, आउतु and आउति coming, बीतति passing, पहिरत wearing, चुंबत kissing, करवाउत causing to do, गर्जतु thundering, सिखवत् teaching, ग्रहति seizing, छांडतु abandoning, बांछत desiring, लसतु shining, पियत and पीवत drinking, बिकसतु bursting open, बहत blowing, देतु giving, बचावति causing to escape, रांधतु cooking, जीततु conquering, दुकावत concealing, उगावती causing to wander, उपदेशत teaching, स्रवत pouring, कहावतु being called, जीवतु living, चुभत piercing, निंदतु blaming, सकुचति shrinking, राखति keeping. The only forms of the present participle which I have traced, which do not conform to this rule, are रोकते stopping and त्यागती abandoning.

The past tenses are formed from the perfect participle with or without the addition of the verb "to be." This participle is formed generally by adding यौ to the root of

the verb. The masculine plural ends in ए and the feminine, both singular and plural, in ई.

The following forms occur, *viz.*, कयौँ, करे, करी, कीनी, कन्हौ and कीन्हौ made, डायौँ put down, रछौ remained, भयो, भए and भये become, मिल्यौ mixed, आयौ and आई come, दयौ and दई given, लग्यौ attached, लगायौ caused to attach. गयौ, गयि and गए gone, ग्रस्यौ seized, बखान्यौ (nasalised) related, भीजे wetted, बैठे seated, नीकासे taken out, खायौ eaten, कछौ and कही said (the modern masculine form कहा also occurs), काटे cut, लीने, and लये taken, अलसानी made lazy, भाये pleased, धरे placed, मुंदे closed, सौँचे watered, पसारी stretched, मेलि caused to mix, भरे and भरी filled, छाई covered, धोई washed, घस्यौ rubbed, कूटे and कूख्यौ released, चढ्यौ mounted, चीन्हौ recognised, उयौ risen, गहे seized, व्याप्यौ enveloped, लिखी written, दुकायौ hidden, ग्रस्यौ seized, चाँड्यौ let go, डहंय्यौ deceived, बांधे fastened, हयौँ seized, सहे endured, बहकायौ deceived. The Eastern Hindi form of the perfect only occurs once, the solitary instance being दएस gave (the modern Eastern Hindi दिहिस).

Futures are very few indeed, and they are all of the Western Hindi type. The future in व derived from the Sanskrit ending अव्यं, which is characteristic of Eastern Hindi dialects, does not occur at all. The syllable "ih" which, according to Grierson (Vol. VI., page 6 of the Linguistic Survey of India) is characteristic of the future in the Shauraseni group of dialects, is found in all the futures which I have been able to collect from the manuscript, *viz.*, करिहै will do, हहै will be, जैहै will go, जोहै will live. देखिहै will see, पाइहै will obtain, बोतिहै will pass, and सकिहै (plural) will be able.

Imperatives are not very common. The usual ending of the singular is उ and हु (and nasalised हुँ) for the plural.

I have noted the following: मानहु admit, मनु think, कहहु say, देखु and देखहु see, सुनु and सुनहु hear, भागु run away, सोवहु sleep (third person plural), देहु give, कर and करहु do. There are also a few forms ending in बी and बी, which come from the same origin as the Eastern Hindi future in व and which like it do not change for person or number (*vide* page 30 of Greaves' Grammar of the Ramayan). The following occur, *viz.*, जानिबी know, जानिबी know, रहिबी remain, दीबी give, देषिबी see, and आलिङ्गिबी embrace. Lastly, there are instances of the respectful imperative, such as कीजे please do, ह्येजे and ह्येजे please become, बुझिये please understand. One imperative form found, *viz.*, जाहि go thou (second person singular) seems to be quite anomalous.

The aorist is of fairly frequent occurrence and I have collected the following instances, *viz.*, होइ, होहिं, होहि and होही (with further variations by the use of nasalisation) may be, डारै and डारै may put down, जाइ and जै may go, रहै may remain, रोकहिं may stop, जानै may know, पीवै may drink, करौं I may do, जाउं I may go, पूकै may ask, पारै may pass, प्रजरै may burn, करै, करहि and करहीं may do, कहावै may be called, चाहै may desire, लगाजं I may attach, रुकै may stop, सकै may be able, खावै may cause to eat, देखै may see, सेइहिं may worship.

Infinitives are very common, the ordinary uninflected form ending in बी. Instances are करिबी and also कीबी to do, रहिबी to remain, पैरिबी to swim, चितैबी to look, लज्येबी to be ashamed, चमकिकी to shine, धरिबी to place, मुसक्यैबी to smile, निकसिबी to come out, स्पर्शिबी to touch, चुमिबी to kiss, रोइबी to cry, तरिबी to cross, पारबी (the only instance of the short i being omitted) to cross, तोरिबी to break,

74 *SHRĠGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTṚHARI*

आइबौ to come, सूचिबौ to indicate, होमिबौ to sacrifice, विहसिबौ to smile. The following occur only in the inflected form, generally followed by कहुं (of), *viz.*, त्यागिबे to abandon, सुनाइबे to cause to hear, मारिबे to beat, बिदारिबे to tear, थूकिबे to spit, लीबे to take, कराइबे to cause to do, साधिबे to accomplish, व्यापिबे to penetrate. The form भोगईबे to enjoy is peculiar in having a long i before the termination. The only instances of the infinitive in न (the modern High Hindi ना) are लगन to attach, कहन to say, करन to do and कांपन to tremble, *e.g.*, कांपन लगति है she begins to tremble.

Conjunctive participles are very common and consist either of the root of the verb without any addition or of the root with कै or करि added. The following occur from roots, which have not already been given in dealing with the tenses of the verbs, *viz.*, उघारि having opened, बौराइकै having become mad, बढिकै having agreed, दौरिकै having run, ऐंचिकै having drawn, क्षमाइकै having caused to forgive, आक्रमि having begun, उसासिकै having sighed, गुह्नि having plaited, उसरि having come out, ज्याई having caused to live, छूइकै having touched.

The agent ends in हार (masculine) and हारि (feminine) added to the infinitive form ending in न. The following instances occur, *viz.*, करनहार and करनहारि (also written करणहारि) maker, जीतनहार winner, हंसनहार laughter, उपजावनहार grower, स्पर्सनहार toucher, पाउनहार obtainer, जाननहार knower, उद्दीपनहार brightener, चलाउनहार mover. A feminine plural form occurs once, *viz.*, करनहार्यै.

This completes the forms of the active verb. The passive verb occurs fairly often. The characteristic of the passive is the shortening of the long vowel of जातु, जाति and जात. We thus find देखिजति है and अवलोकिजति है both meaning

“she is seen,” देखित हैं “they are seen.” Other passive forms found are कर्यौ जाइ “may be done,” जैजतु है “is lived,” अनभैयतु है “is experienced,” तयौ जाइ “may be crossed,” त्याग जात आहि “is abandoned,” चाहिजै “may be wished,” कहिजै “may be said,” कौजै “may be done” (feminine), निंदिजहिं “may be blamed,” सेइजहिं “may be worshipped,” खवाइजहिं “may be caused to eat.”

Compound verbs are of fairly frequent occurrence. The inceptive occurs in the form कहन लगी “she began to say.” Desiderative forms are more common, instances being करन चाहति है “she desires to do,” बूझौ चाहत “they desire to sink.” The potential occurs in the forms है सकिहैं “will be possible,” करि सकैं “may be able to do.” Intensives are very common indeed. The following occur, *viz.*, जारि डार्यौ “burnt down,” बढि रह्यौ “constantly increased,” करि डारति है “completes,” काटि डारति है “cuts down,” गिरि परत “falls down,” लये आवतु है “brings along,” रहिबौ करत है “continues to stay,” लिखि राख्यौ है “has written down,” कहै देतु है “proclaims,” आइ रह्यौ “settles down,” निकासि दएस “turned out,” उसरि भागु “run away,” उठाइ राख्यौ “lifted up.”

A very peculiar idiom is occasionally produced by using the word संते (sometimes nasalised as संतें), derived from the present participle of the Sanskrit verb अस to be, along with a participle of a verb, in the sense of an absolute construction. We thus find आलिगत संते “on being embraced,” बीते संते “on elapsing,” भये संते “after having become,” बरसत संते “when it is raining,” होत संते “on this coming about.”

As to the syntax of the Hindi, this calls for no comment, beyond the observation that the syntactical construction of the sentences is as loose and capricious and illogical as the spelling of the words and the inflections. We find, for

instance, a feminine subject followed by गच्छे and लगी in the same sentence, while verbs are frequently attracted into concord with the nearest noun, irrespective of the sense. The sentences are often clumsy and awkward and full of unnecessary repetitions.

This concludes my introductory notes, but further notes dealing with the text are appended to the actual Sanskrit-Hindi text.

SANSKRIT-HINDI TEXT.

सिद्धि श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

सिंगार सतुकं लिप्यते ॥

श्लो० । चूडोत्तंसितचारुचन्द्रकलिका चंचच्छिखा भासुरो लीलादग्ध-
विलोलकामशलभः त्रयोदशाग्रेस्फुरन् ॥ अन्तः स्फूर्जदपारमोहतिमिर-
प्राग्भारमुच्छेदयन् स्वान्ते सद्धानि योगिनां विजयते बोधप्रदीपो हरः ॥ १ ॥

अर्थ । हरः श्रीमहादेव । योगिनां । योगीश्वरनि के । स्वान्ते
सद्धानि । हृदय रूप गृह मध्य । राजते । विराजत है । कैसे है महादेव ।
बोध प्रदीपः । बोध जु है सबही वस्तु को ग्यानु ताके उपजाइवे कहुं
दीप प्राय हैं । याकी यह अर्थ ॥ जैसे गृह मध्य दीप रहतु है फुनि
सबही वस्तुको प्रकास करतु है तैसेही महादेव योगीश्वरनिके हृदयविषे
रहत हैं अरु सबही वस्तुहि प्रकासतु हैं ॥ अब या श्लोक विषे सोई विशेषण
महादेवकी अरु सोई विशेषण दीपकी है सु अटकै रहिवौ अब तेई विशेषण
कहिजत हैं ॥ कैसे हैं महादेव चुडा जु है भस्तकु ता विषे अवतंसित कहैतें
अलंकार रूप कीनी जु चारु मनीहर हरचन्द्रमा की कला ताचन्द्रकला
की चंचत् कहैतें अति सोहति जु है शिखा कहा अग्रभाग तिहि करि ।
भासुरः । अति विराजत हैं महादेव । दीप फुनि कैसी है । चुडा जु है
दीपके जपरकी भाग ताकहं अवतंसित कहा अलंकार समान जु अति
चारु कलिका कहा दीपकी जोति ता जोतिकी चंचत् कहा अति सोहति
जु है शिखा कहा अग्रभाग तिहिंकरि । भासुरः । अति सोहतु है दीप ।
बहुरि महादेव कैसे हैं । लीला कहैतें अनायासही दग्ध कहा जाति

डाखी है अति विलोलु कामदेवै सलभु कहा कौरा जिहि ऐसे महादेउ हैं ।
 दीपु फुनि कैसौ है लीला कहेंते अनायासही अति लोल सलभनि
 जारतु है । सलभ कहावत है पतौंगा बहुरि कैसै हैं महादेउ । अयोदशाग्रे
 स्फुरत । अयोदशा जु है पुन्यदशा ताके आगे स्फुरत है । जाकी
 पुन्य दसा होति है ताके हृदय विषे महादेउ स्फुरत हैं । दीपु पुनि कैसौ
 होतु है । दशाग्रे स्फुरत । दशा जु है बाती ताके अग्र स्फुरतु है । दशा
 शब्द बाती विषे वर्ततु है अरु अवस्था विषे वर्ततु है । बहुरि महादेउ
 कैसै हैं । अन्तः कहा उपासकनिके हृदय विषे स्फुर्जत कहा बड़ि रछौ
 जु अपार मोहु अग्यानु सोई जु तिमिरु अन्धकार ताहि । उच्छेदयन्
 दूरि करत हैं । दीपु फुनि गृह मध्यके तिमिरहि दूरि करतु है ।

श्लो० । शुभ्रं सद्ग सुविभ्रमा युवतयः श्वेतातपत्रोज्ज्वला लक्ष्मीरित्यनु-
 भूयते स्थिरमिव स्फीते शुभे कर्मणि । छिन्नेस्मिन्नितरामनंगकलहक्रीडा-
 चुटत्तंतुं मुक्ताजालमिव प्रयाति भटिति अश्रद्धिवौ दिव्यतां ॥ २ ॥

अर्थ । शुभ्रं सद्ग । अति सुन्दर गृह । अरु । सुविभ्रमा युवतयः ।
 अनेक विलासिनिकी करनिहारि सुन्दरि युवती । अरु श्वेत श्वेत
 जु आतपत्र कहेंते छत्र तिनिकरि अति उज्ज्वल घर भाग लक्ष्मी इतने
 ए सब । शुभे कर्मणि स्फीते सति । पुन्य जौलौ रहतु है तौलौ । स्थिर-
 मिव अनुभूयते । स्थिर से लगत हैं अरु इनकी सुषु अनभैयतु है । अस्मिन्
 छिन्ने सति । वहे पुन्य जब क्षीण कै जातु है तब भटिति । बेगिही
 वा लक्ष्मीकौ उध्वंसु प्रध्वंसौ । दिव्यतां प्रयाति । अति नीके लगत हैं ।
 कछू गयार नाहीं लगत । जैसे मुक्तानिकी हार जौलौ स्त्रीके कंठ रहतु है
 तौलौ नीकी लागतु वै है । अरु अनंग कलह केलि विषे जब हार की
 डोरा टूटि जातु है तब मुक्ता फैलि रहत हैं तबहुं अति सोहत हैं ॥

श्लो० । तावदेव विदुषां हृदि स्फुरत्येष निर्मलविवेकदीपकः । यावदेव
 न कुरंगचक्षुषां ताड्यते चपललीचनांचलैः ॥ ३ ॥

अर्थ । विदुषां । विवेकीनि के । हृदि । हृदय विषे । एष निर्मल
 विवेकदीपकः । भाई यह बात कर्तव्य है यह नाही कर्तव्य । या
 प्रकार की जु अति निर्मल विवेक दीपु । तावदेव । तौहीलौ । स्फुरति ।
 बरतु रहतु है । यावदेव । जौहीलौ । कुरंगचक्षुषां । मृगाक्षीनि के ।
 चपललीचनांचलैः । अति चंचल दृगंचलनि करि । न ताड्यते । वह
 विवेक दीपु नाहीं बुझाइजतु । याकी यह अर्थ । जैसे घर भाग

दिया तौहीलौं बरतु है जौलौं गृहनी अपनं अंचल करि नाही बुभावति ।
 अैसेहीं बिबेकीनि की बिबेक दीपु तौहीलौं बरतु है जौलौं मृगाक्षीनिके
 कटाक्ष बान नाहीं लगत ॥

श्लो० । धन्यास्त एव चपलायतलोचनानां तारुण्यदर्पघनपीनपयो-
 धराणां । क्षामीदरोपरिलसत्त्वलीलतानां दृष्टाकृतिं विकृतिमेति मनो न
 येषां ॥ ४ ॥

अर्थ । येषां मनः । जिनिकी मनु । एतादृष तरुणीनि की ।
 आकृतिं दृष्टा । रूप देषि करि । विकृतिं न एति । विकारहि नाहीं
 प्राप्त होतु । त एव धन्याः । तेई पुरुष धन्य हैं । कैसी तरुणी की
 आकृति । चपल अरु आयत कहेंतें अवण पर्यंत लौं दीर्घ हैं लोचन
 जिनके । बहुरि कैसी तरुणी हैं । तारुण्य जु है जीबनु ताकौं जु दर्प
 कहेंतें गर्बु तिहितें घन कहा अति कठोर अरु पीन कहेंतें मसीले हैं
 पयोधर जिनके । बहुरि कैसी हैं तरुणी । क्षाम कहेंतें अतिही कृश हैं
 उदर ता ऊपर लसत कहेंतें विराजति है त्वली लता जिनकी । त्वली
 कहावति है जु स्त्रीनिके उदर मध्य जीगरीनि की तीनि रेषा होति हैं ।
 सोई जु मानहु लता । सु कहावै त्वली लता । सु तातें एतादृश
 तरुणीनि की रूप देषत जिनकी मनु स्थिर रहतु है तेई धन्य है ॥

श्लो० । सदायोगाभ्यासव्यसनवशयोरात्ममनसोरविच्छिन्ना मैत्री
 स्फुरति कृतिनस्तस्य किमिति । प्रियाणामालापैरधरमधुभिर्वक्तमधुभिः
 सनिश्वासामोदैः सकुचकलशाश्लेषसुरतैः ॥ ५ ॥

अर्थ । यस्य कृतिनः । जा सुकृती तपस्वी के । सदा अष्टांग योगके
 अभ्यासही विषै है विसनु जिनके अैसे आत्मा की अरु मनकी । मैत्री
 प्रीति । अविच्छिन्ना स्फुरति । निरंतर भई रहति है । तस्य अकेले ताही
 तपस्वीकी । इति किं । ए कछू न करि सकें । कौन कौन ति कहि-
 जति हैं । प्रियाणां आलापैः । प्राणप्रिया स्त्रीनिके मधुर बचन ।
 अरु अधरमधुभिः । अधर संबंधी मधु । अरु मुख बायुकी आमोदु । अरु
 कुचकलशनिके आलिंगन पूर्वक सुरत । ए सब ताके कामके कछू नाहीं
 जाकौं मनु योग की अभ्यास करत आत्माके स्वरूप सौं लग्यौ है ॥

श्लो० । वचसि भवति संगत्यागमुद्दिश्यवार्ता अतिमुखरमुखानां केवलं
 पंडितानां । जघनमरुणरत्नग्रंथिकांचीकलापं कुवलयनयनानां की विहातुं
 समर्थः ॥ ६ ॥

अर्थ । पंडितानां । पंडितनि के । संगत्यागमुद्दिश्यवार्त्ता । स्त्री संगति त्याग की बात । वचसि भवति । केवल वचनहीं विषे चलति है । याको यह अर्थु । स्त्री की संगति कबहूँ न कीजै यह बात जु पंडित कहत रहत हैं सु केवल वचनही करि तौ कहत हैं मनते नाहीं कहत । मेरे जान कुवलयदल समान हैं दीर्घ लोचन जिनके औसी स्त्रीनिके औसी नितंब स्थलहि । को विहातुं । त्यागिवे कहुं । कः समर्थः । को सामर्थ्य है । कैसे नितंबहि । अरुण कहैंते आरक्त वर्ण रत्ननि पोहे डोरा की दर्ई है ग्रंथि जाकी औसी अति विराजमान है सुद्र घंटिका भूषनु जापर औसी नितंब स्थलहि त्यागिवे कहुं को समर्थ है । पंडित जु छाडिवे की बात कहत हैं सु झूठे हैं सुषही करि तौ कहत हैं मनते नाहीं कहत हैं । कैसे पंडित । श्रुति जु है परावौ सुनिवौ ताही कहुं सुषर कहेते राति दिन चलति रहति है रसना जिनकी । औरहि सुनाइवे कहुं पंडित वक्त हैं पै छाडिवे कहुं असमर्थ है ॥

श्लो० । मत्तभक्तुम्भदलने भुवि के पि शूराः केचित्प्रचंडमृगराजवधेपि दक्षाः ॥ किंतु ब्रवीमि बलिनां पुरतः प्रसह्य कन्दर्पदण्डदलने विरला मनुष्याः ॥ ७ ॥

अर्थ । भुवि । या भूमिलोक विषे । केपि । कितेको । मत्ता मत्त हाथीनिके कुंभस्थलनि संग्राम मध्य विदारिवे कहुं शूर है । अरु । केचित् । कितेको फूनि । प्रचंड जु है मृगराजु सिंहु । ताके बध कह । दक्षाः । निपुन सूर हैं । पै एक बात है जु । बलिनां पुरतः । सब बलीनि के आगे । ब्रवीमि । पुकारतु हौं जु । कन्दर्पदण्डदलने । कंदर्प को जु दण्ड कहा काम सांति कीवौ । औसी । विरलाः । बिरले शूर हैं बहुत नाहीं ॥

श्लो० । स्मितेन भावेन च लज्जया धिया पराङ्मुखैरङ्कटाक्ष-
वीक्षणैः । वाचोभिरीर्ष्या कलहैश्च लीलया समस्तभावैः खलु बंधनं
स्त्रियः ॥ ८ ॥

अर्थ । स्त्रियः । दलु सीई इंदु भयो ताहि लैकरि । अपनै मस्तक पर धरति भई । अरु विशलता जु मृणाल लता ताके व्याजमिस करिके उपवीतु जु है जग्योपवीतु ताहि धरति भई औसी पार्वती तुमहारी रक्षा करौ । स्त्रियः । ए स्त्री । स्मितेन । मंद मुसक्याइकै । भावेन । कछू भाउकरि । च लज्जया । कछू लज्जा करिकै । धिया पराङ्मुखैः ।

कछू बुधि पौठि दै बैठिबौ। अरु। अर्द्धकटाक्षवीक्षणै। आधे
अधे कटाक्षनि चिते बौ। अरु। वाचोभि इर्ष्या। ईर्ष्या पूर्वक
ढिठाई के बचन। कलहैश्च। कछू भूठेही कलहु कौबौ। लीलया।
कबहुं कु आनंद पूर्वक बिलासु कौबौ। इतनें सब सुभाउनि करि।
खलु बंधन। स्त्री इतनें अंग बिलासनि करि दुष्ट आत्मा हैं। जाते
पुरुषनि के मन कौ ब्रत भंगु करति है ॥

श्लो०। एताश्चलद्वलयसंहतमेखलीतभंकारनूपुररवागतराजहंस्यः ॥
कुर्वति कस्य न मनो विवशं तरुण्यो विवस्तमुग्धहरिणीसदृशाक्षिपातैः ॥ ९ ॥

अर्थ। एतास्तरुण्यः। ए तरुणी। विवस्त कहा चौकी अरु मुग्ध
कहा बालक औसी जु हरिणी ता कैसे अक्षिपातैः। चितैवे करि।
कस्य नो मनः। कौन के मनहि। विवशं न कुर्वति। विवस न करिडारै।
किंतु सबही के मनहि विवस करती हैं। कैसी है तरुणी। चलता मधुर
धुनि करतु जु है। वलयः। कहा कंकननि सौं। संहत। कहा
मिल्यो है मेखला कौ कहा छुद्र घंटिका कौ भंकार। अरु नूपुररवा।
नूपुरनिकौ शब्द ताहि सुनि। आगतराजहंस्यः। आर्द्र है राजहंसी
जिनके समीप औसी तरुणी है ॥

श्लो०। सत्यं जना वच्मि न पक्षपाताल्लोकेषु सप्तस्वपि तथ्यमेव ॥
नान्यन्मनोहारि नितंबिनीभ्यो दुःखैकहेतुर्न च किञ्चिदन्यत् ॥ १० ॥

अर्थ। हे जना। अरे मनुष्य हो। सत्य वच्मि। यह बचनु हों सत्य
कहतु हों। न पक्षपातात् कछू पक्ष करै नाहीं कहतु।
सप्तस्वपि लोकेषु। सातह लोक मध्य। तथ्यमेव। सांचें हूं सांचें।
नितंबिनीभ्यः। नितंबिनी स्त्रीनिके। अन्यत् किञ्चित्। और कछू
दूसरी वस्तु। मनोहारि नास्ति। मनोहर नाहीं पुरुष कहं स्त्रीनिते
और सुषदाता नाहीं। अरु। न च। न फुनि स्त्रीनि तैं। दुःखैकहेतु।
दुषकौ हेतु आहि। स्त्री जु सुषदाकही सु यह संजोग दशा में जानिबौ।
अरु दुषदा जु कही सु विवोग दशा विषैं जानिबौ ॥

श्लो०। लीलावतीनां सहजा बिलासास्त एव मूढस्य हृदि स्फुरन्ति ॥
रागो नलिन्या हि निसर्गसिद्धस्तत्र भ्रमत्येव वृथा षडङ्घ्रिः ॥ ११ ॥

अर्थ। लीलावतीनां। लीला की करणहारि स्त्रीनिके।
बिलासाः। सहजा एव। सकल बिलास सुभाव ही सिद्धे हैं। कछू यह
नाहीं कि स्त्री काह देषि बिलास करति होहिं। किंतु स्त्रीनिकौ बिलास

कीवौ सहजु वै है। परंतु। त एव। वेई स्त्रीनिके विलास। मुठस्य हृदि। मुठके हृदय मध्य। स्फुरंति। उठिवौ करत हैं। मूढ यह जानतु है कि ए विलास मोहो देपि करे हैं। यह जानिके मूढ उनिहीं विलासनि अपने हृदय विषे सुधि करिवौ करत है। जैसे नलिन्याः। कमलिनी के। रागः। आरक्तता। निसर्गसिद्धः। सहजहीं सिद्ध है यह नाहीं कि भ्रमरहि देपि कमलिनी के अनुराग होतु होइ। परंतु। भ्रमर जु मूढ के जातु है सु तत्र। वा कमलिनी ऊपर। वृथा हीं। भ्रमत्येव। भ्रमतु है। षडं हि कहावै भ्रमर ॥

श्लो०। सिद्धाध्यासितकंदरे हरवृषस्कंधावधृष्टद्रुमे गंगाधौतशिलातले हिमवतः स्थाने स्थितः श्रेयसि ॥ कः कुर्वीत नरः प्रणाममलिनं चेतो मनस्वी जनी यद्युत्तस्तकुरंगशावनयना न स्युः सारास्त्रं स्त्रियः ॥ १२ ॥

अर्थ। श्रेयसि। परम कल्याणकारी। हिमवतः स्थाने। हिमाचल पर्वतके एकान्तस्थल विषे। स्थितः। बैठकरि। की नरः। औसी की मनुष्य है जु। चेतः। अपने चित्तहि। प्रणाममलिनं। ईश्वरकी प्रणाम करिवे कहूं मलिन कुर्वीत। करे। याको यह अर्थ। हिमाचल पर्वतके औसी एकान्त स्थल विषे बैठिके औसी की मनुष्य है जु ईश्वर कहं प्रणाम करत नैकहं मनहि मलिन करिहै। पै एक है। यदि जी। सारास्त्रं स्त्रियः। कामके आयुधप्राय स्त्री नहीती। स्त्री कैसी हैं। उक्तस्त कहैंते चकित जु है कुरंग की शावकु ता कैसी हैं नयन जिनके औसी स्त्री जी कामकी आयुध न हीती तो हिमाचल पर्वत के औसी एकान्त स्थल विषे बैठिके ईश्वर की प्रणाम कीव कहूं की मनुष्य अपने मनहि उगाउती। कैसे हिमाचल के पर्वत विषे बैठिके। सिद्धाध्यासितकंदरे। जाकी कंदरानि विषे अनेक सिद्ध पुरुष बैठे हैं। बहुरि कैसी है वह एकान्त स्थल। हरवृषस्कंधावधृष्टद्रुमे। जाके द्रुमनिके पेडनि मध्य महादेव के वृषभ के कांधे की घसनि परी हैं। बहुरि वह हिमवतकी एकान्त स्थल कैसी है। गंगाधौतशिलातले। गंगा की धारनि के जलकरि धौत कहैंते प्रचाली हैं उत्तम उत्तम शिला जा विषे। औसी हिमवतके एकांत स्थलहि कोउ न त्यागतो जो स्त्री न हीती ॥

श्लो०। यदि वनहरिणीभ्यो वंशकांडच्छ्वेयानां कवलमुपलकोटिच्छिन्न-मूलं कुशानां ॥ शुकयुवतिकपीलापांडुताम्बूलवल्लीदलमरुणनखाग्रैः पाटिहं वा वधूम्यः ॥ १३ ॥

अर्थ । कै वैराग्यु कीजै कै संसारी हूजै । जो वैराग्यु कीजै तो
 औसी कीजै जु । बनकी हरिणीनि कहुं । कुशानां कवलं कृतं । कुशनि के
 कौर अपने हाथ घवाइजैं । अरु जु संसारी हूजै तो ऐसी हूजै जु ।
 वधूम्यः । स्त्रीनि कहुं । ताम्बूलवल्लीदलं । नागबेलिके पान आपनै हाथ
 विरी करि करि घवाइजैं । कुशनिके कौर कैसे हैं । उपलकीटिच्छिन्नमूलं ।
 उपल कहावै पाषाणु ताकी जु कोटि कहैंतें अति तीक्ष्ण अग्रभागु तिहि-
 करि छिन्न कहैंतें काटे हैं मूल जिनके औसे कुशनिके कौर बनकी
 हरिणीनि अपने हाथ घवाइजैं । कुश कैसे हैं । वंशकांडच्छ्वीनां । हरित
 बांस की कांडर समान हैं हरित कृबि जिनकी औसे कुश हैं । स्त्रीनि पान
 कौन प्रकार घवाइजैं । अरुणखाग्रैः पाटितं । अपने आरक्त नपनि के अग्र
 करि पाननिके अग्र घोंटि घोंटि घवावैं । नागबेलि के पान देषिजत कैसे हैं ।
 शुक्युवतिकपोलापांडु । शुक जु है सुवा ताकी युवति कहा स्त्री ताके
 कपोल समान पांडु वर्ण देषिजत हैं । औसी दुंदियां के कपोलनि विषे
 कक्कुकु हरित ताहि लीनें पीतता होति है । तातें एतादृश वैराग्यु कीजै
 किंवा जो संसारी हूजै तो औसे हूइजै जु यह कीजै । तीसरी गति
 निरर्थक है ॥

स्त्री० । असाराः संत्येते विरतिविरसायासविषया जुगुप्स्यंतां यदा
 ननु सकलदोषासदमिति ॥ तथाप्येतद्ब्रूमी नहि परहितात्पुण्यमधिकं
 न चास्मिन् संसारे कुवलयदृशो रमयमपरं ॥ १४ ॥

अर्थ । एते विषयाः । ए सब विषय । असाराः संति । यद्यपि सार-
 भूत नाहीं । अरु विषयनि विषे न्यान यद्यपि विरति उपजति है । विरति
 कहावै अनाशक्ति । अरु विषय यद्यपि न्यान विरस हैं विरस कहावै
 नीरस । अरु आयास साध्य हैं यद्यपि विषय । इति । इहि बात तें ।
 जुगुप्स्यंते । औरनि करि निदिजत हैं तो निदिजहिं । यदा । अथवा ।
 सकलदोषासदं । विषय सकल दोषनि की घरु है । इति इहि बात तें ।
 जुगुप्स्यंतां । और जो निंदत हैं तो निंदहु । तथापि । तउ । वयं एतत
 ब्रूमः । हमतो एहै बातें कहत हैं जु । परहितात् । अधिकु पुण्य नहिं ।
 पराओ हितु कीवै तें कछू और अधिकु पुण्य नाहीं । अरु नच । न फुनि ।
 अस्मिन् संसारे । या संसार विषे । कुवलयदृशः । कुवलय जु हैं गदहूल के
 फूल ताके समान है दृश कहैंतें नेत्र जिनके । औसी जु परम सुन्दरी
 स्त्री तिहितें । अपरं रम्यं नास्ति । और कछू दूसरी सुन्दर नाहीं ॥

श्लो० । मात्सर्यमुत्सार्य विचार्य कार्यमार्याः समर्यादसिदं वदन्ति ॥
सेव्या नितंवा किमु भूधराणामुत स्मरस्मेरविलासिनीनां ॥ १५ ॥

अर्थ । आर्याः । विवेकी पुरुष । मात्सर्यं उत्सार्य । अपनों मत्सर दूरिकरि । अरु कार्यं विचार्य । जितोक्त वस्तु कर्तव्य है ति सब विचारिकी । इदं वदन्ति । यह बात कहत हैं कि । किमु कैतो । भूधराणां । पर्वतनि के । नितंवाः सेव्याः । कंदरा सेइहिं । उत । किंवा । स्मर जु है कामु तत्संबंधी । स्मेर कहैते प्रगट होतहैं अनेक विलास जिनिके औसी तरुणीनि के नितंव सेइजहिं ॥

श्लो० । किमिह बहुभिरुक्तैर्युक्तिभून्यैः प्रलापैर्दूयमिह पुरुषाणां सर्वदा सेवनीयं । अभिनवमदलीलालसं सुंदरीणां स्तनभरपरिखिन्नं यौवनं वा वनं वा ॥ १६ ॥

अर्थ । युक्ति भून्यैः । जिनि विषै कछु युक्ति नाहों औसे बहुभिरुक्तैः प्रलापैः किं । बहुत निरर्थक वचन कहाँ लों कहिजैं । हमतो एकै सार्थक बात कहत हैं जु । पुरुषाणां । पुरुषनि कहूं सर्वदा । इह । या संसार मध्य । दयं सेवनीयं देई बातें सेइवे हैं । सुंदरीणां यौवनं वा । कैतो परम सुंदर स्त्रीनि कौ औसी यौवनु सेइजै । वनं वा । नातर वनु सेइजहि । तहां सुंदरीनि कौ कैसी जौवनु सेइजै । अभिनव कहा यौवन को पैसारीहि भयो जु यौवन मदु ताकी जु लीला कहा विलास तिहि विलास करि । लालसं । अतिही लसतु जु है यौवनु सु सर्वदा सेइजै । बहुरि सुंदरीनि कौ कैसी जौवनु सेइजै । स्तनभरपरिखिन्नं । स्तनकलसनि के भार करि षेद जुत हैं जु स्त्रीनि कौ जौवनु सु सर्वदा सेइजै ॥

श्लो० । मत्तेभकुंभपरिणाहिनि कुंकुमाद्रौ कांतापयोधरतटे रति-
खेदखिन्नः । वक्षो निधाय भुजपंजरमध्यवर्ती धन्यः क्षपां क्षपयति क्षण-
लब्धनिद्रः ॥ १७ ॥

अर्थ । कांतापयोधरतटे । स्त्रीनिके औसे पयोधर सेइजैं ऊपर । जु पुरुष अपनों वक्षस्थलु लगाइकै । भुजपंजरमध्यवर्ती । स्त्रीके भुजपंजर मध्य रहिकै । क्षणलब्धनिद्रः । क्षण एकु निद्रा पाउतु है अरु इहि प्रकार । क्षपां क्षपयति । समस्त रात्रि गवावतु है । सु धन्यः । सु पुरुष धन्य है । कैसे पयोधरनि मध्य पुरुष अपनों वक्षस्थलु लगाइ रहै । मत्तेभकुंभपरिणाहिनि । मत्त हस्ती के कुंभ स्थल समान अति विशाल हैं पयोधर । बहुरि कैसे पयोधर है । कुंकुमाद्रौ । केसरि घसि जु लगायो है । सु सिलसिले है ।

अैसे पयोधरनि ऊपर सुरत संग्राम करि अमितु पुरुषु अपनों बहस्थलु
लगाइके स्त्री के भुज पंजर मध्य रहिके जु निद्राहि पाइके रात्रि गवाउतु
हे सु पुरुषु धन्य है ॥

श्लो० । राज्य तृष्णां बुराशिर्नहि जगति गतः कश्चिदेवावसानं को
वाऽर्थोऽर्थैः प्रभूतैः स्वपुषि सुरते यौवने सानुरागे ॥ गच्छामः सद्य याव-
द्विकसितनयनेंदौवरालीकितानामाक्रम्याक्रम्य रूपं भटिति न जरया लुप्यते
प्रेयसीनां ॥ १८ ॥

अर्थ । जगति । या संसार विषे । राज्य । राज्यहि पाइके । तृष्णां-
बुराशिः । तृष्णा समुद्र के । अवसानं । पारहि । कश्चित् । कोउ । नहि
गतः । न गयो । याको यह अर्थ । राज्य विषे काहू को तृष्णा शांत न
भई । अरु । कः पुरुषः । कौनु पुरुष । प्रभूतैः अर्थैः । अनेक प्रकार की
संपति अछित । स्वपुषि यौवने सति । अपने शरीर विषे यौवनहि अछित ।
सुरते सानुरागः । सुरत कीबे विषे सानुराग कै करि । सुरत तृष्णा समुद्र
के पार गयो । किंतु कोउ न गयो । वयं तु । हम तौ । सद्य तावत्
गच्छामः । घर मध्य तौही लौ रहत हैं । यावत् । जौलौ । प्रेयसीनां रूपं
प्राणाबलभा स्त्रीनि को । रूपं । रूप । जरया । जरा करि । आक्रम्य
आक्रम्य । आक्रमि आक्रमि । न लुप्यते । नाही लीपहि प्राप्त कीजतु ।
जब तरुनीनि को रूपु जरा ग्रस्यौ तब बैराग्यु छांडि कछू और न कीजै ।
कैसी हैं तरुणी । बिकसेई रहत जु हैं । उनके नयनेंदौवर तिनि करि
अवलोकति हैं । इंदौवर कहावै नीलकमल ॥

श्लो० । उपरि घनं घनपटलं तिर्यग्गिरयो विनर्त्तिसयूराः ॥ क्षितिरपि
कंदलधवला दृष्टिं पथिकः क्व पातयतु ॥ १९ ॥

अर्थ । उपरि । ऊपर आकास विषे । घनं घनपटलं । अति सघन
मेघनि को समूह । अरु । तिर्यक । आस पास । विनर्त्तितमयूरा गिरयः ।
पर्वतनि पर मयूर नाचत हैं । अरु । तरहरि । क्षितिरपि । भूमि फुनि ।
कंदलधवला । सेत सेत छतनानि करि संयुक्त है सु धवल बर्ण है रही है ।
ताते । पथिकः । पथिकु दृष्टिं । अपनों दृष्टिहि । क्व पातयतु । कित
पारै । जितही चितवै तितही बर्षा रितु की संपति देषत सर्वांग विषे
कामाग्नि प्रजरै । ऊपर चितवै तौ मेघ । तिरछी चितवै तौ पर्वतनि पर
मयूर नाचत हैं । नीचौ चितवै तौ भूमि पर सेत सेत छतना उठि
रहे हैं ॥ ॥

श्लो० । संसारेस्मिन्नसारे परिणतितरले हे गतो पंडितानां तल-
ज्ञानामृतांभः प्लवलुलितधियां यातु कालः कदाचित् ॥ नो चेन्मुग्धांगनानां
स्तनजघनघनाभोगसंशोभिनीनां स्थूलोपस्थस्थलीषु स्थगितकरतलस्पर्शलो-
लीयमानां ॥ २० ॥

अर्थ । परिणतितरले । अवसान विषे जु क्षणभंगुरु है । याही ते
असारे । असारभूत जु है । ऐसे । अस्मिन् संसार विषे । पंडितानां ।
विवेकनि कहूं । हे गतो । हेई बातें कर्तव्य हैं । ति दोउ बातें कहिजति
हैं । कैतौ । तलज्ञानु अमृत जलु ता विषे जू प्लव कहैंतें पैरिबी तिहि करि
लुलित कहैंतें भोजि हैं धौ बुद्धि जिनकी ऐसे महाविरक्त कैकरि
इहि प्रकार कदाचित् कालु जाइ । नो चेत । नातरु । स्तन अरु
जघननि की जु घन कहैंतें बहुत । आभोग कहा विशालता
तिहि करि अति सोहति जु हैं तरुनी तिनकी स्थूल उपस्थल पर
करतलु राषि करि तब वा योनि के स्पर्शतें सुरतु करिबे कहूं अति
लील भए हैं उदम जिनके ऐसे जु वै सारग्राही पुरुष तिनि की किंवा
इहि प्रकार कालु जाइ । अथवा यह अर्थ जानिबी । विशाल स्तन जघननि
करि सोहति जु हैं स्त्री तिन की करतलु जब पुरुष के गुह्येन्द्रिय पर परै तब
वा करतलके स्पर्श तें सुरतु कीबे कहं चंचलु मनु जिनि पुरुषनि की
होतु है तिनि कीसी नाईं जो कालु जाइ । इनि दुहु अर्थनि विषे जु यह
भडिमा बरणी है सु यह कविही की दोष जानिबी टीका के कर्त्ता की
न जानिबी । टीका की कर्त्ता तो जैसी कवि कवित्व कीन्हौं तैसी बषान्यौं ॥

श्लो० । कांतित्युत्पललोचनेति विपुलश्रीणीभरेत्युन्नमत्पीनोत्तुंगपयो-
धरेति सुमुखांभोजेति सुभूरिति । दृष्ट्वा माद्यति मीदतेभिरमते प्रस्तौति
विद्वानपि प्रत्यक्षाशुचिपुत्तिकां स्त्रियमहो मोहस्य दुश्चेष्टितं ॥ २१ ॥

अर्थ । मोहस्य । अज्ञान की । दुश्चेष्टितं । गयार कर्तव्यता । अहो ।
भारी आश्चर्य है । जु स्त्री प्रत्यक्षही मांस की अति ही असुचि पुतरिया है
ता स्त्रीहि । दृष्ट्वा । देखतही । विद्वानपि ग्यानवंतु पुरुष । इतनी बातें
आरोपिकै तब । माद्यति मत्तु होतु है । अरु । मीदते । परम सुषु पावतु
है । अभिरमते । अति असक्तु होतु है । अरु । प्रस्तौति । स्त्रीकी स्तुति
करतु है । तहां कौन कौन बातें आरोपतु है ति सब कहिजतौ हैं । कांता
इति । भाई यह परम सुन्दर स्त्री है । अरु उत्पललोचना इति । या
स्त्री के लोचन उत्पल प्राय है । अरु इति । इयं त्रिपुञ्जश्रीणीभरा इति ।

या स्त्री के पयोधर अति उन्नत हैं अतिपीन हैं । अरु इयं सुमुखाम्भोजेति ।
या स्त्री कौ मुषु कमल अति सुंदर है । अरु इयं सुभ्रूः । याकी भौहैं अति
सुंदर हैं इतनी बातें आरोपतु है ॥

श्लो० । क्वचित्सुभ्रूभंगैः क्वचिदपि च लज्जापरिगतैः क्वचिद्भौतिव्रस्तैः
क्वचिदपि च लीलाविलसितैः ॥ कुमारीणामेतैर्वदनकमलैर्नेत्रवलितैः स्फुर-
ल्लीलाब्जानां प्रकरपरिपूर्णा इव दृशः ॥ २२ ॥

अर्थ । कुमारीणां दृशः । सुग्धानि के नेत्र एतैः वदनकमलैः । एतादृश
वदन कमलनि करि । अरु नेत्रवलितैः । नेत्रनिके चलिबे करि । दिशः ।
सकल दिशां । स्फुरल्लीलाब्जानां । दैदीप्य लीलाकारी कमलनि के । प्रकर-
परिपूर्णा इव । समूह करि परिपूर्ण हैं मानहुं । याकी यह अर्थ । सुग्धा
ऐसे वदन कमलनि करि अरु कमल नेत्रनि करि जिहि जिहि दिशातन
चितवति है तेई तेई दिशा लीला कमलनि के समूहनि करि भरी हैं
मानहुं । लीला कमल वह कहावतु है जा कमलहि स्त्री अपने हाथ
गहि फिराद बिलास करति है । सु जितौ उताइल सों सुग्धानि के वदन
कमल अरु नेत्र कमल चलत है अरु उलटत हैं सु सुग्धानिके वदन कमल
नेत्र कमल कैसे हैं । क्वचित् सुभ्रूभंगैः । कबहुं काहू दिशातन भ्रूभंग
सहित चलत हैं । अरु क्वचिदपि च । काहू दिशातन । कछू देषतहीं । भौति-
व्रस्तैः । भयभीत हैकरि चकित भए । अरु क्वचिदपि च । काहूका
दिशातन निर्भय हैकरि । लीलाविलसितैः । अनेक लीला विलास करत
हैं । ऐसे वदन कमल अरु नेत्र कमलनि करी जाही जाही दिशातन
चलत उलटत हैं । ताही ताही दिशातन चलत उलटत हैं । ताही ताही
दिशातन यह जानिजति है कि मानहुं लीला कमल फिरत हैं ॥

श्लो० । वक्त्रं चंद्रविहासि पंकजपरीहासक्षमे लोचने वर्णं स्वर्णमपा-
करिष्णु नलिनीजिष्णुः कचानां चयः । वक्षोजाविभकुंभविभ्रमहरी गुर्वो
नितंबस्थली वाचां हारि च माद्वैवं युवतिषु स्वाभाविकं मंडनं ॥ २३ ॥

अर्थ । युवतिषु । तरुणीनि विषे । इतनी बातें । स्वाभाविकं
मंडनं । सुभाव ही तें अलंकार रूप हैं । कौन कौन बातें ति कहिजंती
हैं । प्रथमही तो । चंद्रविहासि वक्त्रं । अलंकार रूप हैं । चंद्रमा की हंस-
हार मुषु । अरु दूसरें पंकजपरीहासक्षमे लोचने । पंकज हूं की कूटि
करनहार लोचन । अरु तीसरें । स्वर्णमपाकरिष्णु सुवर्ण हूं की अनादर
करनहार गौर वर्ण । अरु चौथें । नलिनीजिष्णुः । कमलिनी की

SHRĠGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTṠHARI 87

श्यामता की जीतनहार । कचानां चयः । केशनि की समूह । अरु पांचयें ।
द्रुभकुंभविभ्रमहरौ वक्षोजौ । मत्त हस्तीके कुभनि के बिलासके हरणहार
स्तन । अरु छठें । गुर्वी नितम्बस्थली । अति स्थूल नितम्बस्थलु । अरु
सातयें । वाचां हारि माईवं । परम मनीहर वानी बातें स्त्रीनि कहुं
स्वाभाविक अलंकार रूप है ॥

श्लो० । नामृतं न विषं किञ्चिदेकां मुक्ता नितम्बिनीं ॥ सैवामृतलता
रक्ता विरक्ता विषवल्लरी ॥ २४ ॥

अर्थ । एकां नितम्बिनीं मुक्ता । एक नितम्बिनी स्त्रीहि कांडिकै ।
अन्यत् किञ्चित् और कछू दूसरी वस्तु न अमृतं न विषं । न अमृत आहि
न विषु आहि । अकेली स्त्री विष रूप है अरु अमृत रूप है । तहां कैसी
स्त्री अमृत रूप है अरु कैसी स्त्री विष रूप है । रक्ता चेत् । भर्ता सौं जी
स्त्री अनुरक्त रहै । सैवा अमृतलता । सोई स्त्री अमृत की लता हैं । अरु ।
विरक्ता चेत् । भर्ता सौं जी विरक्त है सो विष वल्लरी । सोई स्त्री विष
की बेलि आहि ॥

श्लो० । भूचातुर्थ्याकुञ्चिताक्षाः कटाक्षाः स्निग्धा वाची लज्जितां-
ताश्च हासाः । लीलामंदं प्रस्थितं च स्थितं च स्त्रीणामितद्भूषणं
चायुधं च ॥ २५ ॥

अर्थ । स्त्रीणां । स्त्रीनि कहुं एतत् । इतनी बातें । भूषणं च ।
भूषण रूपी हैं । अरु । आयुधं च । औरनि के मारिबे कहुं आयुध रूप हैं ।
कौन कौन बातें ते कहिजति हैं । प्रथमही ती । भूचातुरी । दूसरें ।
आकुञ्चिताक्षाः कटाक्षाः । आकुञ्चित नेत्रनिके कटाक्ष । आकुञ्चित नेत्र कहवैं
सकुच सहित नेत्र । अरु तीसरें । स्निग्धा वाचः । परम मधुर वाणी । अरु
चौथें । लज्जितांताश्चहासाः हंसिकै लज्ज्यबौ । अरु पांचयें । लीलामंदं
प्रस्थितं च । बिलास पूर्वक मन्द मन्द चलिबौ । अरु स्थितं च । ठाढ़े है
रहिबौ । इतनी बातें स्त्रीनि कहुं अलंकार रूप हैं । अरु । औरनि के
मारिबे कहुं एई आयुध हैं ।

श्लो० । स्मितं किञ्चिद्वक्त्रं सरलतरला दृष्टिविशिखाः परिस्पंदो
वाचामभिनवविलासोक्तिसरसः ॥ गतीनामारंभः किसलयितलीलापरिकरः
स्पृशंत्यास्तारुण्यं किमिव नहि रम्यं मृगदृशः ॥ २६ ॥

अर्थ । तारुण्यं स्पृशंत्या मृगदृशः । जब मुग्धता जाति है
अरु कछूकु यौवन आनि प्रविष्ट होतु है तब मृगाची की । किमिव

88 *SHRĠGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTRHARI*

नहि रम्यं । इतनी बातनि मध्य कौन कौन बात रम्य नाहीं । किंतु सबई बातें रम्य हैं । ति सब कहीजती हैं । किंचित् स्मितं वक्त्रं । ककुकु मुसक्यानि सहित मुपु । मुसकैवौ यौवनही के आगम होतु है । अरु सरलतरला दृष्टिविशिखाः । सरल अरु तरल कटाक्ष बान । दृष्टि विषे तरलता अरु कटाक्ष पूर्वक अवलीकनु यौवनही के आगम होतु है । अरु वाचां परिस्पंदः । मुप्रमध्यते वचननि कौ निकसिबौ । फुनि । अभिनवविलासीक्तिसरसः । नए नए बिलासहिं लए उक्तिनि की सरसाई सहित । अरु गतीनामारंभः । चरननि की धरिबौ फुनि । किसलयित-लीलापरिकरः । किसलयनि के परिकर आहि मानहुं सु इतनी बातनि मध्य वयः संधि विषे तरुणीनि की कौन कौन नाहीं नीकी लगति ॥

स्त्री० । स्मृता भवति तापाय दृष्टा चीन्मादवर्द्धिनी । स्पृष्टा भवति मोहाय सा नाम दयिता कथं ॥ २७ ॥

अर्थ । स्मृता स्त्री तापाय भवति । स्त्री की जब सुमिरनु कीजतु है तब स्मरनु करतही काम संबंधी संतापु उपजावतु है । अरु दृष्टा च । जब नेत्रनि देषिजति है तब । उन्मादवर्द्धिनी । दिषैयाके उन्मादहि बढावति है । अरु । स्पृष्टा सती मोहाय भवति । स्त्री की स्पर्श जब कीजतु है तब स्त्री मूढ करि डारति है । ताते यह बडौ आश्चर्य है जु । सा नाम दयिता कथं । स्त्री की नाम दयिता काहेतें भयो । दयिता कहावति है प्रिय वस्तु । सु जाकी सुधि करतही परितापु होइ । अरु जाहि देषत हो उन्मत्त हैजै । अरु जाहि कुवतही मूढ हैजै सु कबतें प्रिय लगति है सु यह बडौ आश्चर्य है जु इतेह पर स्त्री सौ दयिता कहत हैं ॥

स्त्री० । आवर्त्तः संशयानामविनयभवनं पत्तनं साहसानां दोषाणां सन्निधानं कपटशतमयं चित्रमप्रत्ययानां ॥ स्वर्गद्वारस्य विघ्नं नरकपुर-मुखं सर्वमायाकरंडं स्त्रीयंत्रं केन सृष्टं विषममृतमयं प्राणिलीकस्य पाशः ॥ २८ ॥

अर्थ । यह स्त्रीरूप यंतु । प्राणिलीकस्य पाशः । सकल प्राणीनि कहुं पांशि । केन सृष्टं । कौनहि कर्यो है । है कैसी स्त्री । आवर्त्तः संशयानां । सकल संदेहनि की आवर्त्तु है । आवर्त्तु कहावै जल की भौर । जैसे जलके आवर्त्त मांभ अनेक जल आनि परत हैं अरु आवर्त्त सौ फिरत रहत है । तैसेही स्त्री के मन मध्य संदेहनि की आवर्त्त उठिबौ करतु है । स्त्री के निश्चय काहु बात की नाहीं । बहुरि कैसी हैं स्त्री । अविनय

भवनं । ठिठार्ई कौ घर है । बहुरि स्त्री कैसी है । पत्तनं साहसानां । सकल साहसनि कौ नगर है । पत्तनु नगर कौ नाउं है । सु स्त्री सकल साहसनि कौ नगर है । बहुरि स्त्री कैसी है । दोषानां सन्निधानं । सकल दोषनिकौ आपूटि भांडार है । बहुरि कैसी है स्त्री कपटशतमयंचेत्रं । अनेक कपटनि कौ उपजावनहार प्रितु है मानहुं । बहुरि कैसी हैं स्त्री । अप्रत्ययाना चेत्रं । सबही बातनि कौ अप्रीति कौ प्रितु है । बहुरि सुनहुं । स्वर्गद्वारस्य विघ्नः । स्वर्ग लोक द्वारकौ अंतराउ हैं । बहुरि स्त्री कैसी हैं । नरकपुरमुषं । नरक नगर कौ मुषु है । बहुरि स्त्री कैसी हैं । सर्वमाया-करंडं । सकल मायानि कौ टिपारी है । करंड कहावै टिपरिया । बहुरि स्त्री कैसी हैं । अमृतमयविषं । अमृतमय विषु है ॥

श्लो० । नोसत्येन मृगांक एष वदनीभूतो न चंदीवरद्वंदं लोचनतां गतं न कनकैरप्यंगयष्टिःकृता ॥ कित्खेवं कविभिः प्रतारितमनास्तत्त्वं विजानन्नपि लग्मांसास्थिमयं वपुर्मृगदृशामन्यो जनः सेवते ॥ २६ ॥

अर्थ । सत्येन । जो साचेहूँ सांचे विचारि देखिजै तौ । एष मृगांकः । यह चंद्रमा । न वदनीभूतः । स्त्री कौ वदनु नाहीं भयो । अरु । इंदीवरद्वंदं । द्वै नील कमल । लोचनतां न गतं । स्त्रीके नेत्र नाहीं भए । अरु । कनकैः । कनक करि । अंगयष्टिर्नकृता । स्त्रीके अंग नाहीं करे । तत्त्वं विजानन्नपि । या तत्वहि लोशु यद्यपि जानतु है तथापि । कविभिः प्रतारितमनाः । कवीश्वरनि या लोक कौ मनु इहि भांति बहकायो है जु । अंधो जनः । अंधु लोशु । तच्चा मांस अस्थि एतन्मय मृगाक्षीनिके वपुहि सेवत हैं ॥

श्लो० । सन्मार्गं तावदास्ते प्रभवति पुरुषस्तावदेवेन्द्रियाणां लज्जां तावद्विधत्ते विनयमपि समालंबते तावदेव ॥ भूचापाकृष्टमुक्ताः अवण-पथजुषो नीलपद्माण एते यावल्लीलावतीनां न हृदि धृतमुखा दृष्टिबाणाः पतन्ति ॥ २७ ॥

अर्थ । सन्मार्गं । सन्मार्ग विषे । तावदेवास्ते । पुरुष तौहीलौं चलतु है । अरु पुरुषः । पुरुष । इन्द्रियाणां । इन्द्रियनिकौ । तावदेव प्रभवति । तौहीलौं प्रभु होतु है । आकौ यह अर्थ । इन्द्रिय हाथ तौहीलौं हैं । अरु लज्जां तावदेव विधत्ते । लाजहि पुरुष तौहीलौं धरतु है । अरु । विनयमपि तावदेव समालंबते । विनयहि पुरुष तौहीलौं करतु है । यावत् । जौलीलौ लीलावतीनां । विलासिनी स्त्रीनिके दृष्टिबाणाः । कटाक्षबाण । न पतन्ति ।

पुरुष पर नाहीं परत। कैसे हैं कटाक्षबाण। भू जु हैं भौं हैं सोई जु भयो
चाप धनुष ताहि आकृष्टि अंचिकै। मुत्ताः। कहा मेले जु हैं।
बहुरि कैसे कटाक्षबाण हैं। अवणपथजुषः। बिलासिनीनि के अवणनि
के समीप है चलत हैं। बहुरि कैसे कटाक्षबाण हैं। लीला वर्ण हैं
पद्म कहेंते पाषें जिनकी। नेत्रनि की बरणी जु हैं तेई कटाक्ष
बाणनि की पाषें हैं। बहुरि कैसे हैं कटाक्षबाण। हृदि धृतमुखाः।
पुरुष के हृदय मांभ जाइ चुभत हैं अग्र जिनके ऐसे बिलासिनीनि के
कटाक्षबाण हैं। सु पुरुष पर जौलौं नाहीं परत तौलौं है। विनय
तौहीलौं कीजतु है। पै जबहीं बिलासिनीनिके कटाक्षबाण पुरुष पर
परत तब कैसौ सन्मार्ग कहावतु है अरु कैसौ इंद्रियनि की हाथ कीबो
कहाउतु है। कैसौ विनय कीबो कहाउतु है। जब स्त्री के बस्य है
जातु है तब एक नाहीं सधति ॥

श्लो०। यदेतत्पुणेंदुद्युतिहरमुदाराकृतिधरं सुखाब्जं तन्वंग्याः
किल वसति यत्राधरसुधा ॥ इदं तत्किं पाकद्रुमफलमिदानीभतिरसं
व्यतीतेस्मिन् काले विषमिव भविष्यत्यसुखदं ॥ ३१ ॥

अर्थ। कवि यह कहत हैं कि तरुणी को सुषु चंद्रमा है। सु
सांचेहूं। यत् एतत् तन्वंग्या सुखाब्जं। यह जु कुशांगी को सुषु
कमलु है सु पूर्ण इंदुकी दीप्तिहि हरतु है सु यह सांची है। जातें
उदार कहा परम सुंदर देखिजतु है। बहुरि कैसो है सुषु। यत्र।
जा सुषु मध्य अधर सुधा बसति है। तातें सांचेहूं कुशांगी को सुषुचंद्रमा
है। पै एकधौं कहहु। जु इदं तत् किं। यह कहावै जु। पाकद्रुम-
फलं। द्रुमके पक्क फल की सो नाहीं। इदानीं। अतिरसं। अबहिं
अति रसवंतु है। बहुरि। अस्मिन् काले व्यतीति। यह कालु बीतें संतें।
विषमिव। विष समान्। अरु असुखदं। अति दुषद भविष्यति है है ॥

श्लो०। संसारेऽस्मिन्नसारे कुनृपतिभवनहारसेवाकलंकव्यासंगध्वस्तधैर्याः
कथममलधियो मानसं सन्निदध्युः ॥ यद्येताः प्रोद्यदिंदुद्युतिनिचयभृतो
न स्युरंभोजनेत्राः प्रेक्षत्कांचीकलापाः स्तनभरविनमन्मध्यभागास्त-
रुण्यः ॥ ३२ ॥

अर्थ। अस्मिन् संसारे। असारे। असारभूत। या संसार विषें। अमल-
धियः। निर्मल बुद्धिवंतु पुरुष। मानसं। अपने मनहिं। कथंकथमपि।
कैसेहूं कैसेकरि। निदध्युः। रोकते। यदि। जो एतास्तरुण्यः। ए तरुणी।

नस्युः । न हौंहि । तरुणी कैसी हैं । प्रोद्यदिंदुद्युतिनिचयभृतः । प्रोद्यत् कहेंते उदहि प्राप्त होतु जु इंदु चंद्रमा ताकी दुति दीप्ति की जु निचय कहा समूहु ताहि अपने सुष विषे जु धरति हैं । बहुरि तरुणी कैसी हैं । अंभोज नेत्राः । अंभोज जु हैं । कमल तिन समान हैं नेत्र जिनके औसी हैं । बहुरि तरुणी कैसी हैं । प्रेखत्कांचीकलापाः । प्रेखत् कहेंते अति शोभा सहित चलतु है कांची कलापु कहेंते छुद्र घंटिका रूप अलंकार जिनकी औसी तरुणी हैं । बहुरि तरुणी कैसी हैं । स्तनभरविनमन्मध्यभागाः । स्तननिके भार करि विनमत् कहा नम्र होत हैं मध्यभाग कहा कटि प्रदेश जिनके औसी तरुणी हैं जो न हौंहों तो निर्मल बुद्धिमंत पुरुष अपने मनहि कैसेहूँ कैसे रोकिहं । इनि तरुणीनि कै बस्य मनु कैसी होतु है सु कहिजतु है । कुनृपति जु है निंद्यराजा तिनके भवनके द्वार ठाढ़े ठाढ़े जु सेवा कौजति है सोई सेवा है कलंकु जाकहुं औसी हैजातु है मनु । बहुरि कैसी हैजातु है मनु । व्यासंगध्वस्तधैर्ये । औसी तरुणीनि कै बस्य भयेते जु व्यासंगु होतु है सु तिहिते ध्वस्त कहेंते नाशहि प्राप्त भयो है धैर्यु जाकौ औसी है जातु है मनु ताते मनु रुकै कैसेकै ॥

श्लो० । परिमलभृतो वाताः शाखा नवांकुरकोटयो मधुरवधृतोत्कंठा वाचः प्रियाः पिकपक्षिणां ॥ विरलविरलस्वेदोद्गारा वधूवदनंदवः प्रसरति मधौ रम्यो जातो न कस्य गुणोदयः ॥ ३३ ॥

अर्थ । प्रसरति मधौ । बसंत रितुहि आयें । कस्य । कौनहुं । रम्यो गुणोदयो न जातः । उत्तम उत्तम गुण की उदौ कौन के न भयो । किंतु सबही के भले भले गुण भये । तहां कौन के कौनु गुण भयो सु कहिजतु है । वाताः बसंत रितु विषे जि वायु चलत हैं ति । परिमलभृतः अति सुगंध ताहि लिये चलते हैं । ताते बसंत रितु विषे वायु कहां सुगंधता गुनु भयो । अरु । बसंत रितु विषे । शाखाः । बृहन्निकी शाखा फुनि । नवांकुरकोटयः । नवीन नवीन पल्लवनि के अंकुरनि करि अति सोभा भई । सु बसंत रितु विषे शाखानि कहं यह गुण भयो जु नव नव अंकुर भए । अरु । पिकपक्षिणां । कोकिलानि की । वाचः बानीं । बसंत रितु विषे प्रियाः । अति मनोहर होति हैं । कैसी कोकिलानि की बानी होति हैं । मधुर जु है अति मधु समान मधुर धुनि तिहिं करि । धृतोत्कंठाः । सुनैयानि के रति की उत्कंठाहि उपजावति हैं । सु बसंत रितु विषे कोकिलनि की यह उत्तम गुण भयो जु मधुर धुनि

भई । अरु । वधूवदेदवः । स्त्रीनि के बदन चंद्रमा । विरलविरल-
स्वेदोद्वाराः । कहं कहं प्रस्वेद बिंदुनि करि अति सीमा होति भई ।
सु वसंत रितु विषै स्त्रीनि कहं यह उत्तम गुण भयो जु सुषु चंद्रमा विषै
प्रस्वेद बिंदुनि करि अति शोभा होति भई । तातें वसंत रितु विषै उत्तम
उत्तम गुण कौन कौन भए ॥

श्लो० । अच्छाच्छचंदनरसार्द्रकरा मृगाद्यो धाराग्रहानि कुसुमानि
च कौमुदी च ॥ मंदो मरुत्सुवसनं शुचिहर्म्यपृष्ठं ग्रीष्मे मदं च मदनं च
विवर्द्धयति ॥ ३४ ॥

अर्थ । ग्रीष्मे । ग्रीष्म रितु विषै । इतनी बातें । मदं च मदनं च ।
पुरुषनि के मनहि अरु मदनहि । विवर्द्धयति । क्षण क्षण बढ़ावति है ।
कौन कौन बातें ते सब कहिजति हैं । पहिलें तौ । अच्छाच्छ कहें
अति स्वेच्छ घस्यौ चंदनु तिहि करि आर्द्र कहें भीजे हैं जु दीज कर
जिनके ऐसी मृगाक्षीनि देषतहीं । मदु बढतु है अरु मदनु बढतु है ।
ए सब कामोद्बोधक हैं । अरु धाराग्रहाणि । अंधारी छाई । अंधारीनि
मध्य बैठत ही अरु अंधारीनि की सीतल सीतल बूंदें लगतही मदु अरु
मदनु जु कामु तेज बढत हैं । अरु । कुसुमानि च । सुगंध सुगंध कुसुम
मद के अरु मदन के उपजाउनहार हैं । अरु । कौमुदी च । कौमुदी जु है
जौन्ह सोउ फुनि मदहि अरु मदनहि बढ़ावति है । अरु । मंदो मरुत्
मंद मंद बायु फुनि मदनहि अरु मदहि बढ़ावति है । अरु सुवसनं ।
स्वच्छ अति भीनें वसनें वसन फुनि मदहि अरु मदनहि बढ़ावतु है ।
अरु शुचिहर्म्यपृष्ठं । अति उज्ज्वल बड़े बड़े गृह फुनि मदहि अरु मदनहि
बढ़ावतु है ।

श्लो० । शास्त्रज्ञोपि प्रगुणितनयोप्यात्मबोधोपि गाढं संसारेक्षिन्
भवति विरलो भाजनं सद्गतीनां ॥ येनैतस्मिन् निरयनिलयद्वारमुद्घाटयंतो
वामाक्षीणां भ्रमति कुटिला भूलता कुंचिकेव ॥ ३५ ॥

अर्थ । शास्त्रज्ञोपि । शास्त्र जौ होइ । अरु । प्रगुणितनयोपि । नीति-
शास्त्रहु यद्यपि नीकें जानतु होइ । आत्माबोधोपि । आत्मा के स्वरूपहि
यद्यपि जानै तथापि । अस्मिन् संसारे । या संसार विषै । सद्गतीनां ।
सद्गतिनिकी । भाजनं । पाउनहार । विरलो भवति । कोउ सकृत् हीतु है ।
याकी यह अर्थ । कहा भयो शास्त्र कें जानें । अरु कहा भयो नीति मार्ग
चलें । अरु कहा भयो आत्माकी बोधु भयें । सद्गति तौ काहू सकृत् कहं

होति है । येन । जा कारण ते । एतस्मिन् । या संसार विषे । वामाक्षीणां । मृगाक्षीनिकी भूलता भ्रमति । भौह चलति है । ताते मृगाक्षीनि की एतादृश भौह चलत जब देषी तब काहे की सद्गति । कैसी मृगाक्षीनि की भूलतां । कुंचिका द्व व कुटिला । लोह की कुची समान वक्र है बहुरि कैसी है मृगाक्षीनि की भूलतां । निरय जु है नरकु सोई जु निलय घर ताके द्वारहि उद्वाटयंती । उधारि देति है । जैसे लोह की कुची घरके द्वारहि उधारि देति है ॥

श्लो० । उन्मीलत्रिवलीतरंगवलया प्रोत्तुंगपीनस्तनदंढेनोद्यतचक्र-
वाक्युगला वक्त्रांबुजोद्भासिनी ॥ कांताकारधरा नदीयमभितः क्रूरा च
नापेक्ष्यते संसारार्णवमज्जनं यदि ततो दूरेण संत्यज्यतां ॥ ३६ ॥

अर्थ । अब भर्तृहरि स्त्रीहि नदी करि वर्णत हैं । अरे लोग ही ॥ संसारार्णवमज्जनं यदि नापेक्ष्यते । संसार समुद्र विषे जो तुम बूझ्यो नाहीं चाहत तो । इयं कांताकारधरा नदी । कांता जु है स्त्री सोई जु भई नदी सु । दूरेण संत्यज्यतां । दूरिहीते छांडिजो । यह स्त्री रूप नदी कैसी है । प्रोत्तुंग कहेते उन्नत अरु । पीन कहेते मसीले स्तन दंढ कहा दोऊ स्तन तेई हैं उद्यत चक्रवाक युगल जा विषे औसी है । बहुरि यह स्त्री रूप नदी कैसी है । वक्र जु सुष्ठु सोई है अंबुजु तिहिं करि । उद्भासिनी । अति ही विराजति है । बहुरि कैसी है यह स्त्री रूप नदी । अभितः क्रूरा च । सबही प्रकार अति क्रूर है । क्रूर कहावै भयानक । ताते जो संसार समुद्र मध्य बूझ्यो न चाहिजे तो औसी स्त्री रूप नदीहि लगते न जै । स्त्री रूप नदी मांझ जो बूडिज तो बहुरि यहै स्त्री रूप नदी संसार समुद्र मांझ लै डारै । संसार कहावै जनमु मरनु ॥

श्लो० । इह हि मधुरगीतं रूपमेतद्रसोयं स्फुरति परिमलो सौ स्पर्श
एष स्तनानां ॥ इति हृतपरमार्थैरिन्द्रियैर्भ्राम्यमाणः स्वहितकरणधूर्तैः
पञ्चभिर्वंचितोस्मि ॥ ३७ ॥

अर्थ । अब भर्तृहरि अपनी निन्दा करत हैं । देषहु । अहं । हौं । पंचभिरिन्द्रियैः । पंचहू इन्द्रियनि करि । भ्राम्यमाणः । वैही कामहिं भ्रमायी हौं । अरु । वंचितोस्मि । भूठौ बात सौं मेरी मनु बीराइकी हौं उहंकी फुनि हौं । पंचौ इन्द्रिय मेरे कैसे हैं । इति । जाते यह बात मानत हैं ताते । हृतपरमार्थैः । इनि इन्द्रियनि की जु कछू सत्य वस्तुकी ग्रहिबी

है सु अविद्या हर्यौ है । तहां कौन वस्तुहि कौन इन्द्रिय ग्रहति है सु कहि-
जति है । इहहि मधुगीतं । या स्त्रीके कण्ठ विषें अति मधुर गीतु है ।
मिथ्याभूत गीत सौं तौ अवर्णेन्द्रिय आसक्त भई । अरु । इह एतत् रूपं । या
स्त्री कौ यह अति सुन्दर रूपु है । यह मानिकै मिथ्याभूत रूप विषें
नेत्र इन्द्रिय आसक्त भई । अरु । असौ परिमलः । या स्त्री के सुष मध्य
यह अति सुगन्ध बायु आवतु है । यह मानिकै मिथ्याभूत परिमल विषें
नासिका इन्द्रिय आसक्त भई । अरु । एष स्तनानां स्पर्शः । इनि स्तननि कौ
यह सुषद स्पर्श है । यह मानिकै मिथ्याभूत स्पर्शही विषें लचा इन्द्रिय
आसक्त भई । सु इहि प्रकार ए इन्द्रिय औसे धूर्त आहि जु अपनौ हितु तौ
कीन्हों मेरौ कार्यु न कीनों ॥

श्लो० । संसार तव निस्तारपदवी न दवीयसी ॥ अंतरा दुस्तरा न
स्युर्यदि रे मदिरेक्षणाः ॥ ३८ ॥

अर्थ । अब भट्टहरि संसारसौं दुष पाइ कहत हैं । रे संसार । तव
निस्तारपदवी । तोहि पारहूबौ । न दवीयसी । अति दूर नाहीं । किंतु
निकटहीं है । पै एक है । यदि । जौ । मदिरेक्षणाः मदिरा समान है अति
मादकु ईक्षण कहेंतें अवलीकनु जिनकौ औसी स्त्री । अंतरा । बीच । दुस्तरा
न स्युः । दुस्तर न होंहीं । दुस्तर कहावै जु तयों न जाई । याकौ यह अर्थ ।
संसार समुद्र के तरिवे कहु कछु अति कठिन नाहीं । पै भाई जौ बीच
प्रतिबन्ध स्त्री न होंइ । स्त्री कैसी हैं जिन कौ कटाक्ष पूर्वक अवलीकनु
मदिरा समान मादकु है । जैसे मदिरा पियत मत्त हीत हैं तैसेही स्त्री
जातन कटाक्ष पूर्वक चितवति हैं सु पुरुष महामत्तु हैजातु है । याही
तें स्त्री अति दुस्तर हैं तरी न जाई ॥

श्लो० । कामिनीकायकांतारे कुचपर्वतदुर्गमे ॥ मा संचर मनः पांथ
तत्रास्ते स्रतस्करः ॥ ३९ ॥

अर्थ । अब भट्टहरि अपन मनहि सिषवत हैं । अरे मनः पांथ ।
अरे पथिक मन । कामिनीनि कौ जु काय कहा शरीर सोई जु भयौ
कांतार कहा अति विषम मार्गु ता विषें । मा संचर । जनि जाहि ।
है कैसौ यह मार्गु । कुचपर्वतदुर्गमे । कामिनीनिके जु कुच तेई जु पर्वत
तिनि करि महा दुर्गसु है यह मार्गु । तातें इहि मार्ग तू जनि जाहि ।
जातें । तत्र । या मार्ग विषें । स्रतस्कर आस्ते । सर जु है कामु सोई
जु भयौ तस्कर महाबटपरा सौ लग्यौई रहतु है ॥

श्लो० । शृंगारदुमनीरदे विस्मरक्रीडासरसोतसि प्रद्युम्नप्रियबंधवे
चतुरतामुक्ताफलोदन्वति ॥ तन्वीनेत्रचकोरपार्वणविधौ सौभाग्यलक्ष्मी-
निधौ धन्यः कोपि न विक्रियां कलयति प्राप्ते नवे यौवने
॥ ४० ॥

अर्थ । नवे यौवने प्राप्ते । नव यौवनु प्राप्त भयेंते । यः । कोपि । जु
कोज । विक्रियां न कलयति । विकारहि न प्राप्त होई । स धन्यः ।
सु पुरुष अति धन्य है । नातर यौवनहि पाइके कौन के नाहीं विकार
होतु । है कैसी नव यौवनु । शृङ्गारदुमनीरदे । शृङ्गार जु है शृङ्गार रस
सोई जु भयो दुम ताहि सौंचि बढाईवे कहूं नीरद प्राय है । जैसे नीरद
दुमहि सौंचि सौंचि बढाउतु है तैसेही नव यौवनु शृङ्गारहि क्षणहूं क्षण
बढावतु है । बहुरि नव यौवनु कैसी है । विस्मर कहेंते जु क्षण क्षण
प्रति कीजति है औसी जु क्रीडा ताके कीवे कहूं सरोवर प्राय है । जैसे
सरोवरहि पाइके जलक्रीडा बार बार कीजति है । तैसेही नव यौवनहि
पाइके क्षण क्षण क्रीडा कीजति है । बहुरि नव यौवनु कैसी है ।
प्रद्युम्नप्रियबंधवे । प्रद्युम्न जु है कामुदेव सोई जु है प्रिय बंधु जाको
औसी है । जैसे हितकारी बधु अपने हितु वाको समीप नाहीं छांडतु ।
तैसे कामु फुनि नव यौवन के समीपहि नाहीं छांडतु । जहां नव यौवनु तहां
कामु । बहुरि नव यौवनु कैसी है । चतुरतामुक्ताफलोदन्वति । चतुरताई
जु मुक्ताफलु ताके उपजाइवे कहूं समुद्र प्राय है । जैसे समुद्र विषें मुक्ता
उपजत है तैसे नव यौवन विषें चातुरी उपजति है । बहुरि नव यौवनु
कैसी है । तन्वीनेत्रचकोरपार्वणविधौ । तन्वी स्त्री के जु नेत्र तेई जु भए
चकोर तिनके बिलास कराइवे कहूं पार्वण विधु प्राय है । पार्वण विधु
कहावे पूर्णमासी कौ चन्द्रमा । तातें जैसे सम्पूर्ण चन्द्रमा कौ उदय भय
तें चकोर अनेक बिलासनि करतु है । तैसेही नव यौवन कौ उदौ
भयेंते तरुणी के नेत्र अनेक बिलास करत हैं । बहुरि नव यौवनु कैसी
है । सौभाग्यलक्ष्मीनिधौ । सौभाग्य जु है सुहागु सोई जु लक्ष्मी
कहेंते सम्पति ताकी निधौ निधि नव यौवनु है । सु औसे यौवनहि
पाइके जाके बिकार न होहि सु धन्य है ॥

श्लो० । रागस्यागारमेकं नरकशतमहादुःखसंप्राप्तिहेतुर्मोहस्योत्पत्ति-
बौजं जलधरपटलं ज्ञानताराधिपस्य ॥ कंदर्पस्यैकमित्रं प्रकटितविविध-
स्रष्टोषप्रबंधं लोकेस्मिन्नक्षनर्थब्रजकुलभवनं यौवनादन्यदस्ति ॥ ४१ ॥

अर्थ । अस्मिन् लोके । यालोक विषे । यौवनात् अन्यत् । यौवन ते
और कछु । अनर्थब्रजकुलभवनं नास्ति । सकल अनर्थनि कौ जु ब्रजु
कहेते समूहु ताकौ जु कुलभवनु और नाहीं किंतु सकल अनर्थनि कौ
कुलभवनु है । कुलभवनु कहावै परंपरा कौ मूर अरु घर । तहां
यौवन कौन कौन अनर्थनि कौ घर है सु कहिजतु है । है कैसौ यौवन ।
रागस्यागारं । विषय मनोरथनि कौ घर है यौवन । अरु नरकशत
जु हैं अनेक प्रकारनि के नरक अरु महादुषनि के पाद्वे कहुं अकेली
यौवन हेतु है । अरु मोहस्य उत्पत्तिबीजं । मूढता की उत्पत्ति कौ
बीजभूतु अकेली यौवन है । अरु ज्ञानताराधिपस्य । ग्यानु जु भयौ
ताराधिपु चंद्रमा ताकौ प्रकास दूरि कीबे कहुं । जलधरपटलं ।
मेघ समूह प्राय अकेली यौवन है । अरु कंदर्पस्य एकमित्रं । कंदर्प कौ
मुष्य मित्रु अकेली यौवन है । तहां यौवन कंदर्प कौ कैसौ मित्रु है ।
प्रगट करे हैं विविध दोषनि के प्रबंध जिहि औसौ है । यौवन विषे अनेक
दोष उपजत हैं ॥

श्लो० । द्रष्टव्येषु किमुत्तमं मृगदृशः प्रेमप्रसन्नं मुखं घ्रातव्येष्वपि
किं तदास्यपवनः अव्येषु किं तद्वचः ॥ किं स्वादेषु तदीष्टपल्लवरसः
स्पर्शेषु किं तत्तनुर्धर्यं किं नवयौवने सद्दयैः सर्वत्र तद्विभ्रमः ॥ ४२ ॥

अर्थ । जौ कोऊ यह पूछे कि । द्रष्टव्येषु किं उत्तमं । द्रष्टव्य
कहावै जु वस्तु नेत्रनि के देषिवे कहुं सुंदर है सु तिनि सकल द्रष्टव्यनि
मध्य उत्तम द्रष्टव्य कौ है । तौ ताहि यह उत्तर दीवौ कि । मृगदृशः
प्रेमप्रसन्नं मुखं । भर्ता के प्रेम करि अति प्रसन्न रहतु जु है मृगाक्षी
कौ मुषु सबही दर्शनीय वस्तुनि मध्य देषिवे कहुं परम उत्तम है ।
अरु जौ कोऊ यह पूछे कि । घ्रातव्येष्वपि किं उत्तमं । घ्रातव्य वस्तु
कहावै है जु आघ्रातु लीबे कहुं सुगन्ध वस्तु है सु तिनि सकल घ्रातव्य
वस्तुनि मध्य अति उत्तम घ्रातव्य वस्तु कौन है । तौ याकौ उत्तर यह
दीवौ कि । तदास्यपवनः । मृगाक्षी कौ जु आस्य कहेते मुषु ता मध्य कौ
पवनु सब सुगंध वस्तुनि मध्य उत्तम सुगंध है । अरु जौ कोऊ यह
पूछे कि । अव्येषु किं उत्तमं । जु जु अवननि सुनिबे कहुं मधुर बात हैं
जैसे कोकिल कौ शब्द बीणा कौ धुनि । ति सब औसौ औसौ बात अव्य
कहावै सु तिनि सब वस्तुनि मध्य उत्तम अव्य कहा है । तौ याकौ उत्तर
यह दीवौ कि । तद्वचः । मृगाक्षी कौ बचन सबही श्रोतव्यनि कौ

अति उत्तम है। अरु जौ कोऊ यह पूछे कि। खाद्येषु किं उत्तमं। जिनि जिनि वस्तुनि कौ अति नौकौ स्वादु है ति सब वस्तु स्वाद्य कहावै। सु तिनि सब स्वाद्य वस्तुनि मध्य उत्तम स्वादवंत वस्तु कौन है। तौ याकौ उत्तर यह दीवौ कि। तदीष्टपल्लवरसः। मृगाक्षी के वोष्ठ पल्लवनि कौ रसु सबही आस्वाद्य वस्तुनि तें अति स्वादवंत है। अरु जौ कोऊ यह पूछे कि। स्पर्शेषु किं उत्तमं। जिनि जिनि कौ स्पर्श सुषद है ति सब वस्तु स्पर्श कहवै सु तिनि सबही स्पर्श वस्तुनि मध्य सुषद स्पर्श कौन कौ है। तौ याकौ उत्तर यह दीवौ कि। तत्तनुः। सबही के स्पर्श तें मृगाक्षी कौ शरीर अति सुषद है। अरु जौ कोऊ यह पूछे कि। सर्वत्र। सबही वस्तुनि मध्य ध्येयं किं। ध्यानु कौवे कहुं कौन वस्तु उत्तम है। तौ याकौ उत्तर यह दीवौ कि। नव यौवने तदिभ्रमः। नव यौवन विषे मृगाक्षी के विलासनि कौ ध्यानु कर्तव्य है। अब भर्तृहरि तौनि स्त्रीकनि करि वेश्यानि की निंदा करत हैं ॥

स्त्री०। जात्यंधाय च दुर्मदाय च जराजीर्णाखिलांगाय च दुःशीलाय च दुर्मुखाय च गलत्कुष्ठाय भूताय च ॥ यद्वंतीषु मनीहरं निजवपुर्लक्ष्मी-लवग्रहया पण्यस्त्रीषु विवेककल्पलतिकाशस्त्रीषु रज्येत कः ॥ ४३ ॥

अर्थ। एवं भूतकः। औसी मूर्ख को है जु। पण्यस्त्रीषु। वेश्यानि विषे। रज्येत। अनुरक्त होइ। है कैसी वेश्या। विवेककल्पलतिकाशस्त्रीषु। विवेकु वै जु कल्पलता ताहि अनायासही काटिबे कहुं शस्त्री प्राय है। शस्त्री कहावै कुरी। सु जैसे तीक्ष्ण कुरी लताहि अनायासही काटि डारति है तैसेही वेश्याकी संगति विवेकहि काटति है। अरु ज्ञानहि अनायासही काटति है। बहुरि वेश्या कैसी है। लक्ष्मीलवग्रहया। थोरेही द्रव्य कहुं। मनीहरं निजवपुः। अति मनीहर अपने शरीरहि। औसीहुं कदर्य पुरुष कहुं। यद्वंतीषु। देति है। कैसे पुरुषहि अपनी शरीर देति है। जात्यंधायच। जनम के आंधरे कहुं तनक धन के लोभ तें अपने दिव्य शरीरहि देति है। अरु दुर्मदाय च। दुषदायक है रच्यौ है मानु जि पुरुष विषे ताहू कहुं अपने शरीरहि देति है। अरु। जराजीर्णाखिलांगाय च। जरा करि जीर्ण है रच्यौ है अंग जिनि कौ औसे षड कहुं तनक धनके लोभ आपनी दिव्य देहहि अर्पती हैं। अरु। दुःशीलाय च। अति दुषद है स्वभाव जिनि पुरुषनि की तिहि अपने शरीरहि नौकें देति है। अरु दुर्मुखाय च। जु सर्वदा दुर्बचन बोलतु है ताहू कहुं अपने शरीरहि

देति है । अरु बहुतु कहालौं कहिजै । जु सर्वदा । गलत्कुष्ठाय भूताय च ।
गिरि गिरि परतु है कोठ जाके अंगनि तें अैसेहू मनुष्यहि तनक धनके
लोभते अपने दिव्य शरीरहि देति हैं । सु अैसे बेश्यानि सौं को मूर्ख
अनुरक्तु हैहै ॥

श्लो० । कश्चुंबति कुलपुरुषो बेश्याधरपल्लवं मनोज्ञमपि ॥ नटभट-
चेरकचारणविटनिष्ठौवनशरावं ॥ ४४ ॥

अर्थ । मनोज्ञमपि बेश्याधरपल्लवं । यद्यपि बेश्या के अधर पल्लव
अति मनोहर हैं तदपि । कः कुलपुरुषः । अैसे कुलीनु पुरुष को है जु ।
चुंबति । बेश्या के अधरपल्लवनि को चुंबनु करिहै । कैसी है वह बेश्या
को अधरपल्लव । नट अरु भट अरु चेरक कहेंतें चरे अरु चारण अरु
विट कहेंतें और ऊ लंपट । तिनि सबनि के । निष्ठौवनशरावं । थूंकिये की
शरैया है । याको यह अर्थ । जैसे थूंकिये की पात्रु माटी की सरैया होति है
तैसेहो नट भट चरे बेश्यानि के अधर पल्लवनि को चुंबनु जु करत हैं सु तातें
बेश्या के अधर पल्लवनि मध्य नट भट चरेनि को थूंकु लगतु है । सु तातें
बेश्यानि के अधर पल्लव नट भट चरेनि के थूंकिये की सरैया प्राय है । सु
अैसे अधम अधरपल्लवनि को चुंबनु को कुलीनु पुरुष करिहै ।

श्लो० । बेश्यासौ मदनज्वाला रूपेधनविवर्द्धिता ॥ कामिभिस्तत्र
हूयंते यौवनानि धनानि च ॥ ४५ ॥

अर्थ । अैसे बेश्या । यह जु है बेश्या सु । मदनज्वाला है । अरु
रूपेधनविवर्द्धिता । रूप जु है सुंदरता सोई धनु तिहि करि अतिहो
बढाई है । तातें या कामाग्नि की ज्वाला रूप बेश्या विषे । कामिभिः ।
कामो पुरुषनि करि । यौवनानि धनानि च । अपने यौवन अरु धन । हूयंते ।
होमत हैं । बेश्या के संगति यौवन अरु धनु दोऊ जात हैं ॥

श्लो० । मधुरयं मधुरैरपि कोकिलाकलकलैर्मलयस्य च वायुभिः ॥
विरहिणः प्रतिहन्ति शरीरिणो विषदि हन्त सुधापि विषायते ॥ ४६ ॥

अर्थ । अयं मधुः । यह वसंत रितु । कोकिलाकलकलैः । कोकिलानि
के मधुर शब्द करि कै । अरु । मलयस्य च वायुभिः । मलयज के सुवासहि
लयें आवतु जु है मलय पर्वत संबंधी वायु तिनि करि कै । विरहिणः
शरीरिणः । विरही जननि । प्रतिहंति । मारतु है । मारिबोई महा दुषु
दोबी जानिबो । सु वे वसंत रितु संबंधी कोकिलानिके शब्द चाहौ मधुरै-
रपि । यद्यपि अति मधुर हैं तऊ विरही जननि कहें अति दुषु देतु है ।

तहां जो कीज यह कहै कि कोकिलानि को मधुर धुनि सुनिके
विरहौनि कें परम सुषु तो हों न बूझिजे दुषु काहें तें हीतु हैं।
तहां कह्यौ कि। विपदि। दुषु मध्य। शरीरिणः। देहधारी कहुं।
सुधापि। सुधाज। विषायते। विषु सी लगति है। यह किरात काव्य
विषै कह्यौ है ॥

श्लो०। आतपे धृतिमता सह वध्या यामिनीविरहिणा विहगेन।
सेहिरे न किरणा हिमरश्मेर्दुःखिते मनसि सर्वमसच्छम् ॥ १ ॥

अर्थ। या श्लोक की यह अर्थ। विहगेन। चक्रवाक। आतपे।
दिबसके अति कठिन घाम विषै। सह वध्या। चक्रवाकी के संजोग।
धृतिमता। अैसे धैर्य धरें रह्यौ जु घाम नेकहूं न लाग्यौ। सु यह सब
स्त्री के साथ की सुषु आहि। ता पाछे बहुरि। यामिनीविरहिणा। रात्रि
विषै जब वहै चक्रवाकु विरहौ भयौ तब। अैसे कातरता भई जु। हिम-
रश्मेः। चंद्रमा के। किरणाः। परम सीतल किरणज। न सेहिरे। न सहे
गए। अैसे है अति गयार न लागे जु। यह कछू अस्वार्थ न जानिबौ।
जातें। दुःखिते मनसि। मन मध्य जब दुषु भयौ तब। सर्व असच्छं। सुषु
तौ बस्तु अति दुषद लागति है ॥

श्लो०। तावन्महत्वं पांडित्यं विवेकितं कुलीनता ॥ यावज्ज्वलति
नांगेषु हतः पंचेषुपावकः ॥ ४७ ॥

अर्थ। महत्वं तावत्। महापुरुष की महत्य तौही लौं रहतु है।
अरु। पांडित्यं तावदेव। पंडित विषै पांडित्य तौही लौं है। अरु।
विवेकितं तावदेव। विवेकी पुरुषनि विषै विवेकु तौही लौं रहतु है। अरु
कुलीनकी कुलीनता फुनि तौहीं लौं है। यावत्। जीलौं। हतः पंचेषु-
पावकः। देवहत कामा अग्नि। अंगेषु। ईतनेनि के अंगनि मध्य।
न ज्वलति। नाहीं प्रज्वलतु। जबहीं अंग विषै काम अग्नि उठी तबही
काहे की महत्व अरु। काहे की पांडित्य। अरु। काहेकी विवेकु। अरु
काहेकी कुलीनता। किंतु कामु कें बख्य अैसे हीतु है जु अगम्यागमनु
करत बिचारतु नाहीं ॥ यह प्रबोधचंद्रोदय ग्रंथ विषै कामदेव अपनें ही
मुष कह्यौ है ॥

श्लो०। अहिल्याया जारः सुरपतिरभूदात्मतनयां प्रजानाथोऽयासी-
दभजत गुरोरिंदुरबलां ॥ इति प्रायः को वा न पदमपदे कार्यतमया अमी
महाणानां क इव भुवनीमायविधिषु ॥ १ ॥

अर्थ । कामु दंभ सौ अपनी बड़ाई मारतु हैं । देषु दंभ । मेरी बानु जबही इंद्रहि लग्यौ तबहीं । सुरपति । इंद्र । अहिल्यायाः । अहिल्या नाम गौतम रिषीश्वर की स्त्री की । जारोभूत । जारु जादू भयौ । कछू यह विवेकु न रक्षौ कि यह ब्राह्मण की स्त्री है तौ हौं अगम्यागमनु न करौ । अरु । प्रजानाथः । ब्रह्मा पुनि । आत्मतनयां अयासीत् । अपनी कन्या हौं कौं व्यभिचार कीवे कहुं प्रवृत्तु भयौ । कछू यह न बिचारौ कि इहि बात ते मेरी पांडित्य जैहै । अरु मेरी महत्व जैहै । अरु मेरी बानु लगेंत इंद्रुः चन्द्रमा पुनि । गरीरबलां । अपनों गुरु बृहस्पति तौ ताहूकी स्त्री सौं । अभजत । भजनु करतु भयौ । तातें । मद्वाणनां । मेरे बाणनि कहुं । भुवनोन्माथविधिषु । समस्त भुवन मथत । को वा अमः । कौनु अमु है । किन्तु मेरे बाण समस्त भुवननि अनायासही मथत है ॥

श्लो० । शंभुस्वयंभुहरयो हरिणेक्षणां येनाक्रियंत सततं गृहकुंभ-
दासाः ॥ वाचामगोचरचरित्रपवित्रताय तस्मै नमो भगवते कुसुमायुधाय ॥ ४८ ॥

अर्थ । अब भर्तृहरि कामदेवकी पराक्रम कहत हैं । येन । जिहि कामदेव । शंभुस्वयंभुहरयः । महादेव ब्रह्मा विष्णु एक तीन्यों । हरिणेक्षणां । मृगाक्षी स्त्रीनि के । गृहकुंभदासा अक्रियंत । घर के पक्षीर करे हैं । याकी यह अर्थु । कामदेव ए तीन्यों देवता स्त्रीनि के बश्य ऐसे करे है जु महादेव तौ अपनी स्त्री अर्धांग कीन्ही है । अरु । ब्रह्मा अपनी कन्याही पर बिकार बुद्धि करी । अरु । विष्णु अपनी स्त्री लक्ष्मी अपने बक्षस्थल पर राखी हैं । तातें जिहि काम ऐसेहूनि कहुं यह कीन्ही है । तस्मा । ता कामु कहुं नमस्कार । है कैसी कामु । कुसुमायु-
धाय । कुसुम जु हैं फूल सोइ हैं आयुध हाथ्यार जाके । याकी यह अर्थु । भर्तृहरि यह कहत हैं कि हौं कामदेव कहुं नमस्कार यातें करतु जु काम की शक्ति ऐसी बड़ी हैं । जु कुसुम के आयुधनि ऐसे ऐसे बडे देवतानि हूं जोति करि स्त्रीनि के बश्य करे हैं । याही तें बानीनि कहुं अगोचर है । ऐसे ऐसे चरित्र जोके ऐसी कामु है । यद्यपि औरनि को ऐसी है तदपि अपुन पवित्र है ॥

श्लो० । स्त्रीमुद्रां भूपकेतनस्य विवृतां सर्वार्थसंपत्करीं ये मूढाः
प्रविहाय यांति कुधिपो मिथ्याफलान्वेषिणः ॥ ते तेनैव निहृत्य निर्दयतरं
नग्नौकृता मुंडिताः केचिद्रक्तपटौकृताश्च जटिलाः कापालिकाश्चापरे ॥ ४९ ॥

अर्थ । भूपकेतनस्य । कामदेव को । परमां स्त्रीमुद्रां । अति सुंदर
जु स्त्री रूप काप ताहि । ये कुधियः । ये कुबुद्धि पुरुष । प्रविहाय । छाडि
करि । मिथ्याफलान्वेषिणः । और कछू मिथ्याभूत फल स्वर्गादिकनि
को इच्छा करि । अन्यत्र यांति । और मार्ग चलत हैं । ते मूढाः । ति मूढ
पुरुष । तेनैव । कामदेव ही । निर्दयतरं निहत्य । अति निर्दय है दुषु
पादकौ मारिकौ तव निकासि दएस । केचित् नरनीकृताः । कितेकज
तौ नग्नकरि निकासि । दिगंबर संन्यासी नग्न रहत हैं अरु स्त्रीनि
छाड़ें रहत हैं सु उनि कहुं कामदेव आपनें हाथ को काप स्त्री दर्ई हुती
सु इनि अनादर करि अंगीकार न कौन्हों सु कामदेव अति दुषु पादकौ
नांगि करि निकासि हैं । अरु । केचित् मुंडिताः । कितेकज मुडिया करि
निकासि हैं । जीगी मुडिया होत हैं । अरु । केचित् रक्तपटीकृताः । कितेकौ
राते बस्त्र पहिराद निकासि । अरु अपरे कापालिकाः । एक षट्पद हाथ दै
निकासि । अरु । केचित् जटिलाः । कितेकज जटाधारी करि निकासि ॥

श्लो० । विस्तारितं मकरकेतनधौवरेण स्त्रीसंज्ञितं वडिशमत्र भवांबु-
राशी ॥ येनाचिरात्तदधरामिषलुब्धमर्त्यमत्स्यान्विकृष्य सः पचत्यनुराग-
वक्त्रौ ॥ ५० ॥

अर्थ । अत्र भवांबुराशी । या संसार समुद्र मध्य । मकरकेतन-
धौवरेण । मकर केतन जु है कामु सोई जु भयौ ठौमरु तिहि । स्त्री-
संज्ञितं वडिशं । स्त्री रूप बनसी । विस्तारितं । पसारी है । सु यह स्त्री
बनसी कैसी है । येन । जिहि स्त्रीरूप बनसी करि । अचिरात् । वेगिही दै ।
तदधरामिषलुब्धमर्त्यमत्स्यान् । स्त्री के जु अधर सोई जु भयौ आमिष
ता विषें लुब्ध कहें ते अति लोभी जु । मर्त्य कहें ते मनुष्य तेई जु मत्स्य
तिनि मत्स्यनि । विकृष्य । अँचिकै । सः । वह काम ठौमरु । अनुराग-
वक्त्रौ । अनुराग अग्नि मध्य । पचति । रांधतु है । जैसे ठौमरु बनसी
करि मीननि विधैकरि अग्नि मध्य रांधतु है । ईहां कामु ठौमरु भयौ ।
स्त्री बनसी भई । स्त्री को अधर आमिष भयौ । अनुराग अग्नि भयौ ॥

श्लो० । उन्मत्तप्रेमसरंभादारंभन्तेयदंगनाः ॥ तत्र प्रत्यूहमाधातुं
ब्रह्मापि खलु कातरः ॥ ५१ ॥

अर्थ । अंगना जु है स्त्री सु । उन्मत्तप्रेमसरंभात् । प्रेम के
अति आवेश करि । यत् आरंभते । जु कार्य करन चाहति हैं । तत्र । त
कार्य विषें । ब्रह्माज । प्रत्यूहं आधातुं । अंतराज कौबे कहुं । कातरः ।

कादरु है। कादरु कहावै असमर्थु। जु कछु स्त्री कखी चाहैं सु अवस्य करहि। ताकी अंतराउ ब्रह्मा पहं न कखी जाइ और की कितौक बात। जैसे एक कथा भागवत विषि है। जु एक समय कस्यपु संध्या समय विषे संध्या की ईश्वर की सुमिरनु करत बैठे हुते। तब इतने बीच कस्यप की स्त्री दितिहि कांसु जु अति व्याप्यौ तब कस्यप के आंगे ठाढी भई ठाढें है करि कहन लगी कि अही प्राणेश्वर कस्यप। तुम्हारे लयें यह कांसु मीहि आनि व्याप्यौ है सु मेरे काम की सांति करहुं। अरु। देषहु अदितिहि आदि दे जितौक मेरीं सब सपत्नी हैं सु तिनि सपत्नीनि के पुत्रनि की सुषु देषत मेरे परम संताप होतु है। मेरे पुत्रु नाहीं सु मोकहुं कृपा करि रति दानु देहु। मोपर अनुग्रह करहु। तब यह सुनि कस्यप यह बिचारौ। कि भाई अबहि संध्या समी हैं रति दानु दीबे कहूं उचितु नाहीं सु जो लौ यह संध्या बीतु जाइ तौ लौ हौं याहि बातनि लगाऊं। यह मिसु करि कस्यप दितिहि बातनि लगाउत हैं। अही दिति बहुतु नीकी तुम भली बात कही है। जु कछु तुम्हारे ईछा है सुहौं करौ। ता स्त्री की मनोरथु की न करैं जा स्त्री की संगति अर्थु धर्म कामु मोछ होतु है। अरु स्त्री की संगति ग्रहस्थु और तिनिह आश्रमनि की पालना करतु है। अरु अपनु संसार समुद्र के पार होतु है सु स्त्री औसी बडी है। अरु स्त्री पुरुष की अर्धांगु है। अरु स्त्री औसी है जाके बल ग्रहस्थु बडे रिपु इंद्रियनि जीततु है। और तीनहुं आश्रमनि इंद्रिय उगावतौ हैं। सु तिनि इंद्रियनि हम तुम्हारे बल अनायास ही जीतत हैं। जैसे गढपती गढ के बल शत्रुनि जीतत है। ताते सुनहु दिति जोलौ हमारी संपूर्ण आउ बोतिहै तौ लौ हम तुमहि उरन न है सकिहैं। ताते अबहि हमारी एक बिनतौ मानहुं। अबहि यह महाधीर बेरा है। सु इहि बेरां भूत परीत फिरत हैं। अरु महादेउ फुनि अबहि फिरत हैं सु महादेव जो देषिहै तौ हम पर दुषु पाइहै। सु तुम घरीकु देषहु। इतनीं बात जबही कस्यप कही दिति के मन एकी न आई। कामु जु अतिही व्याप्यौ सु दौरि कै दिति कस्यप जाइ गहे अति आतुर है रति दानु मांगन लगौ तब कस्यप मन मध्य दुषु पाइके ईश्वर सौं अपराधु क्षमाइके दिति कहूं रति दानु दैत भए। सु ताते इहि प्रकार स्त्री जु कछु कयौ चाहैं ताकी अंतराउ न करहीं ॥

श्लो० । प्रणयमधुराः प्रमोदारा रसादवशास्तथा भणितिमधुरा सुग्ध-
प्रायाः प्रकाशितसंमदाः ॥ प्रकृतिसुभगा विश्रंभार्द्राः सरोदयकारिणो रहसि
किमपि स्त्रैरालापा हरंति मृगीदृशं ॥ ५२ ॥

अर्थ० । मृगीदृशं । मृगाक्षीनि के । रहसि । एकांत विषे । स्त्रैरा-
लापाः । अपनी ईछा के अैसे अैसे वचन । किमपि । कछू अलौकिक
प्रकारनि करि । हरंति । पुरुषनि वस्य करति हैं । सु वै मृगाक्षीनि के
वचन कैसे हैं । प्रणयमधुराः । भर्ता के प्रेम करि सौंचे जु हैं सु ताते अति
मधुर जु है । अरु । प्रमोदाराः उनि मृगाक्षीनि के वचन न होही मानहुं ।
किंतु उनि मृगाक्षीनि के हृदयनि विषि जु अति बहुतु प्रेसु है सु ता
प्रेम के उद्गार आहिं मानहुं । उद्गार कहावै उकार । बहुरि कैसे
हैं मृगाक्षीनि के वचन । रसात्करसंभताः । रस समूह भरे हैं ।
बहुरि कैसे हैं मृगाक्षीनि के वचन । भणितमधुराः । कहत मात्रहीं
मधुर ताहिं स्रवत हैं । अरु याहौ तें । सुग्धप्रायाः । अति मनोहर हैं
मृगाक्षीनि के वचन । बहुरि मृगाक्षीनि के वचन कैसे हैं । प्रकाशित-
संमदाः । सुनत मात्रहीं परम आनंदहिं प्रगासत है । बहुरि कैसे हैं
मृगाक्षीनि के वचन । विश्रंभार्द्राः । भर्ता कौ जु विश्रंभ कहा विश्वास
तिहि करि आर्द्र कहा भोजे । बहुरि कैसे है मृगाक्षीनि के वचन ।
सरोदयकारिणः । सुनतहीं कामहिं उपजावत हैं । अैसे मृगाक्षीनि के
वचन कौ न बख्य करहिं ॥

श्लो० । मालती शिरसि जुंभणोन्मुखी चंदनं वपुषि कुकुमाविलं ॥
वक्षसि प्रियतमा मदालसा स्वर्ग एष परिशिष्ट आगतः ॥ ५३ ॥

अर्थ । शिरसि माथे पर । जुंभणोन्मुखी मालती । तबहीं के
बिकसे जाई के फूल । अरु । वपुषि । देह विषे । कुकुमाविलं । केसरि
सौ मिश्रित चंदनु लग्यौ । अरु । वक्षसि । वक्षस्थल सौं लगी । मदालसा ।
गर्व तें अलसानी सी । प्राणप्रिया । इतनीं बातें जु हैं सु मानहुं । एष
परिशिष्टः स्वर्ग आगतः । यह मानहुं या लोक विषे स्वर्ग आइ रह्यौ है ।
इतनी बातें साक्षात स्वर्ग आहि ॥

श्लो० । कुंकुमपंककलंकितदेहा गौरपयोधरकंपितहारा ॥ नूपुरहंस-
रणत्पदपद्मा कं न वशीकुरुते भुवि रामा ॥ ५४ ॥

अर्थ । भुवि । या भूमी लोक विषे । रामा जु है स्त्री सु । कं न
वशी कुरुते । काहिं बख्य नाहीं करति । किंतु अैसे स्त्री बख्य काहिं

न करें। कैसी स्त्री। कुंकुमपंककलंकितदेहा। घसी केसरि के अंग करि अति सोहतु है देहु जाकी ऐसी हैं। अरु। गौर बण जु पयोधर तिनि ऊपर कंपित है हारु जिनि की ऐसी हैं। अरु। नूपुरै भए हंसते रणत् कहेंतें मधुर धुनिहिं करत हैं पद पद्मनि मध्य जाके ऐसी स्त्री काहि न बख्य करें ॥

श्लो०। नूनं हि ते कविवरा विपरीतबोधा ये नित्यमाहुरबला इति कामिनीस्ताः ॥ याभिर्विलोलतरतारकदृष्टिपातैः शक्रादयोपि विजिता अबलाः कथं ताः ॥ ५५ ॥

अर्थ। नूनं। हम यह बात निश्चय करें कहत हैं। ते कविवरा। ते कवीश्वर। विपरीतबोधाः। और को औरई जानत हैं। यथार्थु नाहीं जानत। जे कवीश्वर। ताः कामिनी। ऐसी कामिनीनि सौं। अबला इति। अबला कहत है। याभिः जिनि कामिनीनि। विलोल तारेनि के दृष्टि पातनि करि। शक्रादयोपि। इंद्रादिक देवताज। विजिताः। जीति बख्य करे हैं। ता अबलाः कथं। ति अबला कैसें कहिजै ॥

श्लो०। उद्धृतस्तनभार एष तरले नेत्रे चले भ्रूलते रागाधिष्ठित-मोष्ठपल्लवमिदं कुर्वतु नाम व्यथां ॥ सौभाग्याच्चरपंक्तिर्केव लिखिता पुष्पायु-धेन स्वयं मध्यस्थापि करोति तापमधिकं रोमावली सा कथं ॥ ५६ ॥

अर्थ। भर्तृहरि कहत हैं कि। देषहु। एष उद्धृतस्तनभारः। तरुणी के उद्धृत कहेंतें वर्तुलाकार दोऊ स्तन। अरु। तरले नेत्रे। चंचल नेत्र दोऊ। अरु चले भ्रूलते। बक्र दोऊ भौहैं। अरु। रागा-धिष्ठितमोष्ठपल्लवं। अति रागवंत वोष्ठ पल्लव। रागु कहावै अनुरागु आरक्तता। अरु। रागु कहावै अभिलाष। सु तरुणी के इतने अंग दिषै-यानि कहुं। व्यथां कुर्वतु। संतापहि करहु यह युगतही की है याकी कछू आश्चर्यु नाहीं। जाते जु उद्धृतु होतु है ताकें दरसन संतापुष्याइजतु है। उद्धृत शब्दहीं मध्य ईहां श्लेष जानिबौ। उद्धृत कहेंतें गोठ-मटारी जानिबौ। अरु उद्धृत पापी कहावतु है। अरु तरुणी तरल नेत्र देषतहीं काम संतापु उपजतु है। सु यहउ जुक्त की है। युपै चंचलु भयो सु औरहि दुष अवश्य देतु है। अरु तरुणी की बक्र भौहैं देखत कामु संतापु उपजातु है। सु यहउ युगत की है। जु बक्र स्वभाववंतु है सु औरहि संतापु देतु वै है। अरु तरुणी के रागवंतु वोष्ठ पल्लवनि तन चितवत कामु संतापु उपजतु है सु यह फुनि युगत हो की है। जु रागवंतु

SHRĠGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTRĠHARI 105

है सु अपने रागहि सिद्ध कोवे कहं औरहि दुष देतु है । सु इनि को तो कछू आश्चर्य नाहीं । पै यहई बडौ आश्चर्य आउतु है । जु रोमावली अति संतापहि काहेते देति है । है कैसी रोमावली । मध्यस्थापि । उदर मध्य स्थित है । जु मध्यस्थु होइ सु औरहि दुष न दें न वृभिये । तहा रोमावलीहि उपमा देत हैं भर्तृहरि । तरुणीके उदर मध्य यह रोमावली ने होइ । किंतु । पुष्पायुधेन । कामदेव अपने हाथ लिषी है औसी तरुणीके सुहाग के आपरनि की पंक्ति आहि मानहुं ॥

श्लो० । जल्पंति सार्द्धमन्येन पश्यंत्यन्यं सविभ्रमाः ॥ हृदये चिंतयंत्यन्यं न स्त्रीणामेकतो रतिः ॥ ५७ ॥

अर्थ । स्त्रीणां रतिः । स्त्रीनि के प्रीति । एकतो न । एक पुरुष सौ नाहीं । किंतु । अन्येन सार्द्धं जल्पन्ति । और सौ बात कहति हैं । अरु । सविभ्रमाः । बिलास पूर्वक । अन्यं पश्यन्ति । और काहू तन चितवति हैं । अरु । हृदये । हृदय विषे । अन्यं चिंतयन्ति । काहू औरही को ध्यानु करति हैं । ताते काहू तन चितवति बात कहति मन मध्य कीज और वै हैं । सु इहि प्रकार स्त्रीनि के एक ही सौ प्रीति नाहीं । यह पुराननि हूं मध्य कही है ॥

श्लो० । स्वपरप्रतारकोसौ निंदति योलीकपंडितो युवतीः ॥ यस्मात्तपसोपि फलं स्वर्गः स्वर्गोपि चाप्सरसः ॥ ५८ ॥

अर्थ । असौ । सु पुरुष । स्वपरप्रतारकः । अपनपेहि अरु । औरहि डंढंकत हैं । अरु । अलीकपंडितः । वह पुरुष मिथ्या पंडितु है । यः । जु पुरुष । युवती निंदति । तरुणीहि निंदतु है । यस्मात् । याते । तपसोपि फलं । तपस्या हू को फलु । स्वर्गः । स्वर्गु है । अरु । स्वर्गोपि चाप्सरसः । स्वर्ग की अप्सरां फुनि हैं । ताते जु पंडितु स्त्री की निंदा करि तपस्या को आदर करतु है सु द्रुक् अपनु स्त्री बिनु होतु है अरु औरहि स्त्री पर हू अनर्चि उपजावत हैं ताते अपनपेहि अरु औरहि डंढंकतु है । अरु तपस्या हू को जु कौनज उत्तम फलु है सु स्त्री ये है ।

श्लो० । विश्रम्य विश्रम्य वनद्रुमाणां छायासु तन्वी विचचार काचित् । स्तनोत्तरीयेण करोद्धृतेन निवारयंतौ शशिनी मयूखान् ॥ ५९ ॥

अर्थ । काचित् तन्वी । कीज एक तरुणी । वनद्रुमाणां छायासु । वन के वृक्षनि की छांह । विश्रम्य विश्रम्य । बिश्वासु करि करि । विचचार । इत उत चलत फिरति भई । कैसी वह तरुणी । करोद्धृतेन स्तनोत्तरीयेण ।

अपने कर कमल करि उठाइ राखी जु स्तननि पर की अंचलु तिहि
अंचल करि। शशिनी मयूखान्। चंद्रमां के किरननि बचावति है।
कितो यह बिरहिनी नाइका है। याही तें चंद्रमा के किरण दुसह लगत
हैं। सु अंचल वोट दै करि चंद्रमा के किरणनि अंग सौं लगन नाही देति।
किंवा यह अभिसारिका है। याही तें चंद्रमा के किरण जब अंग सौं
लगत हैं तब सकुचति हैं कि मोहि कीज दै जनि तातें चंद्रमा के किरण
औभिल करि राषति है ॥

श्लो०। अदर्शने दर्शनमात्रकामा दृष्टे परिष्वंगरसैकलीला ॥ आलिंगि-
तायां पुनरायताद्यामाशास्रहे विग्रहयोरभेदं ॥ ६० ॥

अर्थ। अदर्शने सति। जौलौं हम तरुणीहि नेत्र नाहीं देषत
तौलौं। वयं दर्शनमात्रकामाः। हमारे तरुणी के दर्शन की कामना रहिबौ
करति है। कि भाई तरुणी कबहि नेत्रनि देषिबौ। अरु। दृष्टे सति।
जब स्त्रीहि हम नेत्रनि देषत हैं तब। वयं परिष्वंगरसैकलीलाः। तरुणी
के आलिंगन संबंधी सुषु पाइबे कहूं हम अति चंचल होत हैं। कि भाई
यह स्त्री कब आलिंगिबौ। अरु। आयताद्यां। अवण प्रयंत लौ दीर्घ हैं
नेत्र जाके औसी जु वह तरुणी ताहि। आलिंगितायां। आलिंगित संते।
वयं। हम। विग्रहयोः। अपने शरीर के अरु स्त्री के शरीर के। अभेदं।
अभेदहि। आशास्रहे। बांझत है। कि भाई हमारी अरु स्त्री की
शरीर कैसें हूं एकवै हूँ जाइ ॥

श्लो०। उरसि निपतितानां स्रस्तधम्मिल्लकानां मुकुलितनयनानां
किंचिदुन्मीलितानां ॥ सुरतजनितखेदस्विन्नगंडस्थलीनामधरमधु वधूनां
भाग्यवंतः पिबन्ति ॥ ६१ ॥

अर्थ। भाग्यवंतः जि भाग्यवंत पुरुष हैं ति। वधूनां अधर मधु।
औसी स्त्री के अधरामृतहि। उरसि निपतितानां। विपरीत सुरत करत
जु अमु होतु है ताते भर्ता के बचस्थल पर परिरहति है। अरु।
स्रस्तधम्मिल्लकानां। स्रस्त कहेंते छूटि गए हैं धम्मिल्ल कहेंते केस जिनि के
औसी हैं। बहुरि विपरीत सुरत विषे भर्ता के उर पर कैसी हूँ परति है।
मुकुलितनयनानां। मुकुलित कहेंते मूंदे हैं नयन जिनके औसी हैं।
बहुरि कैसी हैं वे स्त्री। किंचिदुन्मीलितानां। विपरीत सुरत अम तें बार
बार उसास लेति है तात। किंचित्। कछुकु। उन्मीलितानां। अरु
फूलि फूलि आवतु है अंगु जिनि की औसी है। बहुरि कैसी हैं वे स्त्री।

विपरीते सुरत विषेँ जनित कहेंतेँ भयौ है सर्वांग विषेँ प्रखेदु तिहि तेँ
प्रखेदु बिंदुनि करि । खिन्न कहेंतेँ लसत हैं गंडस्थल जिनि के त्रैसौ वे
स्त्री तिनि के अधरामृतहि जि पुरुष पौवत है ति पुरुष भाग्यवंत हैं ॥

श्लो० । शिखिनि कूजति गर्जति तोयदे स्फुटति चारुलता-
कुसुमांकुरे । अहह पांथ न जीवति सा प्रिया नभसि मासि न यासि गृहं
यदि ॥ ६२ ॥

अर्थ । कीज पथिक सौं कहतु है । अहह । भाई वडौ दुषु आनि
भयौ है । हे पांथ । अरे पथिक । शिखिनि कूजति सति । चतुर्दिशां
मयूर बोलत हैं । अरु तोयदे गर्जति सति । चतुर्दिशां मेष गर्जत हैं ।
अरु चारु कहेंतेँ मनीहर जु ए लता तिनि विषेँ मनि कौ समूह । स्फुटति ।
बिकसतु है । तातेँ नभसि मासि । या सावन मास विषेँ । यदि । जी । गृहं
न यासि । तूं अपने घर न जैहै तौ । सा प्रिया । वह प्राणप्रिया । न जीवति ।
न जीहै ॥

श्लो० । किं गतेन यदि सा न जीवति प्राणिति प्रियतमा तथापि
किं ॥ इत्युदीह्य नवमेषमालिकां न प्रयाति पथिकः स्वमंदिरं ॥ ६३ ॥

अर्थ । पथिकः । कीज एकु । नवमेषमालिकां । आसाढ़ मास
के पहिलेई मेषनि की मालाहि । उदीह्य । जंचे नेत्रनि देखिकै ।
इति । यह बात बिचारिकै । स्वमंदिरं । अपने घर । न प्रयाति । नाहीं
जातु । कौन बात बिचारिकै घर नाहीं जातु सोई कहिजति है ।
भाई यह पहिलेही मेष माला देखि कै । यदि । जी । सा प्रियतमा । वह
प्राण प्रिया न जीवति । न जीवति होइ तौ । किं गतेन । मेरे गयेँ कोनु
कार्य हैहै । ता तेँ हौं काहे कहुं जाऊं । अरु । यह मेष माला देखत
वह प्राणप्रिया जी प्राणिति । जीवति है । तथापि । तज । किं गतेन ।
काहे कहुं जाऊं । यह मेष माला जी देखत भर्ता केँ विरह जा स्त्री कौ
प्राण नाहीं छूटतु ता स्त्री केँ घर कहा जैजतु है । ए दीज बातें बिचारिकै
कीज पथिकु घर नाहीं जातु ॥

श्लो० । प्राग्मा मेति मनागनागतसुखं जाताभिलाषं ततः सत्रीडं
तदनु श्लथोद्यममथ प्रत्यस्तधैर्यं पुनः ॥ प्रेमार्द्रस्पृहणीयनिर्भररसक्रीडा-
प्रगल्भं ततो निः संगंगविकर्षणाधिकसुखं ह्येतत्कुलस्त्रीरतं ॥ ६४ ॥

अर्थ । एतत् । या प्रकार कौ । कुलस्त्रीरतं । कुलीन स्त्री कौ
सुरतु । कौन प्रकार कौ है सु कहिजतु है । प्राक् । सुरत केँ आरंभहीं ।

मा मा । कुलस्त्री बार बार नाहीं करति है । इति । ए निषेध बचन सुनि करि । मनाकु अनागतसुखं । कछू तादृश सुषु नाहीं उपजतु । ता पाछें । जाताभिलाषं । कुलस्त्री के सुरत कीबे कहु अभिलाष होतु है । ततः । ता पाछें । सव्रीडं । कुलस्त्री के लाज होति है । तदनु । तापाछें । श्लथोदयमं । सुरत करिबे के पहिले उदयम सब ढोले परत हैं । अथ । ता पाछें । प्रत्यस्तधैयं । कुलस्त्री की लाज जाति है । पुनः ता पाछें । प्रेमाद्रः कहें प्रेम सहित अरु स्पृहा कीजै औसौ जु निर्भर कहें अति बहुत सुषता सहित निर्दय क्रीडा होति हैं । तापाछें । सुरत कं अंत अंगनि माभ तें अंगनि काढत अधिकु सुषु होतु है सु कुलस्त्री की सुरत औसौ है ॥

श्लो० । तावदेवामृतमयी यावलोचनगोचरे ॥ चक्षुः पथादपेता स्त्री विषादप्यतिरिच्यते ॥ ६५ ॥

अर्थ । तावदेव । तौहीलों स्त्री अमृतमय लगति हैं । यावत् । जौलों । लोचनगोचरे । नेत्रनि के आगें रहिबौ करै । चक्षुः पथात् अपेता । जबहीं नेत्रनि वोभिल होति है तब हीं । विषादपि । विष हूं तें । अतिरिच्यते । अति अधिक होति है । याकौ यह तात्पर्य । जौलों स्त्री नेत्रनि आगें रहति है तौलों अपनों दरसन दे औसौ सुषु देति है जु स्त्री अमृतमय लागति है । अरु । जबही नेत्रनि के वोभिल होति है तबहीं । अनदेखि कौ औसौ दुषु देति हैं जु विष हूं तें अधिकु ॥

श्लो० । न गम्यो मंत्राणां न च भवति भैषज्यविषयो न चापि प्रध्वंसं व्रजति विविधैः शान्तिकशतैः ॥ भ्रमाविशादंगे किमपि विदधद्गमसमं स्रारपसारोयं भ्रमयति दृशं घूर्णयति च ॥ ६६ ॥

अर्थ । अयं स्रारपसारः । यह जु है स्रार कामु सोई जु भयौ अपसार बायु सु । रात्रि दिनु । भ्रमयति । चित्तहि भ्रमावतु रहतु है । अरु । दृशं । नेत्रनि । घूर्णयति च । घुमावतु रहतु है । काम के आवेस तें अरु अपसार बायु तें फुनि चित्तु भ्रमतु रहतु है । अरु नेत्र घूमत रहत हैं यह सबु कोज जानतु है । है कैसी यह कामु अपसार । मंत्राणां गम्यो न । काहूं जंत्र मंत्र तें दूरि न होई । नच । न फुनि । भैषज्यविषयः । काहू और औषध तें दूरि न होइ । न चापि । अरु । न फुनि । विविधैः शान्तिकशतैः । शान्त कीबे के अनेक उपाइन करि प्रध्वंसं न व्रजति । नाशहि नाहीं प्राप्त होतु । बहुरि कैसी है कामु अरु अपसार बायु । भ्रमाविशात । चित्त जु अति ही भ्रमतु रहतु है । सु ता तें ।

अंगे । अंगनि विषे । किमपि । कच्छु । भंगं विदधत् । भंगहि करावतु रहतु है । भंगु कहावै औडाई आइवौ । आंगु तोरिवौ । सु इतने ए सब बातें काम के आवेश ते होति हैं । अरु अपस्मार बायु हू तें होति हैं ॥

श्लो० । नूनमाज्ञाकरस्तस्याः सुभ्रुवो मकरध्वजः ॥ यतस्तन्नेत्रसंचार-
सुचितेन प्रवर्तते ॥ ६७ ॥

अर्थ । भर्तृहरि कहत है कि देषहु । नूनं । यह हम निहचें करि जानत हैं जु मकरध्वजः । कामदेउ । तस्याः । सुभ्रुवः । सुभ्रू जु हैं स्त्री तिनि को । आज्ञाकरः । आग्याकारी है । आग्याकारी जानिजै काहे ते । यतः । जातैं कामदेउ । ता तरुणीनि के नेत्रनि कौ जु संचार कहेंते चलि-
बौ ताको जु सूचिवौ तिहि करि प्रवर्ततु है । याको यह भाउ । तरुणी जा तन कटाक्ष करि चितवति है ताहि व्यापिवे कहुं कामु तई होतु है । तातें यह जानिजति है जु मकरध्वजु तरुणीनि कौ आग्याकारी है । औरज जु जाको आग्याकारी होतु है सु ताके नेत्रनि हीं चलतु है ॥

श्लो० । सति प्रदीपे सत्यर्के सत्सु तारामणींदुषु ॥ विना मे मृग-
शावाद्या तमोभूतमिदं जगत् ॥ ६८ ॥

अर्थ । पदीपे सति । यद्यपि दीपु विद्यमान है । अरु अर्के सति । यद्यपि सूर्य विद्यमान है । अरु सत्सु तारामणींदुषु । यद्यपि तारा कहेंते बडे बडे नक्षत्र अरु बडी बडी मणि विद्यमान है । अरु इंदु जु है चंद्रमां सीऊ यद्यपि विद्यमान हैं । तथापि । मृगशावाद्या विना । मृगशावलीचनी बिनु । इदं जगत् । यह संपूर्ण जगत् । मे तमोभूतं । मेरे भायें अंधकारमय है ॥

श्लो० । गुरुणा स्तनभारेण मुखचंद्रण भास्वता ॥ शनैश्चराभ्यां
पादाभ्यां रेजे ग्रहमयीव सा ॥ ६९ ॥

अर्थ । अब भर्तृहरि शब्द क्लृ करि स्त्री के अंगनि ग्रह रूप करि वर्णत हैं । सा । तरुणी स्त्री । इतने अंगनि करि । ग्रहमयी इव रेजे । ग्रहनि करि संयुक्त है मानहुं । इहि प्रकार बिराजति भई । कौन कौन अंगनि करि बिराजति भई ति कहिजत हैं । गुरुणा स्तनभारेण । गुरु कहेंते अति बडे स्तन भार करि राजति भई । गुरु कहावै बडी । अरु गुरु कहावै बृहस्पति । अरु । भास्वता मुखचंद्रण । अति दैदीप्यमान जु मुख चंद्रु तिहि करि राजति भई । अरु । शनैश्चराभ्यां पादाभ्यां । शनैः मंद मंद । चरतः । जे चलत हैं ते कहावै शनैचर औसे चरणनि करि बिराजति भई ॥

श्लो० । मुखेन चंद्रकांतेन महानीलैः शिरोरुहैः ॥ पाणिभ्यां पद्मरागाभ्यां रेजे मणिमयीव सा ॥ ७० ॥

अर्थ । अब भट्टहरि स्त्री के अंगनि मणिमय करि बर्णत है । सा । तरुणी स्त्री । इतने अंगनि करि मणिमयी द्व रेजे । मणिनि जटित है मानहुं । इहि प्रकार विराजति भई । कौन कौन अंगनि करि विराजति भई । अरु कौनु कौनु अंगु कौन कौन मणिमय है सु यहै कहिजतु है । चंद्रकांतेन मुखेन रेजे । चंद्र समान है कांत कहें अति सुंदर मुषु तिहिं करि तरुणी विराजति भई । अरु चंद्रकांत सम एक मणि होति है । जु चंद्रमा के किरण लगत ही जलहि अवति है । अरु महानीलैः शिरोरुहैः । महानील वर्ण जु शिरोरुह कहें केश तिनि करि तरुणी राजति भई । अरु महानील नाम नीलमणि कौ है । अरु पद्मरागाभ्यां पाणिभ्यां । पद्मनि कैसी है राग कहें आरक्तता जिनि की ति कहावै पद्मराग । अैसे पाणिनि करि तरुणी राजति भई । अरु पद्मराग नाम मणि होति है ॥

श्लो० । असितात्मा समुन्नद्धः समाविः कृतचापलः ॥ भुजंगकुटिलस्तस्या भ्रूविक्षेपः खलायते ॥ ७१ ॥

अर्थ । तस्याः । तरुणी स्त्रीके । भ्रूविक्षेपः । भ्रूमंगु । खलायते । दुष्ट जन कीसी नाई आचरतु है । जुं गति दुष्ट की सोई गति तरुणीनि की भौहनि की । सोई कहिजतु है । भ्रूमंगु कैसी है । असितात्मा । असित कहावै अंतर्मलिनी । बहुरि भ्रूमंगु कैसी है । समुन्नद्धः । जंचौई चढ्यो रहतु है । अरु अंतर मलिनी दुष्ट होतु व है । कहा गुन करि जंचौ नाहीं औ रहतु है जंचौ । बहुरि तरुणी कौ भ्रूमंगु कैसी है । समाविः कृतचापलः । बार बार अपनी चंचलता प्रगटतु है । दुष्ट फुनि अति चंचल होतु है । बहुरि तरुणी कौ भ्रूमंगु कैसी है । भुजंगकुटिलः । सर्प की सी नाई बक्रु है । अरु । दुष्ट फुनि भुजंग समान कुटिल होतु है । तातें तरुणी कौ भ्रूमंगु दुष्टमय है ॥

श्लो० । मुग्धे धानुष्कता केयमपूर्वा तव दृश्यते ॥ यतो विध्यसि चेतांसि गुणैरेव न सायकैः ॥ ७२ ॥

अर्थ । हे मुग्धे । तव द्रयं धानुष्कता । तेरी यह धानुष्कता । अपूर्वा दृश्यते । अलौकिक देषियति है । यतः । जा तें । चेतांसि । पराये मननि । गुणैरेव विध्यसि । अपने गुननिही करि बेधति है । न सायकैः । बाणनि

ही करि नाहीं वेधति । गुनु जिह हू कौ नाऊ है । सु आरु धनुषु तौ सायक करि वेधतु है । गुण करि कीऊ कहं नाहीं वेधजतु । सुतं गुणनिहीं करि तौ वेधति है बान करि नाहीं वेधति । याही तेरी धनुषता अधिक है ॥

श्लो० । एको रागिषु राजते प्रियतमादेहाङ्गधारी हरो नीरागेषु जिनी विमुक्तललनासंगी न यस्यापरः ॥ दुर्वारस्त्रबाणपन्नगविषव्यासंगमुक्ती जनः शेषः कामविडंबितो न विषयान् भोक्तुं न मोक्तुं क्षमः ॥ ७३ ॥

अर्थ । रागिषु । कामी पुरुषनि मध्य । एको हरो राजते । अकेले महादेउ सर्वोपर विराजत हैं । कामीनि मध्य कीऊ महादेव सौ कामी नाहीं । यातें । प्रियतमादेहाङ्गधारी । अपनी स्त्री अर्धांग करी है । ऐसे कामी हैं । अरु नीरागेषु । निहकामी पुरुषनि मध्य अकेलौई जिनः । जैनधर्म कौ चलाउनहारु जिननाम आचार्यु सर्वोपरि विराजतु है । उचितें कीऊ अधिकु निहकामी नाहीं । जातें विमुक्तललनासंग । विमुक्त कहतें निपट करि छांड्यौ है ललना स्त्रीनि कौ संगु जिहि असौ है । यस्य अपरो न । जा जिन आचार्य के काहू औरही बात कौ संगु नाहीं । शेषः । और जु बीचही विच कौ है सु । विषयान् भोक्तुं न क्षमः । न विषयनि भोगईवे कौ समर्थ आहि । अरु न मोक्तुं क्षमः । न विषय साधिबे कौ समर्थ आहि । जातें । दुर्वार कहतें अति दुसह जु स्त्र के बाण तेई जु भए पन्नग सर्प तिनके विष कौ जु व्यासंगु कहा लगिबी तिहि तें मुक्त कहतें छूथ्यौ जु है । याकौ यह तात्पर्यु । और इनहि छाड़िके जु कीऊ तीसरी है ताहि काम बाणनि कौ बिष थोरैई जु लग्यौ है सु तातें न नीकें करि बिषय भोगु कीनों जाइ अरु न नीकें त्यागई जात आहि ॥

श्लो० । इदमनुचितमक्रमश्च पुंसां यदिह जरास्वपि मान्मथो विकारः ॥ यदपि च न कृतं नितंबिनीनां स्तनपतनावधि जीवितं रतं वा ॥ ७४ ॥

अर्थ । इदं अनुचितं । यह विधाता बडौ अनुचितु कीनों हैं । अरु । अक्रमश्च । विधाता यह कछू क्रमु नाही कीनों । यत् । जु । इह । या लोक विषें । पुंसां । पुरुषनि कें । जरास्वपि । जरावस्था हू विषें । मान्मथो विकारः । काम संबंधी विकार होतु है । याकौ यह अथ । पुरुषनि के बृद्धावस्था हू विषें जु काम संबंधी विकार उपजतु है सु विधाता यह बडौ अनुचितु कीनों यह अजुगुत कौ है । अरु यह कछू क्रमु न

कीनों। अरु यदपिच । जु फुनि । नितंबिनीनां । स्त्रीनि कौ । जीवितं वा । जीवतु किंवा सुरतु । स्तनपतनावधि न कृतं । स्तन पतनही लौं न कीनों सु यह विधाता भली न कीन्ही । ना तरु स्त्रीनि कौ जीबौ अरु सुरतु कीबौ तोही लौं नीकौ जीलौं स्तननि कौ पातु न होइ ॥

श्लो० । ज्यादोर्षेण चलेन वक्रगतिना तेजस्विना भोगिना नीलाब्जद्युतिना तथा वरमहो दष्टोपि संजीवति ॥ दष्टे संति चिकित्सका दिशि दिशि प्रायेण धर्मार्थिनो मुग्धाक्षीक्षणीवीक्षितस्य नहि मे वैद्यो न चाप्यौषधं ॥ ७५ ॥

अर्थ । भट्टहरि कहत हैं कि देषहु । भोगिना दष्टः । अैसे सर्प कौ प्रायौ मनुष्य । संजीवति । जीवतु है । मंत्रबल तें किंवा वैद्य के बल तें किंवा वोषध के बलते जीवतु है । कैसे सर्प कौ प्रायौ । ज्यादोर्षेण । कमठा कौ जिह समान दीर्घ है । फुनि कैसी है सर्पु । चलेन । चंचलु है । अरु वक्रगतिना । वक्र है गमनु जा कौ अैसी है । फुनि कैसी है सर्पु । तेजस्विना । मन्हा तेजस्वी है । अरु नीलाब्जद्युतिना । नील कमल समान दृष्टा वर्ण है । अैसेही सर्प कौ प्रायौ जीवतु है । जा तें । दिशि दिशि । चौहूँ कोद । प्रायेण । अति बहुत । धर्मार्थिनः । परम धर्मात्मा । दष्टे चिकित्सकाः संति । सर्प कै प्राए कहुं भले भले वैद्य हैं । ते जिवाइ लेत हैं । पै । मुग्ध कहेतें सुंदर हैं अक्षि नेत्र जाके अैसी जु परम सुंदर स्त्री तिहि कटाक्ष करि अवलोक्यौ जु हौं ता मोकहुं । न बैद्य न वोषधु ॥

श्लो० । विरहेपि संगमः खलु परस्परं संगतं मनो येषां ॥ हृदय-मतिविषटितं विरहः किल संगमे तेषां ॥ ७६ ॥

अर्थ । येषां मनः । जिनि स्त्री पुरुषनि कौ मनु । परस्परं संगतं । परस्पर मिल्यौई रहतु है । तेषां । तिनि स्त्री पुरुषनि कहुं । विरहेपि संगमः । वियोग हू विषे संगसु जानिबौ । अरु येषां हृदयं । जिनि स्त्री पुरुषनि कौ मनु । अति विषटितं । भिन्न भिन्न भयौ रहतु है । तेषां । तिनि स्त्री पुरुषनि कहुं । संगमेपि विरहः । एकत्र हू रहत विरहुं जानिबौ ॥

श्लो० । अपसर सखे दूरादस्मत्कटाक्षविधानलात्प्रकृतिविषमाद्योषित्सर्पादिलासफणाभृतः ॥ इतरफणिना दष्टः शक्यश्चिकित्सतुंमौषधैश्चटुल-वनिताभोगिग्रस्तं त्यजंति हि मंत्रिणः ॥ ७७ ॥

अर्थ । भट्टहरि काहूँ आपनें हितूहि उपदेशत हैं । हे सखे । अरे सखा । अस्मात् योषित्सर्पात् । या स्त्री सर्प तें । दूरात् अपसर । अति

दूरि उसरि भागु । निकट जनि रहै । है कैसौ यह स्त्री सर्पु । कटाक्ष विपानलात् । कटाक्ष हैं विष संबंधी अग्नि जा विषें अैसौ है । फुनि कैसौ है । स्त्री सर्पु । प्रकृतिविषमात् । सुभाव हो तें अति विषसु है । फुनि कैसौ है स्त्री सर्पु । विलासफणाभृतः । विलासै जु फण ताहि धरै है । अैसे स्त्री सर्प तें डरपत रहिजै । अरु देषें तें दूरिहूं ते भगिजै । इतरफणिना दृष्टः । और सर्प को पायो तो । औषधैश्चिकित्सतुं शक्यः । औषधनि करि मंत्रणि करि ज्यादा लीजतु है । पै । चटुलवनिताभोगिग्रस्तं । चंचल स्त्री जु भोगी कहेंते सर्पु तिहि करि ग्रस्यौ जु कामी पुरुष ताहि । मंत्रिणः । जंत्र मंत्रके जाननहारऊ असाध्य जानि करि । त्यजंति । छाँडि देत है ॥

श्लो० । तस्याः स्तनौ यदि घनौ नयनं च चारु वक्त्रं च हारि यदि चित्त किमाकुलत्वं ॥ पुण्यं कुरुष्व यदि तेषु तवास्ति वांछा पुण्यैर्विना नहि भवन्ति समीहितार्थाः ॥ ७८ ॥

अर्थ । भर्तृहरि अपने मित्त सौ कहत हैं । अरे मित्त । तस्याः स्तनौ । स्त्री के स्तन । यदि घनौ । जो कठोर हैं अरु जंनत है । अरु । नयनं च चारु । नेत्र जो अति चारु हैं । अरु । वक्त्रं च हारि । मुषु जो अति मनो-हरु है तो । त्वं किं आकुलं । तू वेहो कामहि काहे को चंचल होतु है । यदि । जो । तेषु । इतनीनि को भोगु कोवे कहूं । तव । तेरे । वांछा अस्ति । मनोरथु है । तो पुण्यं कुरुष्व । पुण्यहि करु । पुण्यैर्विना । बिनु पुन्यनि । समीहितार्थाः । बांछित वस्तु । न भवन्ति । नाहो होति । पुन्यही तें बांछी वस्तु सिद्ध होति है ॥

श्लो० । पांथस्त्रीविरहानलाहुतिकलामातन्वतो मंजरी माकंदेषु पिकांगनाभिरधुना सोत्कण्ठमालोक्यते ॥ अर्धिते नवपाटलापरिमल-प्राग्भारपाटक्षरा वांति क्वांतिवितानतानवभृतः श्रीखंडशैलानिलाः ॥ ७९ ॥

अर्थ । अब भर्तृहरि बसंत रितु बर्नत हैं । अधुना । या बसंत रितु विषें । पिकांगनाभिः । कोविलानि करि । माकंदेषु मंजरी । पलास वृक्ष के फूलनि की मंजरी । सोत्कण्ठं । उत्कण्ठा सहित । आलोक्यते । अवलोकित है । याको यह अर्थु कि । बसंत रितु विषें कोकिला पलास वृक्षके फूलनि की मंजरीहि आनंद पूर्वक अवलोकति है । कैसी है पलास वृक्षनि की मंजरी । पांथ जु हैं पथिक जन तिनकी जु स्त्री तिनि स्त्रीनि की जु विरह अनल मांस आहुति कहा होमिबो ताकी जु कला कहा ज्वाला ताहि ।

आतन्वती । प्रगट करति है । याकौ यह अर्थ । यह पलास वृक्ष के फूलनि की मंजरी न होई मानहुं किंतु कामदेव विरहाग्नि मध्य पथिकनि की स्त्री जु होमी हैं सुता होम अग्नि की ज्वाला आहि मानहुं । अपि । अरु । एते श्रीखंड शैलानिलाः । श्रीखंश जु है चंदनु ता कौ जु स्थानु शैल कहा मलय पर्वतु ता के जु अनिल वायु ते । वांति । या वसंत रितु विषे ई बहत हैं । है कैसे ए मलयाचल संबंधी वायु । नव कहेतें तबही के फूल जु पाटल कहेंतें पाडर के फूल तिनि कौ जु अति परिमलु ताकौ प्राग्भारु कहा समूहु ता समूह के । पाटचराः । चोर हैं । याकौ यह अर्थ ॥ मलयाचल के चंदन कौ जु सौरभु ताहि चोरि लेकरि तब ए अनिल चले हैं ॥

श्लो० । इतो विद्युदल्लीविलसितमितः केतकतरोः स्फुरद्गंधं प्रोद्यज्ज्वलदनलवत्स्फूर्जितमितः ॥ इतः केकिक्नीडाकलकलमितः पद्मलदृशां कथं यास्यंत्येति विरहदिवसाः संभ्रतरसाः ॥ ८० ॥

अर्थ । अब भट्टहरि बरषा रितु वर्णत हैं । इतः । एक दिशा तन । विद्युदल्लीविलसितं । विद्युत जु है बिजुरी सोई जु भई बल्ली कहा लता ता के बिलास देषिजत हैं । अरु इतः । एक दिशा तन । केतकतरोः । सुवर्न वर्न के बरे के । स्फूर्जितं । फूलनि कौ बिलास देषिजतु है । कैसे हैं पीतके बरे के फूल । स्फुरद्गंधं । स्फुरत् कहा अति उग्र चलतु है गंधु जाकौ औसौ है । फुनि कैसे है पीत के बरे कौ फूल । प्रोद्यज्ज्वलदनलवत् । प्रोद्यत् कहा जंचौ उठ्यौ अरु ज्वलतु कहा प्रज्वलित भयो औसौ अनलु आहि मानहुं ॥

श्लो० । इमे तारुण्यश्रीनवपरिमलाः प्रौढसुरतप्रतापप्रारंभाः स्मरविजयदानप्रतिमुवः ॥ चिरं चेतश्चौरा अभिनवविकारैकगुरवो विलासव्यापाराः किमपि विजयंते मृगदृशां ॥ ८१ ॥

अर्थ । मृगदृशां । मृगाक्षीनि के । इमे तारुण्यश्रीनवपरिमलाः । भरु यौवन विषे क्रीडा करत अंगनि सौं अंग मर्दत अंगनिही के नवीन परिमल । विजयंते । सबही सुगंधनि पर बिराजत हैं । आलिंगनु करत किंवा सुरत समय विषे अंग मर्दनु करत स्त्री के अंगनि तें सुभावही कौ जु गंधु जु चलतु है सु परिमलु कहावतु है । यह अमरकोष मध्य कही है । विमर्द्दोत्थे परिमलो गंधे जनमनोहरे । याकौ यह अर्थ । मर्दनु करत स्त्रीके अंगनि तें जु उठतु है अति मनोहर गंधु ता विषे परिमल शब्द वर्ततु है । यह परिमलु माध काव्यहू मध्य बरन्यो है ॥

श्लो० । नखविलिखितमंगं गोपयस्यंशुकेन स्थगयसि मुहुरीष्टं
पाणिना दंतदष्टं ॥ प्रतिदिशमपरस्त्रीसंगशंसी विसर्प्यन्नवपरिमलगंधः-
केन शक्यो वरीतुं ॥ १ ॥

अर्थ । काहू नाइका सौ अवधि बढिके औरही नाइका सौ संपूर्ण
रात्रि गंवाइ के तब प्रभात समय विषे वा नाइका के घर आयौ । तब वह
झंडिता नाइका के अंग विषे नपच्छत देषिके अधरनि मध्य दंतच्छत देषिके
तब नाइका सौ कहति है । अहो धूर्त शिरोमनि । नखविलिखितं अंगं ।
काहू नाइकाके नपच्छतनि लिखि राख्यौ है जु तुम्हारौ यह अंगु ताहि
तौव तुम । अंशुकेन गोपयसि । बख्ख माझ दुकायौ । अरु दंत दष्टं वोष्टं ।
काहू नाइका के दन्तच्छत लगे हैं जा विषे असौ जु तुम्हारौ यह वोष्ट
ताहि । मुहुः । बार बार । पाणिना । अपने हाथ करि । स्थगयसि ।
दुकावतहौ । सु नपच्छत तौ तुम बख्ख तर दुकावत हो । अरु । वोष्ट मध्य के
दंतच्छतनि हूं तौ तुम अपने हाथके वोभिल दुकावत हो । सु यह
चातुरी तौव तुम कीनौ । कहौ धौ । नवपरिमलगंधः । वा नाइका के
अंगनि कौ सुभावही कौ तुम्हारे अंगनि तें चलतु जु है यह नव परिमल
गंधु । सु । वरीतुं केन शक्यः । कीन पंहं दुकायौ जातु रहे । यह परिमल
कैसौ है । प्रति दिशं विसर्पन् । चौहूं कोद तरंगनि सौ चलतु है सु ।
अपरस्त्रीसंगशंसी । और नाइका सौ ऋ तुम संगु कीनौ है ताहि
प्रगटहौं कहैं देतु है ॥

श्लो० । आवासः किलकिंचित्पश्य दयिताः पार्श्वं विलासालसाः कर्णे
कीकिलकामिनीकलरवः स्मेरो लतामंडपः ॥ गोष्ठी सत्कविभिः समं कतिपयैः
सेव्याः हिमांशीः कराः केषांचित्सुखयन्ति हंत हृदयं चैत्रे विचित्राः
स्रजः ॥ २ ॥

अर्थ । पार्श्व । आस पास के विलासालसाः । विलासनि की करन-
हायें । अरु । किलकिंचित्पश्य आवासः । किलकिंचित नाम हाव कौ घर
तरणो । अरु । कर्ण । कान विषे । कीकिलकामिनीकलरवः । कीकिलानि
की मधुर धुनि । अरु । स्मेरो लतामंडपः । फूली लतानि कौ मंडपु । अरु ।
कतिपयैः सत्कविभिः समं । कितेकज सत्कविनि सौ । गोष्ठी । अरु । सेव्या
हिमांशीः कराः । परम सीतल चंद्रमा के किरन । इतनी बातें । चैत्रे । चैत्र
मास विषे । केषांचित् हृदयं । काहू सुकृती पुरुषनिके हृदयहि । सुखयन्ति ।
परम सुपहि देति हैं । अरु । विचित्राः स्रजः । अति विचित्र फूलनिकी माला

फुनि चैत्र मास विषे परम सुषु देति है ॥ किलकिंचित नाम हाव कौ लक्षण
शृंगार दीपिका मध्य कक्षौ है ॥

श्लो० । शुष्कं क्षणं परुषितं क्षणमश्रुपातः क्रोधो मुहुर्विहसितं
मुहुराप्तगीतं ॥ व्यामिश्ररूपमिति हर्षवशात्प्रयुक्तमुक्तं बुधैःश्रुतिधनैः किल-
किंचिताख्य ॥ १ ॥

अर्थ । क्षणं । क्षण एक । शुष्कं । बिनही कारणहि । परुषितं ।
नाइक सौ रूक्ष बचन बोलिवौ । अरु क्षणं । क्षण एक । तुम मेरे प्राणनाथ हो
हौ तुम्हारी दासी हौ । सु इहि प्रकार । काचित् अबला । कीऊ अबला ।
कस्यापि पुण्यकृतः । काहू पुण्यकर्ता मनुष्य के । अंतिकस्था । निकट बैठी ।
किल किंचित हाव । किलकिंचित नाम हावहि । विभावति । करति है ॥

श्लो० । सुधाशुभ्रं धाम स्फुरदमलरश्मिः शशधरः प्रियावक्त्रांभोजं
मलयजरजश्चातिसुरभि ॥ स्रजो हृद्यामोदास्तदिदमखिलं रागिणि जने
करोव्यंतःक्षोभं नतु विषयसंसर्गविमुखे ॥ ८३ ॥

अर्थ । सुधा जु कली चूनी ता समान शुभ्र कहेंतें अति श्वेत धाम ।
अरु । स्फुरत् कहेंतें परम दैदीप्यमान अमल है रश्मि कहा किरण
जा के औसौ शशधर । अरु । प्रिया जु है स्त्री ताकी जु परम सुंदर सुषु
कमलु । अरु अति सुरभि मलयजरजः । अति सुगंधु चंदनु । अरु
हृद्यामोदः । अति मनोहर है आमोदु कहेंतें सुगंधु जिनि कौ औसौ ।
स्रजः । फूलनि की माला । तत् इदं अखिलं । इतनी सब दातें । रागिणि
जने । कामी जन विषे । अंतःक्षोभं । मन के विकारहि । करोति ।
करति है । नतु विषय अश्रुपातः । आंसूनि रोइवौ । अरु । क्षणं क्रोधः ।
क्षण एक झूठेही क्रोध करिवौ । अरु मुहुर्विहसितं । बार बार बिहसिवौ ।
अरु । मुहु । आप्तगीतं । बार बार गानु कीवौ । इहि प्रकार । हर्ष-
वशात् । अति आनंद तें । प्रयुक्तं । नाइकहि प्रति नाइका की जु ।
व्यामिश्रितरूपं । यह मिश्रित आचरण । सु बुधैः । पंडितनि । किल-
किंचिताख्यं उक्तं । किलकिंचितु कह्यौ है ॥

श्लो० । निवासः क्रियतां गांगे पापवारिणि वारिणि ॥ स्तनमध्ये
तरुण्या वा मनोहारिणि हारिणि ॥ ८४ ॥

अर्थ । कै तौ । पापवारिणि गांगे वारिणि । सकल पापनि के
दूरि करनहार गंगा के जल के समीप । निवासः क्रियतां । निवास कीजै ।
ना तरु । मनोहारिणि हारिणि । हार करि अलंकृत परम मनोहर ।

तरुण्याः स्तनमध्ये । तरुणी के कठोर स्तननि मध्य निवास कीजै ।
तीसरौ निवास कबहूँ न कीजै ॥

श्लो० । स्वपंतु सुरतयांतकांताकुचस्थलेपि वा ॥ गंगातरंगनि-
धौतशीतले वा शिलातले ॥ ८५ ॥

अर्थ । भर्तृहरि लोगन सों कहत हैं । अर लोग ही कै ती सुरत
करि अमित जु कांत कहें परम सुंदरी कांता कहा स्त्रीनि के
कुचस्थल ऊपर । स्वपंतु । सोवहु । किंवा । गंगा के तरंगनि करि
निःशेष करि धौत महा धोई अति उज्ज्वल करें याहि अति शीतलु जु
शिलातलु ता ऊपर सोवहु । तीसरैं ठौर कहा सोइजतु है ॥

श्लो० । असूचीसंचारे तमसि नभसि प्रौढजलदे ध्वनिप्राज्ञं मन्ये
पतति नितरां नीरनिचये ॥ इदं सौदामिन्याः कनककमनीयं विलसितं
मुदं च स्नानिं च प्रथयति पथि स्वैरिसुदृशां ॥ ८६ ॥

अर्थ । असूचीसंचारे तमसि सति । नाहीं सूजिहू को संचार जा
विषें औसे अंधकार विषें । अरु । नभसि प्रौढजलदे सति । प्रौढ कहा
अतिही जनए हैं जलद जा विषें औसी आकास भए संते । अरु । नीरनिचये ।
आकासतें जल समूहहि । नितरां । अतिहीं । पतद्भिः सति । बषेत संते ।
सु कौन प्रकार बरषतु है । ध्वनिप्राज्ञं मन्ये । अतिही गर्जतु है । औसे
महं । कनककमनीयं । सुवर्ण के स्वमत्कार समान । सौदामिन्या
विलसितं । सौदामिनि जु चमकिवौ सु । पथि । पर पुरुष पढ़ं चलें जात
मारग मध्य । स्वैरिसुदृशां । लंपट स्त्रीनि कहूं । मुदं च स्नानिं च प्रथयति ।
आनंद हूं करतु है । अरु । स्नानि हूं करतु है । या को यह तात्पर्यु ।
औसे अंधकार विषें भेषनि जनए संते । दृष्टि होत संते लंपट स्त्री जबही
पर पुरुष पढ़ं चलती हैं मारग मध्य बीजुरी चमकति है । तब चलिबे
कहूं नैक उज्यारौ देषि सुषु होतु है । अरु का । हमहिं देषे जनि यह
जानिकै स्नान हो जाति है ॥

श्लो० । केशाः सयमिनः श्रुतेरपि परं पारंगते लोचः चांतर्वक्त्रमपि
स्वभावशुचिभिः कीर्णं द्विजानां गणैः ॥ मुक्तानां सतताधिवासरुचिरं
वक्षोजकुंभद्वयं ह्रिवं तन्वि वपुः प्रशांतमपि ते रागं करोत्येव नः ॥ ८७ ॥

अर्थ । कीज चतुर नाइकु शब्द कुल करि नाइकाहि हसाइबे कहूं
कहतु है । हे तन्वि । अरी तरुणी । तब एतद्वपुः । तेरी यह सरीर ।
एवं प्रशांतमपि । यद्यपि अति शांतु है ॥ तज । रागं करोत्येव नः ।

हमारे विषय बासनाहि करत्वै है। ना तर जु अति शांत भयो सु विषय
 बासना कहांते करतु है। सु तेरी शरीर कौन प्रकार शांतु है
 सु मोपंह सुनु। केशाः संयमिनः। केश तेरे संयमी हैं। संयमी कहावे
 बेणी गुहि बांधे। यह तो मुष्य अर्थु। अरु संयमी कहाउतु है जु संयम
 सौं रहतु है। ताते संयम कौ रहिबौ शांताकौ चीन्हौ है। अरु ते
 लोचने। ए तेरे दीज लोचन। अतएपि परं पारंगते। अति जु हैं अवन
 तिन हूं के पारंगत भए हैं कहा अवन प्रजंत लौं गए हैं। यह तो
 मुष्य अर्थु। अब अति शब्द कौ दूसरी अर्थु यह जानिबौ जु अति
 कहावे बेदु ताके पारंगत हूबौ शांत ता कौ चीन्हौ है। अरु अंतर्वक्ता-
 मपि। तेरे मुष्य कौ मांझु। स्वभावशुचिभिः। स्वभावहीं तें निर्मल
 रहतु है। अैसें। दिजानां गणैः। दंतनि के समूह करि। कीर्णं। संयुक्त
 है। यह तो मुष्य अर्थु। अरु। दिज कहावत है ब्राह्मण यह दिज शब्द कौ
 दूसरी अर्थु। याही अर्थ विषे कलु। निर्मल सुभावंत ब्राह्मणनि सौं
 जासौ संगति है। सु अवस्य शांतु है। अरु। तव वक्षोजकुंभदयं। तेरे
 ए दीज स्तन कलस। मुक्तानां सतताधिवाससचिरं। मुक्ता जु हैं मोती
 तिनको तर स्तन कलशनि पर सर्वदा जु निवासु है ताते ते स्तन कलश
 अति रुचिर हैं। यह तो मुष्य अर्थु। अब दूसरी अर्थु। मुक्ता कहावत है
 जु संसार ते कूटे हैं सु मुक्तनि को निवासु जाके समीप होत है सु अवस्य
 शांतु है। सु इनि तिनहूं चीन्हैनि ते तेरी बपु शांतु है। पै देषत हीं
 मेरे रागहि उपजावतु है सु यहै वडो आश्चर्यु शांतु होइ सु राग कैसें
 करन बूझिजै। शांत तो कहावतु है राग डेष रहितु ॥

श्लो०। प्रायः प्रणयवतीनां तावत्पदमातनीति हृदि मानः। न भवति
 यावच्चंदनतरुसुरभिमलयपवमानः ॥ ८८ ॥

अर्थ। प्रायः। हम यह जानत हैं जु। प्रणयवतीनां हृदि।
 प्रेमवंत स्त्रीनि के हृदय विषे। मानु। तावदेतत्। तैही लीं। एतं आत-
 नीति। अपनपे कहूं ठौर करें रहतु है। यावत्। यौलहूं। चंदन तरु की
 स्पर्सनहार परम सौरभहि लयें मलय पर्वत समूह्यो जु पवमान कहें
 तें बायु सु। न भवति। नाहीं होतु। जब मलयाचल कौ पवन चलतु है तबही
 मानिनीनि कौ मानु की जानै कहां जातु है।

श्लो०। सहकारकुसुमकेसरनिकरभरामोदमूर्च्छितदिगंते। मधुरमध-
 सुदितमधुपे मधौ भवेत्कस्य नोत्कंठा ॥ ८९ ॥

अर्थ । मधौ। वसंत रितु विषे। कस्य। कौन के। उत्कंठा न भवेत्। क्रीड़ा करिवे कहुं उत्कंठा न होइ। किंतु सबही के उत्कंठा होति है। कैसी है वसंत रितु। सहकार जु आम्र वृक्ष तिनि के कुसुमनि केसर तिनि कौ जु निकर समूहं ता कौ जु आमोदु कहा सुगंध तिहिकरि मूर्च्छित कहेंते परिपूरि राषि हैं दिशानि के अंत जिहिं अैसी वसंत रितु है। बहुरि कैसी है वसंत रितु। मधुर कहेंते अति मिष्ट जु मधु कहा पुहपनि कौ मकरंद रसु ता के पान करि सुदित कहा आनंदित भए है मधुप जा विषे अैसी वसंत समय विषे कौन के न उत्कंठा होइ ॥

श्लो० । स्रजो हृदामोदा व्यजनपवनचंद्रकिरणाः परागः पुष्पाणां मलयजरजः सौधुविशदं ॥ शुचिः सौधोत्संगः प्रतनुवसनं पंकजदृशो निदाघर्तावितद्विलसति लभंते सुकृतिनः ॥ ६० ॥

अर्थ । निदाघर्तौ । ग्रीष्म रितु विषे । ये सुकृतिनः । जे पुरुष पुन्यकारी हैं ते । एतत् लभंते । इतनीं बातें पावत हैं । कौन कौन बस्तु ति कहिजति है । हृदामोदाः स्रजः । हृदय कहा अति मनोहर है आमोदु जिनकौ अैसी पुहपनि कौ माला । अरु । व्यजनपवनः । बीजना कौ सीतलु पवनु । अरु चंद्रकिरणाः । चंद्रमा के परम शीतल किरण । इहि करि जौन्ह जानिबौ । अरु । पुष्पाणां परागः । फूलनि कौ परागु । पराग कहवै रज । अरु । मलयजरजः । घस्यौ चंदनु । अरु । विशदं सौधु । अति निर्मल मय । इहिं करि और मादक बस्तु जानिबौ । अरु । जे मय के अधिकारी हैं तिनि कहुं उचितही है । अरु । शुचिः सौधोत्संगः । अति निर्मल राज मंदिर । अरु । प्रतनु वसनं । अति बारीक बारीक बसन । अरु । पंकज दृशः । समीप विषे पंकजदलाची स्त्री इतनीं बस्तुनि ग्रीष्म रितु विषे परम पुन्यकारी पावत हैं । ग्रीष्म रितु कैसी है । विलसति । इतनी बातनि तें परम सुषद है । अब बहुरि तीन श्लोक करि बरषा रितु बर्नत हैं ॥

श्लो० । वियदुपरि समेषं भूमयः कंदलिन्यो नवकुटजकदंबामोदिनो गंधवाहाः ॥ शिखिकुलकलकेकारावरम्या वनांताः सुखिनमसुखिनं वा सर्वमुत्कंठयंति ॥ ६१ ॥

अर्थ । बरषा रितु विषे । इतनी बातें । सुखिनं असुखिनं वा । सुखी होइ किंवा दुषी होइ पै । सब उत्कंठयंति । सबहि उत्कंठित करति हैं । कौन कौन बस्तु ति कहिजति हैं । उपरि । ऊपर । समेषं वियत् । मेषनि

सहित आकासु । अरु । तरहरि । कंदलिन्यो भूमयः । हरित कंदनि करि परम सुन्दर भूमि । अरु नव कहेंतें तत्कालही के फूले कुटज कहा कुरे के फूल अरु कदंब के फूल तिनि कौ जु आमीदु कहा सुगंध ताहि लयें बहत अैसे । गंधवाह कहा बायु । अरु । शिखि कुलु कहेंतें मयुरनि कौ समूहु ता कौ जु कल कहेंतें परममनीहरु केकाराव कहा केका शब्द तिहिं करि अति रम्य वनांत कहेंतें बननि के मध्य । इतनैः बातें बरषा रितु विषें सुषीहि अरु दुषीहि सबही उत्कंठा होति है ॥

श्लो० । तरुणीवैषा दीपितकामा विकसज्जाती पुष्पसुगंधिः । उन्नत-
पीनपयोधरभारा प्रावृटकस्य न कुरुते हर्षं ॥ ६२ ॥

अर्थ । प्रावृट् बरषा रितु । कस्य हर्षं न कुरुते । काकहुं आनंदहि नाहीं करति । किंतु सबहीनि कहुं आनंदहि करति है । तरुणी द्व । जैसे तरुण स्त्री कौन कहुं आनंद न करई । कैसी है बरषा रितु । दीपित-
कामा । काम की उद्दीपनहारि है । अरु तरुणी फुनि काम की उद्दीपनहारि है । फुनि कैसी है बरषा रितु । विकसित जु हैं जाती कहेंतें जाई के पुहपनि कौ उत्तमु है सब ही गंध जा विषें । अैसे बरषा रितु है । अरु तरुणी फुनि विकसे जाई के फूल जब माथे पर धरति है तब परम सुगंधु चलतु है । अथवा विकसे जु जाईके पुहप तिन कैसी सर्वांग विषें सुभाव ही कौ है सुगंधु जाकै अैसे तरुणी हैं । बहुरि कैसी है बरषा रितु । उन्नत कहा ऊनए जु पीन कहेंतें पुष्ट । पयोधर मेघ तिनकौ है भारु जा विषें अैसे बरषा रितु है । अरु तरुणी फुनि उन्नत अरु पीन कहेंतें मसीले पयोधर कहा स्तननि के भारहि लयें बहति हैं ॥

श्लो० । आसारेण न हर्म्यतः प्रियतमः शक्नोति गंतुं वह्निः शीतोत्कंप-
निमित्तमायतदृशा गाढं समालिङ्गते ॥ जालैः शीतलशीकराश्च मरुतो
रत्यंतखेदच्छिदो धन्यानां बहु दुर्दिनं सुदिनतां याति प्रियासंगमे ॥ ६३ ॥

अर्थ । धन्यानां । जे धन्य हैं तिनि कहुं । दुर्दिनं । मेघनि करि आकृन्त दुषदाता दिनु । सु प्रियाके संगम विषें । सुदिनतां याति । परम सुदिनताहि प्राप्त होतु है । याकौ यह अर्थ । मेघनि करि आकृन्त जु दिनु सु दुर्दिनु कहावतु है । सु दुर्दिनु यद्यपि औरनि कहुं दुषदाता है तथापि जे धन्य हैं तिन कहुं प्राण प्रिया स्त्री के सुष संगम विषें अति सुषदाता होतु है । तहा दुर्दिनु धन्य पुरुषनि कहुं जिहि प्रकार सुदिनु

SIRNGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTṚHARI 121

होतु है सु प्रकार कहिजतु है। आसारेण। बरषत जु है जलु सु तिहितें। प्रियतमः। प्राणेश्वर। हर्म्यतः। उत्तम गृह तें। बहिः। बाहिर। गंतुं न शक्नोति। निकसि सकतु वै नाहीं। स्त्रीके समीप ही रहिवौ करतु है। अरु शीतोत्कंपनिमित्तं। लकवाई के बरसत अति जाडौ जु होतु है सु तातें। आयतदृशा। कमलदल विशाल लीचनी स्त्री करि अपनों प्राणेश्वर। गाढं समालिङ्गते। बार बार गाढें आलिङ्गिजतु है। अरु जब सुरत क्रीडा करेतें अमु होतु है तव शीतल बयारि लैन बाहिर नाहीं जात किंतु। शीतलशीकराः। परम शीतल जलके कणनि लयें। याही तें रति के अंत जु खेद होतु है ताके दूर करनहार। जालैः। भरोषानि मध्य तें। मारुत। बायु आउति है। तातें इहि प्रकार तें दुर्दिन अैसे भाग्यवंत पुरुषनि कहूं सुषदाताई ह्वै जातु है॥

श्लो०। अर्द्धं सुप्ला निशायाः सरभससुरतायाससन्नस्रथांगः प्रोङ्ग-
तासच्चतर्षो मधुमदनिरतो हर्म्यपृष्ठे विविक्षे॥ संभोगक्लांतकांताशियिल-
भुजलतावर्जितं शर्कराभं ज्योत्स्नाभिन्नाच्छधारं न पिबति सलिलं शारदं
मंदभाग्यः॥ ६४॥

अर्थ। हर्म्यपृष्ठे। उत्तम घर की अटारी पर। विविक्षे। एकांत विषे। निशाया अर्द्धं। आधीराति। सुप्ता। सोइकै ता पाछे जागिकै। कीनी जु। सरभस कहेतें निर्दय ह्वै करि सुरतु ताको जु आयासु कहा अमु तिहि तें संन कहेतें उत्साह करि रहित भए हैं अरु स्रथ कहेतें ढीले ह्वै गए हैं अंग जाके अैसे ह्वै करि। तब। मधुमदनिरतः। मादक वस्तु पायेंतें। प्रोङ्गत कहेतें लगी है असच्च कहा दुसह जल की तृषा जाहि अैसे ह्वै करि। तब। संभोगतें क्लान्त भई कहा अमित ह्वै गई जु कांता स्त्री तिहि अपनीं शियिल भुजलतां की आवर्जित कहेतें दयो जु सरद कालु की सलिलु ता सलिलहि। यो न पिबति। जु नाहीं पीवतु सु। मंद भाग्य है। है कैसी सरत्काल की जलु। ज्योत्स्ना जु है जौन्ह तिहि करि भिन्न कहेतें मिश्रित है निर्मल धार जाकी अैसे है जलु। याही तें। शर्कराभं। जजरी सर्करा की सी है आभा जाकी अैसे है। या श्लोक की यह सूधी अर्थु। सरद रितु विषे आधी राति सोइकै ता पाछे जागिकै अति निर्दय सुरतु करेतें अम तें ढीले अंगनि दृषावंतु ह्वै करि संभोग अम तें शियिल भुजलतां करि स्त्री जलु ताहि मंदभाग्यु जु होइ सु न पीवै। सु वह जलु कैसी है। टौटी मध्य तें निकसित ही जुनहवाई

सौ जु मिश्रित होतु है तातें निर्मल धार निकसति है । अब है श्लोक करि
हेमन्त रितु वर्णत हैं ॥

श्लो० । प्रोद्यत्प्रौढप्रियंगुद्युतिभृति विदलत्कुंदमाद्यद्विरेफे काले प्रालेय-
वातप्रबलविकसितोद्दाममंदारदान्ति ॥ येषां कंठे न लग्ना क्षणमपि
तुहिनक्षोदरक्षा मृगाक्षी तेषामयामिमायामयसदनसमा यामिनी याति
यूनां ॥ ६५ ॥

अर्थ । काले । या हेमन्त काल विषे । येषां कंठे । जिन के कंठ
विषे । क्षणमपि । एकौ क्षण । मृगाक्षी स्त्री । न लग्ना । नाहीं लगि
रहति । तेषां यूनां । तिन तरुननि की । यामिनी । रात्रि । आयामी
कहा अति विस्तीर्ण जु मायामयसदन । कहा गंधर्व नगर । तासमान
निरर्थकही । याति । बीतति है । आकास विषे राते पीरे श्याम
बादरनि की जु नगर सौ है रहतु है सु गंधर्व नगर कहाउतु है । सु वह
गंधर्व नगर जैसे निरर्थकु है जातु है । अैसें तिन पुरुषनि की राति
निरर्थक जाति हैं । जिनके कंठ विषे हेमन्त काल की राति विषे मृगाक्षी
लागि नाहीं रहति । कैसी है मृगाक्षी तुहिन जु है तुसार ताके जु
क्षोदर कहें कनिका । तिनतें रक्षा करि जु लेति है । मृगाक्षी जब
कंठ सौं लगि रहति हैं तब तुसार नाहीं व्यापि सकतु । कैसी है हेमन्त
काल । प्रोद्यत् कहें फूल जु प्रौढ प्रौढ प्रियंगु नाम वृक्ष तिनकी जु
द्युति कहा दीप्ति ताहि धरतु है । बहुरि कैसी है हेमन्त काल । विदलत्
कहें विकसित जु हैं कुंद के फूल तिनकी मकरंद पो करि । माद्यत् कहा
मत्त होत है द्विरेफ कहें भ्रमर जा विषे अैसे हेमन्त रितु हैं । बहुरि कैसी
है हेमन्त रितु । प्रालेय कहा अति शीतल जु वात कहा वायु ताके चलत
प्रबल कहा हालत हैं अरु विकसित है उद्दाम कहा अति सुंदर । मंदार
वृक्ष के फूलनि की दाम कहें माला । जा विषे अैसे हेमन्त रितु है ।

श्लो० । हेमन्ते दधिदुग्धसर्पिरशना मांजिष्ठवासीभतः काश्मीरद्रव-
सांद्रदिग्धवपुषः खिन्ना विचित्रैः रतैः ॥ वृत्तोरुस्तनकामिनीजनवृताश्लेषा
गृहाभ्यंतरे तांबूलीदलपूगपूरितमुखा धन्याः सुखं शिरते ॥ ६६ ॥

अर्थ । हेमन्ते । हेमन्त रितु विषे । ये धन्याः । जे धन्य पुरुष हैं ते ।
दधि दुग्ध सर्पिरशना । दधि दूध घृत भोजन करत हैं । अरु मांजिष्ठ-
वासीभतः । मज्जीठ के रंगे बसन पहिरत हैं । अरु काश्मीरद्रवसांद्रदिग्ध-
वपुषः । केसरिके * * * * *

SHRĠGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTṚHARI 123

इत्यष्टौ । ए आठऊ सालिकाः स्मृताः । सालिक भाव हैं ॥ बहुरि शिशिर
रितु कौ बायु कैसी है । जब औष्ठनि सौ जा लगतु है तब । बारं बारं ।
बार बार । उदार कहेंतें अति सुन्दर स्त्री सौत्कारहि करतु है दंत छद
कहेंतें वोष्ठनि । पीडयन् । पीडा करतु हैं । याकौ यह तात्पर्यु । स्त्री के
वोष्ठनि मध्य दंत छत जु लगे है सु तापर जबहीं शीतल बायु लगतु है
तब सौत्कार करति हैं । भर्ता फुनि जब अधर पानु करतु है तब स्त्री
सौत्कार करति है अरु कछूतु पीडाऊ होति है । सु इहिं प्रकार शिशिर
रितु कौ बायु स्त्रीनि कहूं भर्ताके कर्म करतु है ॥

स्त्री० । चुंबंतो गंडभिक्तीरलकवति सुखे सौत्कृतान्यादधाना वक्षः
सूत्कंचुकेषु स्तनभरपुलोकीर्द्धेदमापादयन्तः ॥ ऊरूनाकंपयन्तः पृथुजघन-
तटात्खंसयंतौऽशुकानि व्यक्तं कांताजनानां विटचरितभृताःशैशिरा वांति
वाताः ॥ ६८ ॥

अर्थ । शैशिरा वाताः । शिशिर रितु के बायु । वांति । बहत हैं ।
हैं कैसे सिसिर रितु के बायु । कांता जननि कहूं । व्यक्तं । प्रगटही विट-
चरितभृताः । लंपट पुरुषनिके कर्म करतु है । हैं कैसी कर्म ति कहि-
जति हैं । कैसे हैं शिशिर रितु के बायु । गंडभिक्तीः । स्त्रीके कपोलस्थलनि ।
चुंबंतः । चुंबंत है चुम्बिबौ इहां स्पर्सिबौई जानिबौ । लंपट पुरुष फुनि
स्त्रीनिके कपोल चुंबंत फिरत हैं । बहुरि कहा करत है शिशिर रितु के
बायु । अलकवति सुखे । अलकनि छुइके तब स्त्रीनिके मुख विषे ।
सौत्कृतानि आदधानाः । सौत्कार करवाउत हैं । लंपट पुरुष फुनि अलक
गहिंके स्त्री के मुखहिं जब चुंबत हैं तब स्त्री सौत्कारहि करती हैं । बहुरि
कहा करत है शिशिर रितु के बायु । वक्षः सु उत्कंचुकेषु । स्त्रीनि के
वक्षस्थलनि पर तें कंचु उसासिके तब स्तननि कौ स्पर्सिके तब स्तननि पर ।
पुलकीर्द्धेदं । रोमांचनि । आपादयंतः । करत हैं । लंपट पुरुषो फुनि
स्त्रीनि की कंचुकी उठावत हैं । स्तननि कौ स्पर्स करत हैं तब स्तननि
पर रोमांच होत हैं । बहुरि कहा करत हैं शिशिर रितु के बायु । जबहीं
स्त्रीनिके अंगनि पर आवत है तबही । ऊरून् । पीडुरीनि । आकंपयंतः ।
अति कंपाउत है । लंपट पुरुष फुनि जबही स्त्रीनिकी पीडुरीनि कुवत हैं
तब पीडुरी कांपन लगति है । बहुरि कहा करत हैं । शिशिर रितु के
बायु । पृथुजघनतटात् । अति स्थूल जघनानि पर तें । अंशुकानि ।
बखनि । खंसयंतः । घसावत हैं । लंपट पुरुष फुनि बखहि घसाइ पारत

124 *SHRĠGARĀ-SHATAKA OF BHARTṚHARI*

है। सु इहि प्रकार शिशिर रितुके बायु विटनि कैसे कर्म करत हैं। विट कहावै लंपट ॥ अब भट्टहरि शृंगार शतु समाप्त होत मनुष्यनि की रुचि के भेद कहत है ॥

श्लो०। वैराग्ये संचरंत्येके नीतौ चरति कश्चन ॥ शृंगारे रमते कश्चिद्रुचिभेदाः परस्परं ॥ ६६ ॥

अर्थ। एके वैराग्य सौ प्रीति मानत हैं। एकी नीतौ चरति। एके राजनीतिरू विषै रुचि करत हैं। कश्चन। कोऊकु फुनि। शृंगाररू विषि रति करति है। अरु। कश्चिद्रुचिभेदाः परस्परं। तातें मनुष्यनि की रुचि भेद नाना प्रकार है। काहूँ एक सौ नाहीं ॥

श्लो०। यद्यस्य नाति रुचिरं न तत्र तस्य स्पृहा मनोचेपि ॥ रमणीयेपि सुधांशौ न नाम कामः सरोजानां ॥ १०० ॥

अर्थ। यत्। जु वस्तु। यस्य। जा कहूं। अति रुचिरं न। अत्यंत रुचि कारी नाहीं। तत्र मनोचेपि। सु वस्तु जो सुंदरौ होइ तज वा वस्तु विषे। तस्य। ता के। स्पृहा न। स्पृहा कहूं नाहीं होति। जैसें। रमणीयेपि सुधांशौ। चंद्रमा यद्यपि अति रमनीय है तज चंद्रमा विषे। सरोजानां। सरोजनि के। कामी न। रुचि नाहीं। सु यह बात नाम। प्रसिद्ध है नाम सब्दु प्रसिद्ध विषे बर्ततु है ॥ भट्टहरि कृत शृंगार सत समाप्त ॥ सुभमस्तु ॥ मांगल्यं ददतु ॥ सुभमस्तु ॥

लिखितं—किसोर दास सैनिकंसी ॥ संबतु १६८३ वर्षे माघ वदि ३ सोमवारे ॥ सुभंभवतु ॥ श्री ॥

NOTES ON THE TEXT.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 1. This is No. 1 (Vairagya Shataka) in the Bombay text and also No. 1 (Vairagya Shataka) in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṛita.

The manuscript gives the meaningless चूडात्तसित for चडोत्तसित. Both the printed texts read चाटयन् for क्कदयन्, चेतः for स्वांते and ज्ञान for बोध. In the commentary ग्रह मध्य is wrongly written for ग्रह मध्य.

SHRNGARA-SHATAKA OF BHARTṚHARI 125

Sanskrit Stanza No. 2. This is No. 95 in the Bombay text and No. 94 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is again Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

Both the printed texts end the stanza भ्रष्टदिशो दृश्यताम् instead of भ्रष्टदिवो दिव्यतां. They also both read विच्छिन्ने for छिन्नेऽस्मिन्. In the manuscript कलक्रीडा was written originally for कलहक्रीडा, but a correction has been made in black ink by a different hand at a much later and probably quite recent date.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 3 This is No. 55 in the Bombay text and No. 55 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Rathoddhata.

The Bombay text reads कृतिनामपि instead of विदुषां हृदि, while Gopi Nath has वृतिनां हृदि. In the commentary तो ही लौ is written without anusvāra for तो ही लौ.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 4. This is No. 92 in the Bombay text and No. 91 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Vasantatilakā and not Mālinī, as wrongly stated in the Bombay edition. The Bombay text has तरल for चपल and रूप for दर्प.

In the commentary दर्प is written for दर्प, it being the practice in the manuscript to double all consonants after र. पीन is written with an unnecessary nasalisation, just as कीन is throughout.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 5. This is not found in the Bombay text at all, but is given by Gopi Nath as No. 109 of the Vairagya Shataka. The metre is Shikharinī.

The manuscript omits the म required between त्म and न in आत्ममनसो in the Sanskrit text. Gopi Nath reads किमुतैः for किमिति and कमलैः for मधुभिः

Sanskrit Stanza No. 6. This is No. 56 in the Bombay text and No. 56 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Mālinī.

126 *SHRṆGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTRĪHARI*

The manuscript omits the word मुखर entirely in युतिमुखरमुखानां, spoiling the metre completely. In the commentary the word is given in the form मुषर which is explained as meaning one whose tongue (रसना) moves day and night (रातिदिनु चलति रहति). It also has by haplography नयनां for नयनानां. Gopi Nath's text reverses the order of the first two words. In the commentary बकहत (talk) is almost certainly an error for बक्त and not a variant form.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 7. This is No. 58 in the Bombay text and No. 58 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Vasantatilakā.

The only noticeable points are that in the manuscript the प of कर्ण is written doubled, as is that of दर्प (pride), and that in the commentary the anusvāra of बलिनां is omitted.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 8. This is No. 2 in the Bombay text and No. 2 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Vainshastha.

The printed texts both read भिया (fear) instead of धिया, and कलहेन for कलहैश्च, while Gopi Nath's text ends with क्षियां instead of क्षियः. The first two lines of the commentary have no connection with the Sanskrit text, and it is difficult to understand how they have crept in.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 9. This is No. 8 in the Bombay text and No. 8 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Vasantatilakā.

The printed texts begin the stanza with एताः स्खलद् instead of एताश्चलद् and read हत for गत. They also end with सदृशैः कटाक्षैः instead of सदृशाक्षिपातैः. The commentary contains one extraordinary blunder, the meaningless हिसंत for संहतं. गतराजहंस्यः is also written wrongly for आगतराजहंस्यः, and कस्य नो मनः for कस्य न मनो.

SHRṆGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTRHARI 127

Sanskrit Stanza No. 10. This is No. 54 in the Bombay text and No. 54 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is *Indravajrā*.

The printed texts read सर्वेषु च for सप्तखपि and एतत् for एव. In the commentary दुःखैकहेतू is wrongly written with a long final vowel. संयोग is written for the Sanskrit संयोग, and यानिवी is a pure blunder for जानिवी, while विवोग is a corruption of वियोग.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 11. This is No. 78 in the Bombay text and No. 78 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is *Indravajrā*.

The printed texts both read षडङ्घ्रि for षडङ्घ्रि (six footed, i. e., a bee), the former being the more correct form, and सुधा for वृथा.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 12. This is No. 67 in the Bombay text and No. 67 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is *Shārdūlavikrīṭita*.

The texts read सिरः for नर, मानं and स्नानं (Gopi Nath) for चेतो and गाढद्रुमे for धष्टद्रुमे. In the commentary the ल of एकांतस्थलहि has been dropped by the scribe, who has also written जदि for यदि in quoting the Sanskrit and dropped the long vowel of प्राय.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 13. This is No. 98 in the Bombay text and is not to be found in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is *Mālinī*.

In the Bombay text the stanza begins with दिश instead of यदि, but there are no other variations.

In the commentary निनर्थक is wrongly written for निरर्थक (meaningless), and a later hand has inserted an unnecessary न after the क् of क्वीनां.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 14. This is composed of No. 51 (first half) and No. 52 (second half) in the Bombay text and

128 *SHRĠGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTRĠHARI*

corresponds with the same parts of the same stanzas in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shikharinī.

There are two bad blunders of the scribe in the Sanskrit, the word विरति and the letters परहि of परहितात् being altogether omitted. In the commentary आससाध्य appears to be meaningless and I have ventured to replace it by आयास साध्य.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 15. This is No. 18 in the Bombay text and No. 18 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Upajāti.

The म of मात्सर्यम् has been wrongly written as स by the scribe and सव्या also written by error for सेव्या. At the end of the stanza Gopi Nath's edition reads नितम्बिनीनाम् for विलासिनीनां.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 16. This is No. 53 in the Bombay text and No. 53 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Mālinī.

The Sanskrit text is wrong in the manuscript, the omission of मिह after दूय and before पुरुषाणां spoiling the metre. In the commentary सुंदरीनां is wrongly written for सुन्दरीणां.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 17. This is No. 94 in the Bombay text and No. 86 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Vasantatilakā.

The printed texts read रसखेद for रतिखेद, and the manuscript drops wrongly the final long vowel of कुकुमार्द. In the commentary धन्युः is wrongly written for धन्य, and the प of अपनी before वक्ष्यन् has been dropped by the scribe.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 18. This is No. 69 in the Bombay text and No. 69 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdharā.

SHRṆGARA-SHATAKA OF BHARTRĀHARI 129

In the Sanskrit जगतः has been wrongly written for गतः, the ज being introduced by dittography from the preceding word जगति. The words को वार्यौघैः as written by the scribe are quite meaningless, so I have restored कोऽर्थोऽर्थैः from the printed texts. The Bombay text reads लोकनानां for लोक्तानां and यावच्चाक्रम्य for आक्रम्याक्रम्य. Both printed texts begin the stanza with राजन् instead of राज्ये. In the commentary an unnecessary anusvāra is given to नहि.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 19. This is No. 43 in the Bombay text and No. 43 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Āryā.

In the Sanskrit the word घनं has been wrongly written twice before घनपटलं, and पतिकः written for पथिकः. In the printed texts, the Bombay edition prints the second half of the stanza thus :

वसुधाकंदलधवला तुष्टिं पथिकः क्व यातु संचरतः Gopi Nath has the same reading as the manuscript, except यापयतु for पातयतु at the end.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 20. This is No. 19 in the Bombay text and No. 19 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdharā.

The printed texts differ with regard to this indelicate stanza, Gopi Nath following the manuscript and the Bombay text reading भर instead of घन after स्तनजघन. The manuscript wrongly drops the final नां of संशोभिनीनां (in the Bombay text संभोभिनीनां and in Gopi Nath's edition संसर्गिणीनां). Both printed texts end with लीलीयतानाम् for लीलीयमानां. In the commentary the meaningless word महांविक्र occurs for महाविक्र.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 21. This is No. 72 in the Bombay text and No. 72 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shār-dūlavikrīṭa.

130 *SHRNGARA-SHATAKA OF BHARTRHARI*

The printed texts read भरेत्युत्सुक for भरेत्युन्नमत्, while Gopi Nath has मुद्यति for माद्यति and Bombay text जानन्नपि. or विद्वानपि. The commentary gives an unnecessary anusvāra to the final vowel of मोदते.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 22. This is No. 4 in the Bombay text and No. 4 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shikharini.

The Sanskrit has विलासितैः wrongly for विलसितैः and also reads दिशः at the end where the Bombay text has दशः though Gopi Nath also reads दिशः. Both the printed texts have परिणतैः for परिगतैः, नवोढानाम् and for कुमारीणाम् चलितैः for वलितैः, while the Bombay text has एभिः for एतैः

Sanskrit Stanza No. 23. This is No. 5 in the Bombay text and No. 5 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṛita.

The Sanskrit text omits खर्ण after वर्णः and also drops the visarga. The मं of मंडनं at the end is also dropped, the meaningless word डनं being left. Instead of विहासि the Bombay text has विकासि, while Gopi Nath reads विडम्बि. The Bombay text also has वक्षोज for वक्षोज, and संभ्रम for विभ्रम. In the commentary the order of the words वाचां हारि has been unnecessarily altered.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 24. This is No. 75 in the Bombay text and No. 75 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anuṣṭubh.

The Sanskrit words अन्यत् किञ्चित् in the commentary, which are not part of the text, tend to confirm me in the belief that this Hindi commentary is really a translation of a Sanskrit commentary and not an original composition. In Bombay text erroneously reads किञ्चिदेका for किञ्चिदेकां.

SHRĠGĀRA SHATAKA OF BHARTRHARI 131

Sanskrit Stanza No. 25. This is No. 3 in the Bombay text and No. 3 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shālinī.

The printed texts both read लङ्घिताश्चैव हासाः for लङ्घितां ताश्च हासाः, and in the commentary अ is written superfluously before स्त्रीणां.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 26. This is No. 6 in the Bombay text and No. 6 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shikharinī.

The printed editions both read किमिह for किमिव and दृष्टिविभवः for दृष्टिविशिखाः, while Gopi Nath has परिषन्दी for परिषन्दी.

In the commentary कक्षीयन्ती is wrongly written for कक्षीजती.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 27. This is No. 73 in the Bombay text and No. 73 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anushtubh.

Gopi Nath reads चोन्मादकारिणी, but the Bombay text has चोन्मादवर्धिनी, which only differs from the manuscript by omitting द from the compound द्. In the commentary जै is written twice by error after मूढ हैजै.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 28. This is No. 76 in the Bombay text and No. 76 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdharā.

The scribe has dropped the त्य of प्रत्ययानां at the end of the first half of the stanza. Both printed texts have विघ्नो for विघ्नं and at the end of the stanza instead of प्राणिलोकस्य पाशः the Bombay text reads प्राणिनां मोहपाशः while Gopi Nath reads प्राणिनामेकपाशः. Both printed texts have आवर्त with a single त. In the commentary स्पृष्ट is wrongly written for सृष्ट.

132 *SHRĠGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTRĠHARI*

Sanskrit Stanza No. 29. This is No. 77 in the Bombay text and No. 77 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

Both the texts read सत्यत्वेन for नी सत्येन at the beginning of the stanza, and शशांक for मृगांक, while they also read त्वङ् for त्वग् and मंदी जनः for अन्धी जनः. The Bombay text also has एकं for एवं.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 30. This is No. 59 in the Bombay text and No. 59 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdharā.

There are three blunders in the Sanskrit text, पते for एते, यवल्लीला for यावल्लीला and हृदि for हृदि. The printed texts both read धृतिमुषो for धृतमुखा and गता for जुषो, while the Bombay text reads स नर for पुरुष. In the commentary परतव has been written for परत तव, (an instance of haplography) and at the end सदति is apparently an error for सधति (turns out right).

Sanskrit Stanza No 31. This is No. 79 in the Bombay text and No. 79 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shikharinī.

The scribe has dropped the त्य of भविष्यत्यसुखदं at the end of the stanza, and also written व्यतीत for व्यतीते and पाकु for पाक. The printed texts agree in reading वरं for धर and मधु for सुधा. The Bombay text reads फलमिवातीव विरसं for फलमिदानीमतिरसं the reading of the manuscript and of Gopi Nath. The Bombay text also reads हरद for हरम. In the commentary व्यते is erroneously written for व्यतीति.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 32. This is No. 66 in the Bombay text and No. 66 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdharā.

SHRĠGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTRĠHARI 133

The scribe has made three bad blunders in writing this stanza. He has written जद्येताः for यद्येता, प्रेषत् for प्रेखत् and dropped the visarga of वरुण्य at the end. The printed texts read सेवावलम्ब for सेवाकलंक.

In the commentary अभीज is written for अभोज and कैलाष for कलाप. The word निंद्य (blameworthy) is written without anusvāra, while नम्न has been given a superfluous anusvāra नंम्न, and in the compound व्यासंगव्यस्तधैयं the meaningless letters रामे have been inserted before धैयं.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 33. This is No. 33 in the Bombay text and No. 33 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Hariṇī.

The scribe has dropped the र of प्रसरति. Where the manuscript has मधुरवधृती the Bombay text has मधुरविरती and Gopi Nath reads मधुरविस्तो. Both the printed texts read सुरत for the second विरल and have रात्र्यां for रम्यो after मधौ.

The commentary unintelligently repeats the meaningless प्रसति and also has अंकर for अंकुर, and गुणोदयो for गुणीदयो.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 34. This is No. 38 in the Bombay text and No. 38 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Vasantatilakā.

The manuscript has अक्क for अच्छ in the Sanskrit, and खेक्क for खेच्छ in the commentary. The texts both have सुमनसः for सुवसनं, and Gopi Nath reads अच्छार्द्र for अच्छाच्छ at the beginning of the stanza. In the commentary a superfluous य in written after कुसुमानि च.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 35. This is No. 62 in the Bombay text and No. 62 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Mandākrāntā.

134 *SHRNGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTṚHARI*

The scribe has omitted the anusvāra of भाजनं. The texts both read प्रथितविनयो for प्रगुणितनयो, बाढं for गाढं, निरयनगर for निरयनिलय and भवति for भ्रमति.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 36. This is No. 80 in the Bombay text and is found in Gopi Nath's edition as No. 111 of the Vairāgya Shataka. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṛita.

The Bombay text reads निलया for वलयां, मिथुना for युगला and कुराशया नेष्यते for क्रूरा च नापेक्ष्यते.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 37. This No. 87 in the Bombay text and is given in Gopi Nath's edition as No. 112 of the Vairāgya Shataka. The metre is Mālinī.

The Bombay text reads नृत्यम् for रूपम् and has ह्यहितकरणदक्षैः for स्वहितकरणधूतैः. In the commentary पस्पर्श is written erroneously for स्पर्श (touching). The passage in the commentary beginning with the words असौ परिमलः and ending with आसक्त भई has been written a second time owing to the inadvertence of the scribe.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 38. This is No. 68 in the Bombay text and No. 68 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anuṣṭubh. Gopi Nath reads संसारोदधि for संसार तव.

The scribe has written मदिरेक्षणः wrongly for मदिरेक्षणाः. In the commentary the words दुस्तरा न स्युः have been repeated owing to the carelessness of the writer.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 39. This is No. 85 in the Bombay text and No. 84 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anuṣṭubh.

This is one of the few stanzas in which there is neither an error of the scribe nor a variation in reading compared with the printed texts. There are no blunders, too, in the commentary.

SHR̥NGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTṚHARI 135

Sanskrit Stanza No. 40. This is No. 71 in the Bombay text and No. 71 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

The scribe has wrongly written श्रीतसि for स्रोतसि and जीवन for यौवने. The texts both read प्रचुरतः for the rare word विह्वर (gliding) of the manuscript and रस for सरौ, while in the Bombay text पारण is given instead of पार्वण. In the commentary जीवने is written for यौवने.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 41. This is No. 70 in the Bombay text and No. 70 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdharā.

For ब्रजकुलभवनं the Bombay text reads निजकुलदहनं and Gopi Nath's edition has ब्रजकुसुमवनं. In the commentary भनं is written by error for भवनं. There are also three errors in writing the Hindi, हर being written for अर (and), वनु for यौवनु, and केली for अकेली alone.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 42. This is No. 7 in the Bombay text and No. 7 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa. The texts both read मृगदृशां for मृगदृशः, while the Bombay text has सहृदयैः for सुहृदयैः. In the commentary यौ is found written for जी (if), and दर्शनौव is an error for दर्शनौय.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 43. This is No. 89 in the Bombay text and No. 88 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

The printed texts have दुर्मखाय for दुर्मदाय, यामीणाय for दुःशीलाय and दुष्कुलाय for दुर्मखाय. Also for गलत्कुष्टाय भूताय च in the manuscript, the texts have the more intelligible reading (which also observes the requirement that there should be a च after each separate adjective) गलत्कुष्टाभिभूताय च. The commentary has the barbarous word जङ्गतीषु for

136 *SHṚNGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTRĪHARI*

यद्धंतीषु, and रज्यत for रज्येत. The commentary on this stanza is badly damaged and several conjectural restorations have been necessary, but all seem fairly obvious. The Hindi word for body appears with initial dental स and also with palatal श.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 44. This is No. 91 in the Bombay text and No. 90 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Āryā.

The Bombay text instead of नटभटचोरकचारणविट reads चारभटचोरचेटकनटविट and Gopi Nath has the same reading with the substitution of चौर for चोर.

In the commentary a superfluous क has been written after the word विट before the phrase कहते, an instance of dittography.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 45. This is No. 90 in the Bombay text and No. 89 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anushtubh.

The printed texts both have समेधिता for विवर्द्धिता and यत्र for तत्र.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 46. This is No. 34 in the Bombay text and No. 34 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Drutavilambita.

There is only one slight variation in reading in this stanza, viz., प्रणिहन्ति in both printed texts for प्रतिहन्ति. The commentary occurs on leaf No. 24, which has been damaged, though not quite so severely as leaf No. 23. Conjectural restorations have been effected without much difficulty. The commentary quotes a stanza for the Kirātārjuniya (Canto 9, line 29) in the Svāgatā metre, which is also commented on. The commentary contains two blunders, the barbarous form सेम्हरे for the Sanskrit सेहरे, and the meaningless लाति for लागति at the end. In the Sanskrit विहगेना is an error for विहगेन.

SHRĠGĀRA-SHATAKA. OF BHARTRĠHARI 137

Sanskrit Stanza No. 47. This is No. 61 in the Bombay text and No. 61 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anuṣṭubh.

The Bombay text reads विवेकिता for विवेकित्वं and कुलीनत्वं for कुलीनता and changes the order of these two words. The edition of Gopi Nath follows the same reading as the Bombay edition. The commentary on this stanza cites a stanza from the Prabodhachandrodaya, which is in the Shikharinī metre, and comments on it.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 48. This is No. 1 in the Bombay text and No. 1 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Vasantatilakā

The printed texts both read विचिचताय for पविचताय and गृहकर्मदासा for गृहकुम्भदासा (visarga being dropped by error). The commentary wrongly has हरय for हरयो and कीनीन्हों for कीन्हीं.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 49. This is No. 64 in the Bombay text and No. 64 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

In the Sanskrit नग्री is written wrongly for नग्री (naked). For विवृतां the Bombay text reads जननी and Gopi Nath's edition परमां. It is very curious to notice that the commentary in the manuscript gives and explains परमां and not विवृतां. For रक्तपटौकता : both the printed editions read पंचशिखीकृता: The commentary omits anusvāra from the Hindi नांगे (naked).

Sanskrit Stanza No. 50. This is No. 84 in the Bombay text and No. 83 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Vasantatilakā.

The Bombay text reads at the end of the stanza पचतीत्यनुरागवक्त्रौ but the edition of Gopi Nath has स

138 *SHRĠGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTṚHARI*

पचत्यनुरागवक्त्रौ as in the manuscript. Both texts have लोल for the लुब्ध of the manuscript.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 51. This is No. 60 in the Bombay text and No. 60 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anushtubh.

The scribe has written षलु for खलु, but in all other respects the text corresponds with the readings of the two printed texts. The commentary on this stanza introduces a story about the sage Kasyap and his wife Diti, which is the only independent piece of Hindi prose in the manuscript. ग्रहस्थु occurs by error for गृहस्थु.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 52. This is No. 30 in the Bombay text and No. 30 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Hariṇi.

The scribe has dropped the म from प्रणयमधुरा : and also the anusvāra, with which he always ends a stanza instead of the modern म्, from मृगदृगां. The printed texts both read प्रेमोद्गाढा for प्रेमोद्गारा and also विश्वभार्द्वाः for विश्वभार्द्वाः. They also both have लसा for वशा and दायिनी for कारिणी.

The commentary on this stanza departs completely from the Sanskrit text and begins in the middle to explain a passage (रसोत्करसंभता : etcetera) which does not occur in this or apparently any other stanza of Bhartṛhari. The commentary wrongly reads मुग्ध for मुग्ध.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 53. This is No. 24 in the Bombay text and No. 24 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Rathoddhata.

Both printed texts have मनोहरा for मजालसा and the Bombay text also has कुकुमान्वितम् for कुकुमाविलं.

The commentary wrongly has the plural परिशिष्टाः.

SHRṆGĀRA SHATAKA OF BHARTRHARI 139

Sanskrit Stanza No. 54. This is No. 9 in the Bombay text and No. 9 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Dodhaka, this being the sole instance of this rare dactylic metre in Bhartrhari's three centuries.

The scribe has dropped the second प from पदपद्मा and has also written कपितहारा for कम्पितहारा:

Sanskrit Stanza No. 55. This is No. 10 in the Bombay text and No. 10 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Vasantatilakā.

The scribe has written अवल for अवला in the first half of the Sanskrit stanza. Both the printed texts read कामिनीनाम् for कामिनीस्ता:

The Bombay text reads विजितास्त्ववलाः for विजिता अवला, which is found too in Gopi Nath's edition.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 56. This is No. 15 in the Bombay text and No. 15 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

Both printed texts have केन सा for सा कथं at the end of the stanza, and a visarga before स्तन at the beginning, while the Bombay text begins with यद्दृत्त and has पंक्तिरेव for पंक्तिकेव.

The word बर्तुलाकार globular is pure Sanskrit, being बत्तुल a ball plus आकार shape. कुहु after जिषैयानि is clearly a slip of the pen and not a variant of the genitive postposition. The त्त of उद्दृत्त is also dropped by error. जुक्त and युगत are both corruptions of the same Sanskrit word. In the commentary a curious contraction is found in संतापु प्याइजतु (grief is produced), one short u being absorbed by another.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 57. This is No. 81 in the Bombay text and No. 80 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anuṣṭubh.

140 *SHṚNGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTṚHARI*

The scribe has written the extra letters चिंतये before चिंतयंत्वन्ये by a kind of proleptic dittography. For न स्त्रीणा-मेकतो रति both the printed texts read प्रियः की नाम योषिताम्.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 58. This is No. 57 in the Bombay text and No. 57 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Pathyā.

The scribe has dropped the visarga both from युवती and from अप्सरसः, and has also wrongly written तपसोऽपि for तपसोऽपि. For स्वर्गः स्वर्गेऽपि चाप्सरसः, which is the reading of Gopi Nath as well as of the manuscript, the Bombay text reads स्वर्गस्तस्यापि तथाऽप्यप्सरसः. In the commentary परह is an error for परं.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 59. This is No. 22 in the Bombay text and No. 22 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Upajāti.

The only error or variation in the text compared with the Bombay edition is the barbarous मयूरवान् for मयूखान्, which is repeated in the commentary, but Gopi Nath reads वने before द्रुमाणां.

There are three other blunders of the scribe in the commentary, viz., काचितु for काचित्, वदनद्रुमाणां for वनद्रुमाणां, and लत for लगत (अंग सौ लगत हैं).

Sanskrit Stanza No. 60. This is No. 23 in the Bombay text and No. 23 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Upajāti.

The word दर्शन after अदर्शने is omitted by haplography in the Sanskrit. The printed texts both read दृष्टा for दृष्टे. Gopi Nath's text wrongly omits the visarga after लीला, while the Bombay edition has भेदनम् at the end which spoils the metre. In the commentary प्रयंत occurs as a variant for the Sanskrit पयंत.

SHṚNGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTRHARI 141

Sanskrit Stanza No. 61. This is No 26 in the Bombay text and No. 26 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Mālinī.

There are two errors in the Sanskrit, अस्त being wrongly written for सस्त, and the म having dropped out from अधरमधु.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 62. This is not given in the Bombay text and is also not to be found in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Drutavilambita

The anusvāra has been omitted from यासि गृहं at the end of the stanza, as is clear from the sense and from the commentary.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 63. This is not given in the Bombay text, but is No. 96 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Rathoddhatā. The printed text has इत्युदीर्य for इत्युदीर्य.

The only mistake of the scribe in writing the Sanskrit and the commentary is प्रियातमा for प्रियतमा in the latter

Sanskrit Stanza No. 64. This is No. 25 in the Bombay text and No. 25 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

The scribe has dropped the त from अनागतसुखं and written रतां for रतं at the end of the stanza. The texts read प्राह for प्राग् at the beginning, अमानितगुणं for अनागतसुखं निः शङ्क for निः संग, and श्लथीकृततनु (Gopi Nath) and श्लथीकृतमनु for श्लथीकृतमथ.

The commentator in the Bombay edition has made an appalling blunder in dealing with this stanza. He explains मामिति (मा मा + इति i.e., saying, no, no) as being composed of मां + एति (comes towards me).

142 *SHṚNGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTṚHARI*

In the Hindi commentary जाताभिलाषं is written wrongly for जाताभिलाषं.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 65. This is No. 74 in the Bombay text and No. 74 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anushtubh.

The scribe has written चक्षः for चक्षुः.

The texts read गोचरा for गोचरे and for अपेता स, the Bombay text has अपेता तु, while Gopi Nath reads अपगता.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 66. This is No. 88 in the Bombay text and No. 87 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shikharinī.

The scribe has written गभ्या for गभ्यो at the beginning and also dropped ति from घूर्णयति at the end of the stanza and the negative न before च भवति.

In the commentary he has written औषद for औषध, प्रजति for व्रजति, given ज्य in भैषज्या an unnecessary anusvāra, written सते for शतेः, and विधदतु for विधदत्. The Bombay text has स्मरोऽपस्मारो for स्मरापस्मारो and भव्य for भंग.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 67. This is No. 11 in the Bombay text and No. 11 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anushtubh.

The texts both read सूचितेषु प्रवर्तते for the सूचिते न प्रवर्तते of the manuscript

Sanskrit Stanza No. 68. This is No. 14 in the Bombay text and No. 14 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anushtubh.

The printed texts both have सत्यग्रौ for सत्यर्कौ and तारावीन्दुषु for तारामणींदुषु.

In the commentary on this stanza the scribe has surpassed himself in unintelligent copying. He has written

SHRĠGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTṚHARI 143

तमीभूतं as if the word was तमे followed by भूतं placing a dividing stroke between, thus तमे । भूतं.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 69. This is No. 16 in the Bombay text and No. 16 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anushtubh.

This shloka is another of the rare instances in which the Sanskrit text is free from blunders and variations, but the scribe has made up for this by writing the common word स्तन with a cerebral ण in the commentary.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 70. This is No. 20 in the Bombay text and No. 20 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anushtubh.

Both the printed texts read रत्नमयीव for मणिमयीव. The manuscript has शा for सा at the end by error.

In the commentary the common word अंगनि has been wrongly written अंगणि.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 71. This is No. 93 in the Bombay text and No. 95 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anushtubh.

Both the printed texts read as follows : अजितात्मसु
संबद्धः समाधिद्वतचापलः ॥ भुजङ्गकुटिलः स्तब्धो भूविक्षेपः खलायते ॥
In the commentary नाहीं (not) is written by error for नाईं
(like), and असिक for असितः

Sanskrit Stanza No. 72 This is No. 13 in the Bombay text and No. 13 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anushtubh.

The texts have त्वयि for तव. For यतो विध्यसि the Bombay text has यथा हरसि and Gopi Nath reads यदा विध्यसि.

The commentary has देषियति है for देषिजति है.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 73 This is not given in the Bombay text, but is to be found in Gopi Nath's edition,

144 *SHRĠGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTRĠHARI*

(No. 97). The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa. Gopi Nath reads नीरागेष्वपि for नीरागेषु जिनी, यस्मात्परः for यस्यपर and ज्वाला-वलीढो for व्यासंगमुत्तो.

In the commentary the म of जैनधर्म has been dropped and भोक्तुं written without its anusvāra.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 74. This is No. 28 in the Bombay text and No. 28 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Pushpitāgrā.

The texts both read मान्मथा विकाराः for मान्मथो विकारः. The manuscript omits by error the first anusvāra in पुंसां.

In the commentary इद is written by error for इदं.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 75. This is No. 86 in the Bombay text and No. 85 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

The words दष्टे संति have been omitted by the scribe, who has also wrongly written दष्टो for दष्टो (bitten). Both the printed texts read व्यादीर्घेण for ज्यादीर्घेण. The scribe has also written द्यति for द्युति. For तथा the texts have ऽहिना and for ऽपि संजीवति both read न तच्चक्षुषा, which gives a much better sense. The Bombay text has वरम for वरमहो, while Gopi Nath reads मंत्री for वैद्यो. The commentary has the meaningless सांत for संति.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 76. This is not given in the Bombay text, but is No. 99 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is apparently an Āryā form, but does not exactly correspond with any of those given by Apte or Kale.

In the first hemistich the scribe has omitted the म of मनो and in the second the ग of संगमे. Gopi Nath reads विरहोऽपि at the beginning.

The second hemistich runs quite differently in Gopi Nath's edition, as follows :—

SIRĠGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTRĠHARI 145

यद्धृदयविघटितः स संगमोऽपि विरहं विशेषयति ॥

Sanskrit Stanza No. 77. This is No. 83 in the Bombay text and No. 82 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Hariṇī.

The scribe has dropped the स of अपसर and the फ of इतरफणिना. He has also omitted the anusvāra of ग्रस्तं and the visarga of मन्त्रिणः. The texts both read चतुर for चटुल, and Bombay edition has शिख for विष and also reads दष्टा: and शक्याच्च in the plural.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 78. This is No. 17 in the Bombay text and No. 17 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Vasantatilakā.

The printed texts both begin as follows :—

यस्याः स्तनौ यदि धनौ जघनं बिहारि वक्तुं च चारु, the rest of the stanza corresponding with the reading of the manuscript. The commentary has by error वहारि for बिहारि.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 79. This is No. 36 in the Bombay text and No. 36 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

The printed texts read वृताः for भृतः. Gopi Nath's edition has कथाम् for कलाम् and परिमलाः for परिमल. In the commentary यहर्थु is written by error for यह अर्थु, and पालास for पलास. The commentary on this stanza is incomplete and does not deal with the whole of the Sanskrit text.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 80. This is No. 44 in the Bombay text and No. 44 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shikharinī.

The scribe has omitted the ई of वल्ली and the न्ध of स्फुरद्भन्ध and he has inserted प्र superfluously before प्रोद्यज्जलः. The printed texts read केतकि for केतक and प्रोद्यज्जलदनिनद

146 *SHṚṄGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTRHARI*

after गन्धः, also कलखः for कलमितः. The commentary on this stanza is again incomplete.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 81. This is not given in the Bombay text, but it is No. 100 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shikharinī.

The only variation in reading is that Gopi Nath gives विलासैक after अभिनव instead of विकारैक. In the commentary on this line there is a quotation (line 296) from the Amara Kosha, and also a stanza is quoted and explained from the Māgha Kāvya (Shishupālavadha). This is the 34th stanza of the 11th canto of that poem and is in the Mālinī metre.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 82. This is No. 35 in the Bombay text and No. 35 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

The printed texts both read विचित्राः क्षपाः for विचित्रास्रज which is obviously wrong in omitting visarga. For हंत हृदयं the Bombay text has नेत्रहृदये, while Gopi Nath reads अवेहि हृदयं. Both texts read सितांशी for हिमांशी and किलकिंचिदेव for किलकिंतिस्य. The commentary quotes a stanza in the Vasantatilakā metre from the Shṛṅgāra Dīpikā, in which क्रीष्णो appears to be written by error for क्रीधो which is given in the commentary. The commentary on this stanza after evidently branching off to deal with a different Sanskrit text, which does not correspond to any Sanskrit stanza in the manuscript, concludes by finishing the commentary on No. 83. तातै is a clerical error for बातै before चैत्रे in the commentary. In the Sanskrit text the repha is dropped after मुहु, thereby spoiling the metre.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 83. This is No. 40 in the Bombay text and No. 40 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shikharinī.

The scribe has written प्रिय for प्रिया in प्रियावक्ताम्भोजं and अषिलं for अखिलं. In the commentary the inconsistent

SHṚṄGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTRĪHARI 147

सशधर is found for शशधर. The commentary on this stanza is incomplete. After quoting the words नतु विषय the commentator or copyist follows them by अशुपातः and proceeds to finish the incomplete part of the commentary on No. 82.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 84. This is No. 31 in the Bombay text and No. 31 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anushtubh.

The printed texts both read आवासः for निवासः, and Gopi Nath has पापहारिणि for पापवारिणि, and स्तनद्वय for स्तनमध्ये, which the Bombay edition reads मुक्ताहारिणि for मनोहारिणि.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 85. This is not given in the Bombay text and is not to be found in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anushtubh.

The text and commentary are both free from mistakes and present no difficulty.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 86. This is No. 45 in the Bombay text and No. 45 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shikharinī.

The manuscript has प्रौढं wrongly in the Sanskrit for प्रौढ. The texts both read असूचीसंसारे for असूचीसंचारे and दृषदां for नितरां. For जलदे the Bombay edition has जलदा and Gopi Nath reads जलद. The latter also has ग्लानिं for स्नानिं. Both printed texts have ध्वनिप्रायि तस्मिन् for ध्वनिप्राञ्चं मन्थि, while for the words पथि स्वैरिसदृशां at the end Gopi Nath reads पथिष्वेव सदृशाम् and the Bombay text has the same with त (by error) for य. In the commentary पुरष appears for य.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 87. This is No. 12 in the Bombay text and No. 12 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

148 *SHRĠGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTRĠHARI*

The scribe by haplography has written परंगते for परं पारं गते. For च्चिवं the Bombay edition has मित्थं and Gopi Nath चेत्यं. Both texts read च्चोभं for रागं. In the commentary we find समीष for समीप, शंसार for संसार, and कतु है for कहतु है, while the variant spellings कलस and कलश appear.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 88. This is No. 32 in the Bombay text and No. 32 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Gīti.

The Sanskrit text differs greatly from that of the printed editions, which begin with प्रियपुरतो युवतीनां instead of प्रायः प्रणयवतीनां and end with मधुसुनिर्मलः पवनः instead of मलयपवमानः. Gopi Nath's text omits मधुसु before निर्मल thus spoiling the metre.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 89. This is No. 37 in the Bombay text and No. 37 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Āryā.

The texts both have विधुर instead of मुदित before मधुपे. In the commentary कर is meaninglessly repeated after निकर by dittography.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 90. This is No. 39 in the Bombay text and No. 39 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shikharinī. The printed texts both read कासारो for पुष्पाणां. For the words beginning with निदाघ the Bombay edition reads निदाघे तुणं तत्सुखमुपलभन्ते and Gopi Nath has निदाघार्ता च्चेतत्सुखमुपलभन्ते.

In the commentary यानिबी is wrongly for जानिबी, श्लेक for श्लोक, and फूलवि for फूलनि.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 91. This is No. 42 in the Bombay text and No. 42 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Mālinī. The texts both have वियदुपचितमेवं.

SHRṆGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTRĀHARI 149

Neither the Sanskrit text nor the commentary presents any difficulties. The word तरहरि in the commentary means below and seems to be connected with तर (तले) below and हार ground, field. In the modern Avadhi dialect it means low lying ground as opposed to "uparhar."

Sanskrit Stanza No. 92. This is No. 41 in the Bombay text and No. 41 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Upāchitrā.

The manuscript wrongly reads दीषित for दीपित in the Sanskrit stanza. The texts both have विकसितजाती for विकसज्जाती. In the commentary हा is written after उन्नत instead of कहा.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 93. This is No. 46 in the Bombay text and No. 46 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

The manuscript wrongly reads हर्मत : for हर्म्यत :. The printed texts read जाता : for जालै : and वांत्यन्त (Bombay) and अत्यन्त (Gopi Nath) for रत्यंत. They both have प्रियतमैर्यातुं बहिः शक्यते for प्रियतमः शक्नोति गंतुं बहिः. In the commentary a superfluous ए is written before the words प्रिया के संगम and a superfluous श before the दृ of आयतदृशा. Visarga is also wrongly written unnecessarily after आसारेण.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 94. This is No. 47 in the Bombay text and No. 47 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdharā.

The Sanskrit text gives the barbarous form सुस्वा. The printed texts both read नौत्वा. The texts also read दृषो for तर्षो, खिन्न for सन्न and कर्करीती for शर्कराभां.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 95. This is not given in the Bombay text, but is No. 12 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdharā. The printed text has प्रचल for प्रबल and नो कण्ठलग्ना for कंठे लग्ना.

In the commentary जेषां is wrongly written for the Sanskrit येषां and निनर्थक is again found for निरर्थक (meaningless).

Sanskrit Stanza No. 96. This is No. 48 in the Bombay text and No. 48 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

In the Sanskrit सर्पिरसना has been wrongly written for सर्पिरशना. For वृत्तोत्थन the Bombay text has पीनोत्स्थल and Gopi Nath reads पीनोत्थन. The commentary to this stanza is almost entirely missing, having been written on leaf No. 49 which is lost.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 97. This is No. 50 in the Bombay text and No. 50 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdharā.

This stanza is the one on the missing leaf of the manuscript, but its identity is clear from the portion of the commentary on the first page of leaf No. 50 इति द्यौ at the beginning is an obvious blunder for इत्यद्यौ. The leaf is torn and restorations, e.g. सौत्कार and शिशिर, have been necessary. In another place the copyist instead of writing स्त्री followed by सौत्कारहि ran the two words together thus स्त्रीत्कारहि. We also find दंतद्वत wrongly written for दंतद्वद (lip).

Sanskrit Stanza No. 98. This is No. 49 in the Bombay text and No. 49 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdharā.

The copyist has written the meaningless सौहृतान्य for सौहृतान्य. There are two gaps in the Sanskrit, but both are replaceable from the printed texts and also indicated by the commentary. The text of the commentary is badly damaged and requires restoration in about ten places, two

SHṚNGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTṚHARI 151

or three of which present a little difficulty, *e.g.* कौ सरसिकै after स्तननि and कुवत है तब after पीडरीनि.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 99. This is No. 99 in the Bombay text and No. 98 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anuṣṭubh.

The Bombay text reads संचरत्येकी and also चापर for कञ्चन, and भ्रमति for चरति. The commentary on this stanza, which is very brief, is slightly damaged on the right hand margin, but the missing letters can be restored easily.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 100. This is No. 100 in the Bombay text and is not given in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Āryā.

The Bombay text reads न मनः कामः सरोजिन्याः instead of न नाम कामः सरोजानां, and नास्ति for नाति, also तस्मिन् for तत्र. In the commentary a few letters are destroyed by the tearing and fraying of the leaf on the right edge, but they can be restored without any difficulty or room for doubt.

SOME REMARKS ON THE MUGHAL CURRENCY.

BY C. J. BROWN, Professor of English at the
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THE coinage of the Mughal Emperors may in general be said to be a local coinage, that is to say, the coins were struck in a number of different towns or districts the name of which they bear; a few coins of Akbar and Jahāngīr are mintless. But in another sense all Mughal coins are imperial, that is to say, all the various mints were under the direct control of the Emperor or his representative, and the privilege of coining was strictly guarded, at least so far as gold and silver were concerned, until in the time of Farrukhsiyar a new system of farming out the mints was introduced.¹

But although it is generally true to say that the Mughal coinages are local, this may be qualified in one or two ways. Not all coins were intended for general local use; nor were all coins bearing the name of a mint coined at that mint in the regular way, and a few coins were not coined in the mint the name of which they bear.

In this paper I shall endeavour to put forward a few suggestions on such irregularities as have come to my notice during a fairly close study of a large number of Mughal coins of different periods.

Now we may perhaps divide Mughal coins into three groups:—

- (1) Coins minted for regular currency in the regular way, that is, for use in the first place in the town or district whose name they bear.

1. A historical sketch of the Benares Mint by Mr. Barlow in the Calcutta Mint Committee's Proceedings, 1792. Quoted by E. Thurston. Note on the History of the East India Company's Coinage, 1753—1835, J.A.S.B., 1893, p. 55.

SOME REMARKS ON MUGHAL CURRENCY 153

- (2) Coins minted for the Emperor's particular use, or to satisfy some special fancy, or to commemorate some special event : not all of these were in regular use as money, but it is difficult to draw a hard and fast line between coins of this class which formed part of the regular currency, and those which were in the nature of medals, or presentation pieces.
- (3) Coins minted for ordinary circulation but under extraordinary circumstances.

There is no need to dwell upon group (1) here, so we will proceed at once to group (2)—but a few preliminary remarks are necessary.

The *rupee* was the standard coin of the Mughal notwithstanding the curious fact that the revenue was reckoned in copper *dāms*. The *mōhar* was to be found chiefly in the houses of the nobles, and it must have been largely used for *nazar* or in presents from the Emperor, or as a convenient form for hoarding. (The East India Company *mohars* are employed in *nazar* to this day.) Copper was after the reign of Akbar not coined in large quantities,¹ and it tended to assume the form and standard most convenient for the district in which it circulated, and was probably less carefully controlled. These conditions relative to gold and silver must be taken into account in determining the character of the coins included in this group. Another point to be remembered is the special interest which Akbar and particularly the virtuoso Jahāngīr displayed in the coinage. Consequently most coins of this group will belong to these two reigns.

We shall have no hesitation in placing in group (2) the gigantic coins mentioned by Abu-l Fazl²—the *sihansah* or 100 *mohar* piece, the *rahas* (50 *mohars*), the *binsat*

¹ According to De Laët, quoted by Vincent Smith, "The Treasure of Akbar," J.R.A.S., 1915, p. 237, there were 230,000,000 *paisā* in the Royal Treasury at Agra. This would account in great measure for the scarcity of copper of the later Mughals.

² Aīn-i-Akbarī. Blochmann's Translation I. 31.

154 *SOME REMARKS ON MUGHAL CURRENCY*

(20 *mohars*), and Jahāngīr's *nūr shāhī* (100 tola *mohar*), *nūr karam* (10 tola *mohar*), *nūr mihr* (5 tola *mohar*),¹ etc., etc. These were used for presentation only: Jahāngīr tells us of a gold mohar of 1,000 tolas which he presented to Yādgār 'Alī Khān, ambassador of the ruler of Irān.² Few have survived: there is a cast of a 200 mohar piece of Shāh Jahān in the British Museum.³ Of this nature, too, probably, were the gold and silver *tankas* Jahāngīr struck at Kambāyat (Cambay) in the month Dī 1027 A.H.,⁴ of which also none have survived.

But there are smaller coins of which we have many extant examples, used for largesse, the silver *nūr afshāns* (= "light-scattering"), 1/20th rupee in value, and *khair qabūls* (= "May these alms be accepted"), both struck by Jahāngīr, and the *niṣārs* in gold and silver by Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān, Aurangzeb and Jahāndār. These came from a variety of mints, and were either scattered by the Emperor, or handed over to some trusted officer to present to the poor or to faqirs.⁵ The following though less certain instances were probably, on account of their exceptional nature and rarity, used for presentation. The unique gold memorial mohar in the possession of Mr. H. Nelson Wright with the head of Akbar on the obverse, and the sun on the reverse. It has no inscription but is believed

¹ *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, Trans. Rogers. and Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 10: there is a *Nūr Mihr* in the British Museum of Agra, 1028—14 R. cf. pl. IX, No. 305 in the British Museum Catalogue of Mughal Coins.

² *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, Vol. I, p. 237.

Mr. W. Hawkins' account of the treasures of Jahāngīr (*Purchas* I, p. 217) quoted in Thomas' "Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire," p. 24, Note 1. A list of huge coins in Jahāngīr's treasury is given: it includes 20,000 gold pieces of 1,000 Rs. each, 500 of 10,000 Rs. each, 30,000 of 20 tolas, 25,000 of 10 tolas, 50,000 of 5 tolas; and among silver coins 50,000 pieces of 100 tolas, 1,00,000 of 50 tolas, 40,000 of 30 tolas, 30,000 of 20 tolas, 20,000 of 10 tolas, and 25,000 of 5 tolas. Mr. S. B. Smith has suggested that these huge coins were merely a convenient form in which to keep bullion; and that sometimes the Emperor presented them as gifts. This seems to me very probable. Coins over five tolas must have been cast not struck.

³ B.M.C. Introduction, p. LXXXVII.

⁴ *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, Vol. I, p. 417.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 247.

SOME REMARKS ON MUGHAL CURRENCY 155

to have been struck by Jahāngīr in memory of his father. The Zodiacal Gemini rupee of the 15th year struck at Kashmīr¹ during Jahāngīr's stay there, the Capricornus rupee of Fathpūr of 1028-14R,² and probably the very rare Zodiacal mohars and rupees bearing the name of Nūr Jahān from the Ajmere and Lahore Mints were used in presentation from the Emperor to courtiers or to the ladies of the Zenana.

With regard to the remaining Zodiacal coins: the rupees of Aḥmadābād of 1027-13R., Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer and Leo were minted during the period of Jahāngīr's stay in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadābād, and were almost certainly in general use, as many worn specimens prove. The Zodiacal mohars of Agra 1028-14R.—1031-17R. may also have had a general currency, as there appear to have been no other mohars minted in Agra during that period, but it is scarcely likely that the Bacchanalian mohars struck at Ajmere in 1023 were ordinarily current.

Among commemorative pieces may be mentioned the famous Hawk mohar of Asīr of Akbar's 45th year, celebrating his capture of the strong fort of Asīrgarh,³ the Muḥammadābād Udaipūr mohar commemorating Akbar's conquest of that place in 984 A.H.,⁴ the rare couplet rupee of Ajmere of 1024 which probably commemorates the victory of Prince Khurram over the Rāna of Udaipūr,⁵ and the mohars and rupees struck at Shāhjahānābād in the year 1219 A.H.⁶ with the inscription surrounded by a wreath of roses, shamrocks and thistles celebrating Lord Lake's entry

¹ Indian Museum Catalogue, Vol. III, No. 696.

² Whitehead "Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors," J.A.S.B., 1912, p. 430.

³ B.M.C., pl. V., 166.

⁴ B.M.C., pl. III., No. 63.

⁵ Published in J.A.S.B. Numismatic Supplement, No. XXVI, §156.—The couplet is

* در اجمیر زد سکه فتح بر زر
* جہانگیر شاہ شہنشاہ اکبر

"At Ajmere struck on gold the coin of victory—Jahāngīr Shāh Shahan Shāh Akbar's Son."

⁶ B.M.C., pl. XXVII., No. 1110.

156 *SOME REMARKS ON MUGHAL CURRENCY*

into Delhi in the year 1803 (1218 A.H.). The first two of these were probably not in general circulation because (1) they are exceedingly rare, (2) they are gold mohars, (3) no other coins in gold or silver are known from those mints: they may have been presents to courtiers or the army. The rupees of Ajmere were probably in circulation but the number must have been limited; the Shāhjahānābād pieces were in ordinary circulation.¹ Finally I should like to call attention to a group of coins struck between Jahāngīr's 5th and 14th years, all of which exhibit Jahāngīr's artistic taste. Some of these have been already mentioned, the rest all merit special notice. With one exception they were struck at places where Jahāngīr was residing or stopping at the time, as the following chronological table taken from the *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī* will show:—

CHRONOLOGY.	NUMISMATIC HISTORY.
1019. 5th Zī-l-hijja : Jahāngīr returns to Agra from Lahore.	1019-5R Mihr—1020-6R. Farwardīn: Couplet mohars and rupees struck with a fresh couplet each month at Agra.
1019. 11 Ardibihisht : Ilahī dates substituted for hijrī dates in the <i>Tūzak</i> .	1019-5R. Bahman—1020-6R. <i>Khūrdād</i> : A similar couplet series of rupees struck at Lāhore.
1020. 11 <i>Khūrdād</i> : Jahāngīr marries Nūr Mahall (not in the <i>Tūzak</i>).	
1022. 24 Shahrewar : Jahāngīr leaves Agra with his full camp.	
26 Abān, arrives in Ajmere.	
1024. News of the defeat of the Rāna of Udaipūr reaches Ajmere.	1023-8-1023-9. Bacchanalian mohars. ²
26 Bahman : arrival of Prince Khurram at Ajmere.	1023-9. First couplet rupee of Ajmere. ³
1025. Farwardīn : Nūr Mahall given the title of Nūr Jahān.	1024. The 'Sikka Fateh' couplet rupee of Ajmere.
21 Abān : Jahāngīr leaves Ajmere for the Dakkan.	1025-11. First couplet rupee again struck but with different arrangement of the legend. ⁴

¹ The difficulty of ascertaining how far such coins were in ordinary circulation is accentuated by the fact that there has always been a tendency in India to hoard coins of unusual appearance.

² B.M.C., pl. IX., No. 318-319.

³ P.M.C., No. 920.

⁴ In the Lucknow Museum.

SOME REMARKS ON MUGHAL CURRENCY 157

CHRONOLOGY.

- 4 Azar : a 10 days' halt at Rāmsar, a village belonging to Nūr Jahān : she gives a great feast.
1026. 22 Isfandārmuz : Jahāngīr enters Mandū
Khurram arrives at the royal camp from the Dakkan and is styled Shāh Jahān.
1026. 18 Abān ; Jahāngīr leaves Mandū.
8 Dī : arrives at Kham-bāyat (Cambay).
1027. 15 Dī = Nauroz 1027.
25 Dī arrives in Ahmadābād. Remains in Ahmadābād and the neighbourhood until 25th Shahrewar 13R. (the advance camp had started on 7th).
1028. 19 Dī : Jahāngīr reaches Fathpūr-Sikrī and remains in the neighbourhood.
1 Ardibihisht (14R.) : State Entry into Agra.

NUMISMATIC HISTORY.

- 1025-11. Couplet rupee of Urdū dar rāh-i-Dakkan—probably struck at Rāmsar.¹
- 1026-12. The couplet mohar of Mandū.²
1027. Nauroz ; orders gold and silver tankas to be struck (none extant).³
1027. 13R. Farwardīn-Khūrdād : Zodiacal rupees of Ahmadābād struck.
1028. 14R. Farwardīn. Zodiac mohars of Agra commence.

With regard to the coins mentioned above the following remarks may be made. Not all the months in the Agra series are represented by extant specimens of rupees and mohars : but those which do exist⁴ represent the "culminating point of excellence in the Mughal Series" All six months are known of the Lahore Series, and in both cases the coins are minted alternately square and round for successive months, a practice which continues for some years in the Agra mint. Each couplet contains the name of the month and the mint, and the design is peculiar to each variety.

¹ As 1025 A.H. ended on 25th Dī, regnal year 11 ; the only other probable place was a camping spot near Rantambhor, where Jahāngīr stopped on 10th Dī when he was visited by the sons of Rāja Maha Singh.

² P.M.C., No. 918.

³ Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī, Vol. I, p. 417.

⁴ Cf. No. 894-895 P.M.C. mohars of Abān 1019-5R., and Farwardīn 1020-6R. : the couplet on the latter is as follows :—

* بیفروزیں از آگرہ فروزان کشت چون اختر
* ز نور سکہ شاہ جہانگیر ابن شاہ اکبر

"In Farwardīn the gold of Agra became luminous like a star, by the light of the Stamp of Shāh Jahāngīr, son of Akbar Shāh."

158 *SOME REMARKS ON MUGHAL CURRENCY*

It may be mentioned here that as Agra and Lahore were the two chief residences of Jahāngīr, so also they were the principal mints during his reign and that of his father. This could be deduced from the very full series of coins that issue from these mints. Great reserves of treasure must also have been deposited in them, for in 1016 we find Jahāngīr sending from Kābul a firman to Qilij Khān to despatch 1,70,000 rupees from the Lahore treasury for the expenses of the army in Qandahār.¹

With regard to the Bacchanalian mohars and the couplet rupees of Ajmere, the rupee of Urdū-dar-rāh-i-Dakkan and the Mandū mohar, a comparison of these will, I think, reveal a close similarity of style, and as these are the sole representative coins of these mints in gold and silver for his reign, and as we know one of them must have been struck by his camp mint, it seems fair to conclude that they were all so struck. In addition there is a copper *rawāne* of Ajmere of 1024² which closely resembles the *rawānes* of Agra, whence Jahāngīr must have taken his die-cutters. One of the Bacchanalian mohars is inscribed with this couplet.

قضا بر سکه زد کرد تصویر * شنیہ حضرت شاہ جہانگیر
حروف جہانگیر والہ اکبر * زروز ازل در عدد شد برابر

Destiny on coin of gold has drawn

The portrait of His Majesty Shāh Jahāngīr :

The letters of Jahāngīr and Allahu Akbar.

Are equal in value from the beginning of time.

In the 'Tūzak' Jahāngīr tells us the origin of this. At the time of his arrival at Ajmere a man was brought 'who represented to me that the name Jahāngīr according to the science of abjad (numerals reckoned by letters), corresponded to the great name "Allah Akbar." Considering this a good omen, I gave him who discovered (this coincidence) land, a horse, cash and clothing.'³

¹ Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī, Vol. I, p. 109.

² P.M.C., No. 1189.

³ Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī, Vol. I, p. 253 : both Jahāngīr and Allahu Akbar yield 288.

SOME REMARKS ON MUGHAL CURRENCY 159

As the couplet rupee of 1024 of Ajmere seems to have reference to Prince Khurram, so also the mohar of Mandū would seem to be connected with the arrival of the Prince from the Dakkan on 20th Mihr 1026. On the 27th Mihr 'Nūr Jahān Begam gave a feast of victory for my son Shāh Jahān' (he had received the new title on the 20th), and this appears to me the occasion of its being struck, for it would give particular point to the introduction of the Begam's name into the couplet, which is as follows:—

* بنور جهانی دھند پر تو چو مہر و ماہ
* سکھ مذکور ز نام جہانگیر شاہ

With the light of the world gave rays like the sun
and moon

Coin of Mandū from the name of Jahāngīr Shāh.

Another fancy of the Emperor produced the Zodiacal rupees of Aḥmadābād, which were probably, judging from their style, struck at the Aḥmadābād mint, which ranks next in importance to the mints of Agra and Lahore. Zodiac mohars begin to issue from Agra from the first anniversary of his Coronation after his return to Agra, Farwardīn 1028 14R. How far Nūr Jahān was responsible for these interesting coins we cannot tell, but Jahāngīr distinctly states they were his own invention.¹

The coins bearing the name of Nūr Jahān begin late in the reign—1033-19R is the earliest date, and with the exception of the very rare Zodiac coins, already alluded to, form part of the ordinary currency, an Allahabad coin of 1037-22 in the writer's collection may be another exception, but it resembles the rest in style.

I have dealt chiefly with the coins of Jahāngīr in this article because they present the most ready illustrations of this group, and because we have his own comments in his memoirs on the coinage from time to time. With Group 3 of my classification which presents several interesting problems, I hope to deal in a subsequent article.

¹ Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī. Vol. II, p. 6.

GAMES AND FESTIVALS OF GARHWAL.

BY THE HON'BLE PT. TARA DUTT GAIROLA AND
D. A. BARKER, I.C.S.

Introduction.—The Garhwalis are by nature a war-like race. The geographical conditions of their country expose them to foreign invasions, and their history is a record of constant internal and external warfare, both defensive and offensive. The very name Garhwal denotes a country having several forts or “garhs.” According to tradition there were not less than fifty-two fortresses in this hilly tract in former times. Its dominion at one time extended as far as Tibet, Dehra Dun, Bijnor and Kumaon (Almora and Naini Tal).

Legends of the conquests of these outlying districts by the Garhwali heroes or “bhars,” are sung by the local bards up to the present time. The recital of these “Bharwalis” or “Pawaras,” as they are locally called, at all festivals and during the long wintry nights, form the chief pastime of the Garhwalis. Such is the warlike spirit of these songs that the young folk who hear them become hypnotised, as it were, and begin to dance and perform extraordinary feats—such as uprooting trees, carrying huge weights, rushing into the burning fire, eating nettles, earth, etc.

During the months of Phalgun and Chait (spring) at even tide, groups of young folk gather round a fagot on the *Panchayati chauk* and sing beautiful songs in choruses and dance in a most fantastic manner. They become fired, as it were, with the amorous spirit of the spring, and the romantic natural scenery which surrounds them.

It is surprising how Garhwali villagers, young and old, will completely forget themselves and plunge headlong

GAMES AND FESTIVALS OF GARHWAL 161

into the enjoyment of these amusements. It is not an uncommon sight to see very old men and women dancing and singing with the younger villagers on such occasions.

But it is to be regretted that as the struggle for existence becomes more severe and as modern civilization continues to invade the hill tracts, the Garhwalis are giving up their old games and festivals. Now it is only in the remote interior of the hills that the primitive social life of the people can be seen. The modernized Garhwali feels ashamed to sing and dance in the way his heroic ancestors did. But the backward villagers from whom our soldiers are mainly recruited, still indulge in these primitive pastimes and are fully imbued with their heroic spirit.

In the following pages some of the most important games and festivals of the Garhwalis will be described.

THE BEDA OR BAST.

With regard to the origin of this game there is a legend which runs as follows:—When the God Vishnu had distributed all his bounties amongst his creatures, He forgot to give anything to the class of human beings called the *Bádis* (a subcaste of Doms who are professional dancers and jesters). On this the *Bádis* approached the deity in a body and propitiated him by their jests and songs. The God was pleased and gave them the *babar* grass and the bamboo tree to earn their livelihood from. He also said that thenceforward these two articles—the bamboo and the *babar* grass, would be held sacred among men. It is on account of this sanctity that special oaths used to be taken on those articles in former times.

Since that day the *Bádis* use the *babar* grass for making a rope which they use for the *Beda* festival and the bamboo pole for the “Lang,” which latter festival will be described later on.

When a *Bádi* wishes to perform the *Beda* ceremony in a village, he goes and throws a rope of *babar* grass on the

162 GAMES AND FESTIVALS OF GARHWAL

Panchayati chauk as a sort of offer to perform the ceremony. Then the villagers convene a *Panchayat* and decide to hold the festival. The village *Purohit* fixes an auspicious day for the celebration. The programme is settled. The villagers go in a body to the jungle to fetch *babar* grass for the manufacture of rope. Then for several days the villagers are busy with preparing the rope, which in some cases measures over 1,500 yards in length. During the period the rope is being prepared the *Bádi* entertains the villagers at night with singing and dancing. When the rope is ready it is kept in water for several days. A wooden saddle is also made of *sandan* or walnut wood and soaked in oil.

The *Bádi* as well as the *Padhan* or headman of the village keep fast on the evening previous to the day fixed for the ceremony. On the next morning the village *Purohit* performs worship of the local deities and of Shiva in whose honour the festival is held. The *Bádi* also joins in the worship. Then the rope is carried to the top of the hill overhanging the village in a procession. The *Padhan* then ties one end of the rope round a tree, after performing certain worship, in which the *Bádi* also takes part. The other end of the rope is brought down the hill and tied to another tree down in the valley, preferably on the village field.

After the rope has been tied to the posts a watch is kept over it to prevent an enemy cutting any strings from it.

In the meantime a huge concourse of people assemble from far and wide to witness the ceremony and receive blessings from the *Bádi* who is believed to be, for the time being, a representative of God Shiva. All the while music and dancing goes on for the entertainment of the visitors. The villagers invite their friends and relatives to the festivals and incur heavy expenses in entertaining them. The *Bádi* who has kept fast overnight takes only milk and fruit in the morning. Immediately before the appointed

GAMES AND FESTIVALS OF GARHWAL 163

time he bathes and performs some worship. He then performs his own funeral rites as well as of his ancestors, the idea being that the *Bádi* should be prepared for a fatal accident.

Then the *Bádi* is taken to the upper end of the rope on the *Padhan's* shoulders amidst the beating of drums. On reaching the post a short ceremony is again performed in which prayers are offered to Shiva and to the local deity for the safety of the *Bádi* during the performance.

The wooden saddle is then placed across the rope and the *Bádi* made to sit on it. Two sand-bags are then tied on the legs of the *Bádi* to keep him balanced on the rope, and a bandage is tied over his eyes. While this preparation is going on, the wife and other members of the *Bádi's* family, stand at the lower end of the rope and rend the sky with wailings and lamentations.

At the appointed hour the *Bádi* is dropped from the upper post and slips down the rope waving a handkerchief in both his hands and shouting "*Jai Jai*," a cry which is taken up by the whole crowd. The sight is most awe-inspiring and pathetic.

In a few moments the *Bádi* comes down to the lower end where the members of his family are the first to welcome him. He is a veritable hero of the day and immediately the whole crowd rushed towards him to pull out his hair, which is believed to have great efficacy in warding off evil spirits. The *Padhan* and others who keep guard over him stop the people from pulling out the *Bádi's* hair. Sometimes free fights take place on such occasions. The *Padhan* then takes the *Bádi* on his shoulders and carries him to the village. On arrival there a short thanksgiving takes place at which the villagers and other spectators make liberal presents to the *Bádi* and his wife and children, while the latter dance and sing songs in praise of their *Thakurs*, the villagers.

The day is celebrated with great *éclat* and a feast is given to the guests. Goats are freely killed. Thus ends

the great *Beda* or rope riding festival of the Garhwalis.

As sometimes the rope takes fire owing to friction against the wooden saddle, fatal accidents were not unusual. For this reason the rite has been prohibited by Government in British Garhwal. Even in Tehri State it is gradually dying out.

The rite of the *Beda* was probably universal in former times throughout the Himalaya and had its origin no doubt in a sacrificial rite. In the Simla Hill States for instance the rite was common in villages inhabited by Paras Ram Brahmans and was deemed to be unsatisfactory if the victim escaped unhurt. For this reason it was the custom to introduce if possible some flaw into the rope so that the victim should be sure to fall. Even in the more spectacular form of the *Beda* as known in Garhwal there are many evidences that the rite was originally sacrificial. As in the *sana* sacrifice the victim has to be ceremonially pure, and the sacrificer—the *padhan*—has to remain in contact with the victim so as to bridge the gulf between the sacred and profane world. It would be interesting in this connection to know what was done with the body of a *Bádi* who happened to be killed during the performance of the rite. The fact of the lower support of the rope being tied to a tree standing on the village fields seems to indicate as the object of the rite the grant of fertility to the soil. A connection would thus be established between the *Beda* and the now obsolescent custom whereby the inhabitants of a village chase a buffalo over their fields hitting it with axes and knives until it dies. Any field which receives blood from the animal is supposed to be greatly benefited.

THE DADAMANDI BALL GAME.

This game is associated with the Makar Sankrant—a festival which is largely made the occasion of organised amusements in the Hills. The commercial fairs of Bageswar and Thal Baleswar are held on that day and minor

GAMES AND FESTIVALS OF GARHWAL 165

fairs occur at a number of other places. Two of these, held respectively at Dadamandi and at Thal Nadi, both in the extreme south of the Garhwal district, are accompanied by a strange contest between the inhabitants of the neighbouring *paths*. The game is played on a stretch of 7 or 8 acres of fairly level ground surrounded by a wall about 3 feet high. This ground is used during the rainy season for growing rice so that here and there are terrace walls, though of no great height. The object of each side is to carry the ball over the wall at one or other end of the ground and to obtain possession of it there. Until this possession is attained neither party can win however far they may have carried the play into the territory of their opponents. The ball itself is a more or less spherical bag of leather stuffed with odds and ends of cloth, and weighing a few pounds.

About 2-0 P.M., whilst the fair on the high land above the field of play is still in full swing, there appear on the field two standards accompanied by drummers who beat vigorously for some time without any apparent effect. These are the recruiting stations so to speak of the two sides. Gradually a few of the keener spirits are attracted and gravitate towards their respective standards stripping themselves meanwhile of all clothes save a loin cloth. When about ten or fifteen of these prospective players have collected they endeavour to attract others from the crowd above by cheering and dancing round the standards to the accompaniment of the drums. Then, as the laggards still fail to come, a crowd of stripped men scale the bank from the playing field, rush in amongst the crowd and presently emerge again dragging fresh recruits with them. At last about fifty men on each side have collected. It is now only an hour after the time fixed for the game to begin and numerous men are seen here and there still leisurely divesting themselves of their clothes, but the days in January are still short and it is decided to begin. Suddenly a small knot of brown figures is seen to assemble in the middle of

166 *GAMES AND FESTIVALS OF GARHWAL*

the field and to it gather all the players who are ready to play. The game has now begun.

The small knot of men soon increases until it becomes a seething mass of struggling players all leaning inwards and pushing towards the centre of the mass where a few of the leaders are engaged in fighting for the possession of the ball. There is no putting down of heads and shoving as in a football "scrum;" the players simply lean against their opponents, though a few on the extreme edge of the scrum push with their hands. Nevertheless the scrum is very dense, so dense that eager players on the outside, anxious to get to the centre of interest, jump into the heads of the crowd and drag themselves over heads and shoulders till they can gradually squeeze into a favourable position near the ball. The game would provide admirable opportunities for "scrum" tactics as practised in Rugby football, but reasoned playing is out of the question, partly because the teams are entirely untrained and undisciplined and partly because of the hampering effect of the spectators who cling close to the outskirts of the scrum, occasionally giving a helping push to their side and occasionally chatting with a player who has fallen out for a few minutes' rest. By now nearly one hundred players on each side are struggling for the ball and the scrum moves hither and thither amidst great excitement. Sometimes it collides with a terrace wall—an admirable opportunity for the players to break their legs—and the spectators hold their breath as the scrum begins to rise, as if in a solid mass, and gradually surges up the rise. The atmosphere in the centre of the scrum is by this time fairly warm, the players are weary with trying to keep their feet and the burden of men, climbing over them to get to the ball, is great. Fainting players are dragged from the seething mass, are laid on their backs and flapped vigorously with cloths by the attendant spectators; but in a few minutes they are back again to the scrum. The standards hover on the edge of the scrum and the drummers of the winning side beat

GAMES AND FESTIVALS OF GARHWAL 167

noisily as the ball moves slowly towards their opponents territory. The mass of men is so great that the scrum moves hither and thither as if neither side had any object in view. Suddenly to the surprise of the spectators, and probably of the players, it rushes towards a side wall and collides with it. Judging from the apparent solidity of the scrum one would expect it to bounce off again, but instead it breaks suddenly up and the players on the wall side leap up on to the wall itself. They are soon pushed off on to the other side, however, and have to content themselves with supporting from below the fellow-players who have displaced them. But now, they are up on the wall again and by flinging themselves from the wall against the side of the scrum they gradually drive it away into more open ground.

Excitement now wanes somewhat. The light is already beginning to fade, the aged, the maimed and the unenthusiastic are gradually donning their clothes and moving away from the field towards their homes. Soon, however, interest is revived by a definite movement on the part of the scrum towards one of the goals. It drives down-hill over the terraces, drives against the boundary wall and is soon amongst the boulders of the dry river bed which constitutes the territory of the losing side. The passage of this dense mass of men over a three-foot stone wall is not without dangers and several of the players are carried out after its accomplishment. Play continues, however, without abatement, for one of the losing side has got hold of the ball and is doubled up over it in the centre of the scrum. Climbing is now at a premium for mere punching is of little avail. The pressure from the sides is somewhat reduced but the pressure from above becomes serious for the central players. At length and none too soon, for the day is almost done, one of the winning side gets hold of the ball and the game is over. The time is 6 P.M. Old men say that the game has sometimes gone on till 8-0 P.M. But that was in the good old days.

HAKIM MEHDI.

By S. B. SMITH, Professor of History at the
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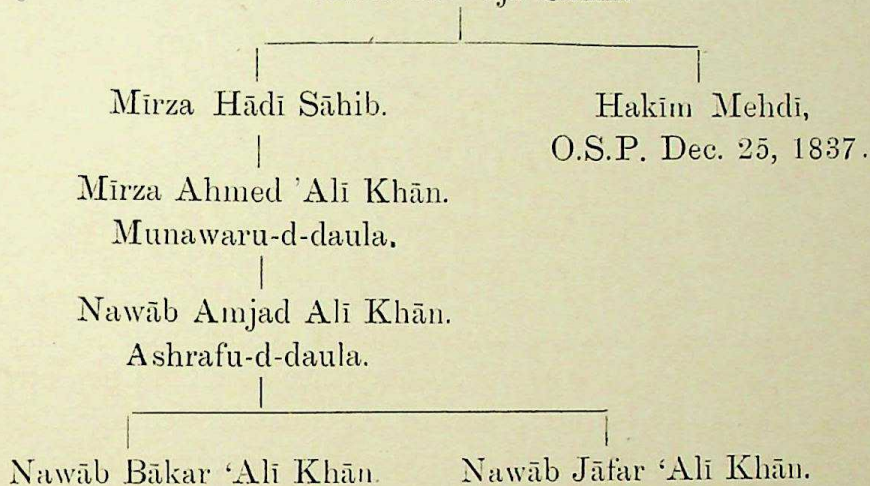
CONSPICUOUS upon the high ground which marks the site of the earliest settlement in Lucknow, and not far from the last resting place of the famous citizen Shah Mina, stands the tomb of the Nawab Muntazim-ud-daula Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan Bahadur; the adjacent imambara, where his brother Hadi Ali Khan was laid to rest, is now no more than a grass-grown mound; and the maqbara itself, though picturesque enough when seen against the setting sun, appears forlorn and dilapidated at a nearer view. More permanent memorials of Hakim Mehdi are to be found up and down upon the face of the country. The fine avenue that runs from Khairabad to Sitapur was first planted by him; he built the handsome bridge at Shahjahanpur, and another over the Katli Nadi near Farrukhabad; his house at Fatehgarh is now the station hospital, and a ghât upon the Ganges still bears his name. Nor did he forget the land of his extraction or his birth—"somewhere in Persia he built a bridge,"¹ and in Kashmir an imambara. In Lucknow he founded the charity known as Radde Mazalim, and his family still administer the interest of Rs. 5,35,000 left in trust for this purpose.

Of his early career little is known. His father Mirza Khwaja Sakhi was a Persian from Tabriz. He settled in

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Awadh.*

Kashmir and there Hakim Mehdi was born, and hence was known in Lucknow as a Kashmiri. He had one older brother Mirza Hadi Ali Khan, the father of the minister Munawaru-d-daula, whose descendants, the two Nawabs of Shish Mahal, still dwell in Lucknow.¹

Mirza Khwāja Sakhi.



The date of Hakim Mehdi's birth is not known, but in 1831 he says of himself "I am an old man, my race is nearly run"² and Mrs. Fanny Parks who met him in the same year speaks of him as "an old man, sinking beneath the weight of years."³ The earliest authentic reference that I have been able to find is the statement of Sleeman⁴ that Hakim Mehdi "was employed in the Azimgarh district under Boo Allee Khan, and during the negotiations for the transfer of that district to the British Government which took place in 1801." After the annexation he returned to Lucknow and in 1804 was appointed Nazim of Mahumdi.

The greater part of Oudh was at this time divided into sixteen chaklas administered under the ijara or contract system. The contractor, known indifferently as Nazim, Amil, Chakladar, or Mustagir, not only compounded

¹ I have to thank Khan Bahadur Abdus-Sami, Nazul Officer, for kindly procuring me the information about the family of Hakim Mehdi from Nawab Jafar Ali Khan.

² Letter from Lieut. Paton to Mr. Prinsep, July 18, 1831. Oudh Papers, II, 68.

³ Wanderings in Search of the Picturesque, I, 190.

⁴ Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh, II, 74.

for the revenue of his district, but acted as governor with full powers, executive and judicial, supported by a military force.

For the district of Mahumdi Hakim Mehdi agreed to pay Rs. 3,11,000 a year. He continued to dwell in Lucknow, whilst his brother Hadi Ali Khan administered the district with such success that after a few years it was yielding seven lakhs a year. In 1807 Hakim Mehdi acquired the contract for the adjacent district of Khairabad at a jumma of five lakhs. The Marquess of Hastings, who in 1818 passed through Hakim Mehdi's districts, on his way to shoot in the Terai, bears witness to their prosperity under his administration. The country was highly cultivated, not a weed was to be seen, and the people were contented. In reply to his enquiry as to how the peasants were induced to bring so much jungle under cultivation Hakim Mehdi explained "that from the first crop he took nothing, from the second he took a seventh, which he did not augment for two or three years more, till it was seen that the undertaking was decidedly beneficial to the speculator. In that case a fifth of the crop is demanded for government. It is taken in kind, and is the only deduction from the profit of the husbandman. In old cultivated districts a third or a composition for it is demanded by the government."¹ Thirty years later when "the rent-roll of Mahumdi had fallen from seven lakhs of rupees a year under which all the people were happy and prosperous, to one of three under which all the people are wretched" Sleeman found that Hakim Mehdi's name was still treasured in the district with affection and respect.

The Nawab Sadat 'Ali Khan, "who left 14 crores in his treasury and most of his Amils in his dungeons" never interfered with Hakim Mehdi, for he was an able ruler, and unlike his degenerate successors, capable of appreciating ability or honesty in others. He honoured Hakim Mehdi

¹ Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings, II, 302-3.

with his confidence, and "committed to his charge the management of revenue and judicial affairs, and managed the whole of the business of the state in concert with him until his demise."¹ Bishop Heber speaks of him as minister at the time of Sadat 'Ali's death; but there is no record or tradition of his formal appointment to that post. The nominal Minister was Sadat 'Ali Khan's son Samsud-d-daula; probably Hakim Mehdi acted as deputy for him, just as in the next reign, Agha Mir acted as deputy for the nominal minister Nasir-ud-din.²

Sadat 'Ali Khan died July 11th, 1814. Hakim Mehdi, it would appear, continued to act as minister, although the formal appointment of a minister by Ghaziu-d-din was deferred until the Governor-General's visit to Lucknow in the autumn. Unfortunately for Oudh Hakim Mehdi did not get on with the Resident, Major Baillie; and it was probably on his advice that Ghaziu-d-din attempted to have Major Baillie removed, for at a private interview which Ghaziu-d-din had solicited in order to state his complaints against the Resident, he told Hastings that he would put his complaints in writing "and that he referred me for any explanation to Mehdi Ali Khan."³

"Ghaziu-d-din complained that Major Baillie dictated to him in the merest trifles, broke in upon him at his palace without notice whensoever he had anything to prescribe, fixed his creatures upon His Excellency with large salaries, to be spies upon all his actions, and above all lowered His Excellency in the eyes of his family and his subjects by the magisterial tone which he constantly assumed."⁴ Amongst other petty annoyances he had prevented him from "having the nobut beat at sunrise because the noise of it would disturb the Resident."⁵ The Marquess of Hastings was not favourably impressed with

¹ Letter from Nasiru-d-din Haider, dated April 1831, Oudh Papers, II.

² Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings, I, 213.

³ Ibid., I, 185-6.

⁴ Ibid., I, 180.

⁵ Ibid., I, 206.

Major Baillie and was quite prepared to recall him; he assured the Nawab Wazir "that I considered it no less my official duty than it was my personal inclination to make his authority efficient, and his private position satisfactory."¹ But Ghaziu-d-din lacked the resolution to carry it through. Agha Mir, ("whose known devotion to Major Baillie" Hastings mentions), frightened Ghaziu-d-din into withdrawing all his charges against the Resident. So Major Baillie retained his post, and when the Marquess of Hastings was asked to select a deputy-minister he could only reply "that it would be inconvenient were he (Ghaziu-d-din) to nominate a person whom the Resident represented as systematically adverse to the British Government; as was the case with Mehdi 'Ali Khan."²

Agha Mir was appointed instead. So narrowly did Oudh escape an able and honest administration!

Hakim Mehdi continued to dwell in Lucknow and to enjoy the favour of Ghaziu-d-din. He was thus an object of jealousy to Agha Mir, which was all the stronger because, at the beginning of his ministry, his position was not very secure. He therefore jumped at the opportunity of getting rid of Hakim Mehdi, when the latter applied for the contract of Bahraich, offering a lakh more than was paid by the Amil who then held it. The contract was granted and Hakim Mehdi left the capital to take over his new district.

The story of Hakim Mehdi's dealing with the Amil of Bahraich is told by Sleeman and has left a stain upon an honourable career. Amar Singh who had succeeded his father as Amil of Bahraich had amassed a large fortune by good management, and aroused the cupidity of Hakim Mehdi. When he came to take over the district Amar Singh refused to meet him until he had received the most solemn assurances of safety, confirmed with an oath upon the Quran. For some months negotiations were amicably

¹ Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings, I, 185.

² Ibid., I, 213.

conducted between the old and new amils, until one evening Hakim Mehdi, after a discussion of accounts, on some pretext went out leaving Amar Singh in his tent, where he was immediately set upon and strangled by two of the Hakim's servants. Hakim Mehdi asserted that Amar Singh had poisoned himself, and handed over his body to his family, who found between his teeth the finger of one of his assailants, bitten off in the struggle. Hakim Mehdi appropriated between fifteen and twenty lakhs and escaped being called to account by judicious expenditure, in bribes, of part of the plunder.¹

The story is unconvincing, and Irwin suggested that it may have been concocted by Agha Mir to discredit his rival. Although Irwin dismisses this possibility it appears more probable than the story as it stands, for no sufficient motive is assigned for a crime which is inconsistent with the whole tenour of Hakim Mehdi's character. He was already a wealthy man, and was not greedy of money for its own sake. Moreover, if he had been guilty it is most improbable that Agha Mir would have let slip this opportunity of attacking him. It is also notable that the Marquess of Hastings, who was accompanied by Hakim Mehdi through his districts from March 17th until April 22nd 1818, does not mention any rumour of this murder, which, it is said, took place "in the end of 1816 or early in 1817."

The favour shown by Hastings to Hakim Mehdi intensified Agha Mir's hostility, and in 1819 he demanded an increase of five lakhs upon his contract. Thereupon Hakim Mehdi, who had gradually been transferring his treasure to Shahjahanpur, in British territory, escaped with his family over the border. According to Heber, Agha Mir "succeeded in having him thrown into prison whence he was only released by the interposition of the British Government."²

¹ Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh, I, 49-53.

² Heber's Journey to India, II, 80.

For eleven years he lived in exile, at first at Shah-jahanpur, but finding the Sunni Society of that place uncongenial he migrated to Fatehgarh, where he lived in great splendour. Hither, in 1824, he invited Bishop Heber "with the assurance that he had an English house-keeper who knew perfectly well how to do the honours of his establishment to gentlemen of her own nation."¹ The lady in question was the wife of Hakim Mehdi's dewan, who had formerly been a professor of Hindustani at Hertford. Here, too, he entertained Lord Combermere in 1827, when he was described by Captain Mundy as a handsome old man, of courtly address.

During these years Agha Mir, Motamidu-d-daula, ruled in Oudh. Early in his career as minister intrigues prevailed against him and he was for a time imprisoned, but he recovered his position through the intercession of the Padshah Begam, and from this time maintained his ascendancy over Ghaziu-d-din by encouraging him to indulge his taste for intoxicating drugs and liquors "so that he ceased to visit the Resident twice a week as had been his custom and only visited him once in two or three months;" he caused the estrangement between the King and his son and so incurred the enmity of the latter; who is possibly exaggerating when he states that in addition to his salary of Rs. 25,000 p.m. "Agha Mir took from this country the annual sum of Rs. 23,00,000 by his own admission, and Rs. 33,00,000 agreeably to the accounts in the office. The property and jewels of the State which he plundered are out of question. Besides the money which he took away from the treasury during my reign is well known."² He steadily resisted every project of reform urged by the British Government, "and yet so able was his administration that in his time the capital and its environs were as safe and well-guarded as any city in India."³

¹ Heber's Journey to India, II, 80.

² Letter from Nasir-ud-din, Oudh Papers, II, No. 21, p. 71.

³ Maddock on State of Oudh, "Oudh Papers, II," p. 27.

On the death of Ghaziu-d-din Agha Mir resigned—but after a show of reconciliation with the King and under the guarantee of the Resident for his personal security he resumed office until December 1827 when he was dismissed.

Nasiru-d-din now intended to appoint Hakim Mehdi and a letter summoning him was actually despatched; the Padshah Begam,¹ however, induced the King to cancel the letter and bestow the office upon a *protege* of her own, Fazl Ali, the reputed father of Moona Jan. He amassed a fortune of 35 lakhs and resigned in February 1829. During his administration and those of his two successors, Ram Dayal and Akbar Ali, the condition of Oudh went from bad to worse. The streets of Lucknow and the roads in the immediate vicinity were the scene of nightly robberies and murders;² there was no system of criminal and civil justice; and though the army which consisted of 40,000 men was scattered over the country to strengthen the hands of the local authorities and secure the payment of revenue it was incapable of performing these duties.³ At length in deference to repeated representations of the Resident, the King, in June 1830, appointed Hakim Mehdi minister, and gave him the title (amongst many others) of Muntazimu-d-daula by which he is generally known.⁴

Difficulties soon arose between the minister and the Resident. Mr. Maddock was prejudiced against him: he represented him as decidedly inimical to English influence, and wished that he should be either excluded from office or made dependent on himself. In criticism of these views Lord Bentinck writes: "I believe in no such hostility on the part of the minister. He is indisputably one of the ablest men in India, and is not surpassed by any other individual whether European or Native as a Revenue administrator. He saw from the beginning that nothing would satisfy the Resident, but the becoming, to use his own

¹ The widow of Ghaziu-d-din Haider.

Sleeman, I, p. 272.

² Maddock Memo. on Oudh Affairs, Oudh Papers, March 1832 Recd.

³ For Hakim Mehdi's titles, *vide* Oudh Papers, II, p. 19.

words, the King of Oudh, and to this inferior position it suited neither his ambition nor his interests to submit. My hope has always been and is, that able as he certainly is beyond all other men to reform the administration, so, cordially assisted by a Resident whose advice, however firm and decided, shall never be wanting in conciliation and respect, he will be equally willing to accomplish this great object."¹

In pursuance of these views, which had been formed by the Governor-General on the spot, Mr. Maddock was recalled and Major Low was (August 1831) appointed Resident, a post which he was to hold till 1848. / 1843 (not 48)

In the meantime serious doubts as to the disinterestedness of Muntazimu-d-daula had been aroused in many quarters, by the grant which he had got from the King of 5 per cent. upon the revenue of the Kingdom, and upon all government disbursements.² His own explanation was that he had no intention of appropriating the money, but intended it to accumulate in the treasury, to be presented by him as a gift to the King;—the object of the grant was to establish his influence and authority throughout the Kingdom by proving the high favour he enjoyed.³ This explanation is borne out by the fact that one of the charges that Nasiru-d-din afterwards made against him was that he had appropriated some of this money.

Muntazimu-d-daula justified Lord Bentinck's faith in him. As soon as he was appointed he had set about the work of reform with energy. In April 1831 the King drew up a memorandum of the reforms already introduced. Public expenditure and superfluous establishments had been reduced; arrears of salaries due for several years had been paid up; he had prepared a book of regulations for the administration of the country and had suppressed the rebels in Mahumdi and Khairabad; already agriculture and trade were showing signs of improvement.

¹ Minute of July, 1831, Oudh Papers.

² Sir Charles Metcalfe's Minute, Oudh Papers, March 1832.

³ Letter from Lieut. Paton, to Mr. Prinsep, Oudh Papers, II, pp. 69-71.

These reforms had not been carried out unopposed; and when the arrears of the irregular artillery were paid up, preparatory to discharging them, a regular mutiny broke out fomented by the Commander-in-Chief, Muzaffar Ali Khan, and the Padshah Begam.¹

In July 1831, he had made all preparations for substituting the amani for the farming system throughout the Kingdom. He proposed to retain the existing amils in office as amani managers, placing four collectors over the four divisions of the country, and retaining under his own management the turbulent line of country bordering the Ganges, for five kos inland, where lay most of the jagirs of the King's wives.

One great difficulty in the way of reform was the absence of any class from which reliable subordinates could be obtained. His proposal to appoint Europeans as amils was vetoed by the Governor-General. In reply to the inquiry of the Resident as to whether there were no capable men in the kingdom, "he said he knew none; that here all instruction in business as well as in Arts and Sciences had long ceased; there was no education—no school—no college from whence able men might be obtained. He knew of no Native agents equal to the task before him. . . . it was his opinion that without the counsel and aid of the Resident Oudh could not prosper."²

His chief grievance against the British Government was the refusal to allow the Company's troops to assist him in restoring order in the country. The relations between the Company and the Kingdom of Oudh were based upon the treaty of 1801, which stipulated that the Nawab's Government should be defended from foreign and domestic enemies; whilst on his part Sadat 'Ali Khan had engaged "to establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration, as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and to be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants; and His Excellency will always

¹ Letter from Resident, dated April 26 1832, O. P., No. 84.

² Oudh Papers, June 1831.

advise with and act in conformity to the counsel of the officers of the said Honourable Company." This obligation had been systematically evaded by the rulers of Oudh, and according to the interpretation of the treaty by the English authorities, the defence of the Oudh Government against domestic enemies was dependent on the introduction of a good administration. Here, then, was a dilemma. "Hakim Mehdi says that reforms cannot be introduced without assistance, H. E. the Governor-General that assistance and countenance cannot be given until reforms are introduced."

But in spite of all difficulties the work of reform did progress. There is a long despatch from Major Low, dated 13th June 1832,¹ in which after bearing witness to the zeal and disinterestedness of the minister he enumerates the reforms accomplished. A great part of Oudh had been put under amani management; of the total revenue of 140 lakhs 92 were now realised under this system. A court had been established in Lucknow to hear complaints against amils, and corrupt officials had suffered exemplary punishment. "In two cases where Thanadars were proved to have extorted bribes, they were not only fined and flogged but publicly disgraced by being turned out of their district with their faces blackened and mounted backwards on asses." An example which the Resident believed would be most salutary. In the "Five Coss Country" special police had been posted for the suppression of dacoits, with such good effect that the mounted police in the adjoining British district of Allahabad had been reduced.

He had inspired such confidence in his justice that numbers of zemindars, who had set the Government at defiance for years, had voluntarily come in and entered into revenue engagements. There was no open rebellion in the country, and during the last nine months the armed forces had been reduced by over 14,000 men.

¹Oudh Papers.

His faults as a public man were that he was too suspicious and liable to give vent to his anger; he was also "too economical in some public disbursements, such as public festivals, when much popularity would be gained by an opposite course at a trifling expense," and he buried himself too much in the petty details of business—"but, take him all in all, I am satisfied that he is the most able and efficient minister that this State has possessed during the last twenty years."

During the last week of July 1832 rumours of an estrangement between the King and Hakim Mehdi began to reach the ears of Major Low, and on the evening of 30th Taju-d-din Husain Khan, the King's Vakil, was sent to request the Resident for a private interview. In answer to the Resident's inquiry as to the real causes of the estrangement Taju-d-din replied, that it was mainly due to the enmity and intrigues of the Padshah Begam who hated the minister and had great influence over Nasiru-d-din; the Nawab had also been unwise because "he had not made a single friend for himself either amongst the numerous Begams, or among the male relatives of the King, or among the courtiers about the Durbar," who were enraged at the curtailment of their stipends and opportunities of speculation; and of whom several had been offended by his harsh language.

On the following day the Resident drove with the King to breakfast at Dilkusha. The King made several ridiculous charges against Hakim Mehdi—that he wished to be King and that he (Nasiru-d-din) was in danger of being poisoned by him; that he had publicly insulted the Padshah Begam and his favourite wife Koodusea Begam; and that he had on one occasion kicked a hole through the portrait of the King's father. The Resident expressed his conviction that the King had been misinformed, and warned him that the dismissal of Hakim Mehdi would cause sore displeasure to the Governor-General. Nasiru-d-din promised that he would take no action without giving

notice to the Resident. In spite of this promise the King began to heap marks of disfavour on Hakim Mehdi. He released his enemy, Muzaffar Ali Khan, from prison, and forbade the minister to attend him at the Khurshed Manzil where he had ordered a camp to be pitched for the whole court. As soon as the news reached the bazars, disturbances occurred in the city. The Resident tried to effect a reconciliation and apparently succeeded. The minister offered humble apologies for any faults of which he had been unwittingly guilty, and the King professed his full forgiveness. But that very night he spent in consultation with his new counsellors, Roshunu-d-daula, Muzaffar Ali, Jafar Ali Khan and Kunwar Ratan Singh—all of them except Roshunu-d-daula, men of the worst character, who urged the King to imprison Hakim Mehdi. The next day the minister was ordered to go to his house, and no official was permitted to visit him; but the King had not the courage to dismiss him, though he had the impudence to send a message to Major Low offering him Rs. 25 lakhs, if he would summon Hakim Mehdi and dismiss him from his post; an offer that provoked the indignant reply that "not for 25 crores would he comply with such a request."

On 7th August the King called upon the Resident and informed him that he had made up his mind to transact the business of Government himself, without having any minister at all, and to allow Muntazimu-d-daula to depart from Lucknow unmolested.

On 9th August Hakim Mehdi left his apartments in the palace; to avoid insult he slipped out in the dead of night concealed in one of his women's *rattis*, and retired to his house in the city, the same house that he had possessed for thirty years, for unlike Agha Mir, he had not taken advantage of his position to acquire mansions in Lucknow. It was not until the following March that he was allowed to depart to Fatehgarh.

His fall was commemorated by the poet, Mirza Imam Bakhsh Nasikh, in an ingenious chronogram.

The disastrous results of Hakim Mehdi's dismissal may be gauged by the fall in revenue. For the five months October 1831 to February 1832, it had been Rs. 40,36,000; for the corresponding months of the following year it dropped to Rs. 18,24,000.

Fanny Parks, the Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque,² met Hakim Mehdi in Lucknow when he was minister, and renewed the acquaintance at Fatehgarh after his dismissal. She gives us some very pleasing glimpses of him in her diary. In 1835 she found him preparing to celebrate the Muharram; "he was a very religious man and kept the fast with wondrous strictness and fortitude." She visited a shawl factory which he had established to employ a number of destitute Kashmiris, in which three or four hundred workmen were engaged,—and a school for boys which he had founded.

After the death of Nasiru-d-din, Hakim Mehdi was again appointed minister.

"September 24th 1837. The Nawab Hakim Mehdi has been reappointed minister in Oudh: how happy the old man must be! He has been living at Fatehgarh pinning for a restoration to the honours at Lucknow. The Nawab quitted for Oudh; on the first day of his march, the horse that carried his *nakaras* (State kettle-drums) fell down and died, and one of his cannon was upset—both most unlucky omens."³

And again on December 25th she records the Nawab's death.

آفتاد حکیم از مراتب *
 تلخیص بطرز نور کم کن *
 از حا-ی- حکیم هشت بر گیر *
 سه مرتبه نصف نصف کم کن *

The Chronogram and, this note were communicated to me by Khan Bahadur Abdu-s-Sami.

"The Hakim fell from high honours.
 Write the Chronogram in a novel style
 Take eight from 'Hay' the first letter of Hakim
 Three times reduce by half and half."

8 = 8 reduced by half three times gives the figures 4, 2, 1 or writing from right to left 1248

² Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque, II, p. 135.

³ Oudh Papers, Letter from Resident, No. 89.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

In Mr. F. E. Pargiter's second paper on *Earliest Indian Traditional History*, from the Kshatriya sources, which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for April 1914, on page 284, there is mention made of *Krivi* country, afterwards named Panchála, of which the capital was Hastinápura. Can any of the members of the Historical Society give information concerning this Krivi Kingdom and explain its name?

On page 12 of Mr. D. L. Drake-Brockman's *Banda District Gazetteer*, mention is made of the mint of an ancient city at Parduan in tahsil Mau, which is disclosed in some years in the bed of the Jamuna river, the right or Bundelkhand bank of the river being much cut away in its flow. What is the name of this city, was it Hindu or Buddhist, and where can an account of it be found?

J. R. HILL, KARWI, BANDA, U.P.

There is a manuscript of *Katha Sarit Sagar* in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, which contains an interesting record of great historical value. There is a curious Persian seal on the front leaf of this manuscript in which the name of one Virabhadra, apparently a king, occurs in conjunction with that of one Sultan Selim. From a closer look at the impression it would appear that the seal bears some date consisting of three numerals which

might be read with some confidence as 977.¹ The era which the date represents is not of course specified, but there can be hardly any doubt that it stands for Hijira; and in that case the year in question would correspond to A.D. 1569.

But what are we to understand by the legend—"Virabhadra, the *banda* (slave) of Sultan Selim"? The language of the legend seems clearly to show that Virabhadra was a subordinate prince reigning under the Sultan Selim. But do we know of the existence of any such prince or Sultan about the time to which the seal refers? These are questions which have to be settled first.

I believe this Virabhadra, who must have been a man of letters and the owner of a library of manuscripts, is identical with the Baghela prince of that name, reigning over what now forms the territory of Rewa in Central India in the sixteenth century. He was the author of *Kandarpa-chudamani*,² a gloss (in verse) on Vatsyayana's *Kama Sutra*, in the Introduction of which (verses 4-15) he gives a short sketch of the past history of his family as far as the 4th ancestor. The genealogy therein presented agrees in full with the list of Baghela kings supplied in Cunningham's Report, Vol. XXI, p. 107.

¹ The legend of the seal runs :



I am greatly obliged to the Hon'ble Mr. R. Burn, I.C.S., for his kindly reading this date for me and for helping me with other valuable and suggestive information.

² Dr. Schmidt, in his *Indische Erotik*, pp. 39-40, is inclined to think that the king Virabhadra was not the real author of the work, but that it was written by a pandit of his court and allowed to be published under his name in return for some reward.

He was a great scholar himself and encouraged learning in others. If his statement in the *Kandarpachudamani* be not an empty vaunt he must be credited with the authorship of numerous works on different subjects.¹ Like his father, the venerable Ramachandra Deva, whose court had been the early home of the renowned musician Tansen, he was a great patron of merits. The remarkable favour² he showed towards the famous Naiyayika Padmanabha Misra *alias* Pradyota (or=^otana) Bhatta (or=^ottacharya) who lived at his court³ was an expression of his natural liberality of heart towards men of letters. It was under his direction that Padmanabha composed *Sara-dagama*, a commentary on Jayadeva's *Chandra loka* (See Aufrecht's *Cat.* I. 352).

Virabhadra in his *Kandarpachudamani* (end) gives 1577 A.D.⁴ as the date of the composition of his work. Padmanabha's *Virabhadra Champu* is also dated in the same year. The 28th verse of the 2nd Chapter and the 1st verse of the 10th Chapter of *Kandarpachudamani*

¹ Vide *Kandarpachūdāmani* (Sāmyogika Adhyāya, beginning of Chap. 10, verse 2):

भीज द्वायमविरतो नानाविद्यानिबन्धनिमीषे ।

² Virabhadra is said to have materially helped Padmanābha in the discharge of his debts. In his वैशेषिक सेतु, a Commentary on Prasāstapāda Bhāṣya (See Peterson's *Cat.* of Ulwar MSS., Extracts, pp. 53-4), the latter gratefully remembers the generous qualities of his patron (*cf.* the phrases “अगतिकार्थिजनस्य परा गतिः” “अन्यवदान्याद् विशिष्टेन”) and says that by way of returning this act of Virabhadra's kindness he undertook the composition of this work and named it after him Viravariya:

अमुनादृणीकृता वयमन्यवदान्याद् विशिष्टेन ।

प्रत्युपकारधियायं रचितो ग्रन्थस्ततो ऽस्माभिः ॥

(N.B.—Padmanābha here calls his patron by the name of *Vira vara*. This is not a personal name at all, as Pandit Surendralal Goswami in his Preface to *Tarkabhāṣa* took it and which he identified with Vira Sinha, King of Bundi, 1341-1419. It is a merely honorific title. Strangely enough I find the same word *Vira* used in the same sense as a qualifying epithet of Virabhadra in a MS. of *Kandarpachūdāmani*, fol. 31b, lent out to me for inspection by Pandit Vindhyeswarī Prasād Dvivedi:

भूचक्र चक्रवर्ती वीरः श्रीवीरभद्रोऽसौ ।

³ Mm. H. P. Sāstri makes Padmanābha a courtier of Dalapatiraj.

(See the Index of Authors, p. ii, in the Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1904.)

⁴ हरलीचन (3) हरलीचन (3) रस (6) शशि (1) मि विंशते समये ।

फाल्गुन शुक्ल प्रतिपदि पूर्णौ ग्रन्थः स्मरस्मरः ॥ Quoted in Schmidt, “Beiträge zur Indischen Erotik” (p. 40). Both Schmidt and Aufrecht have rightly taken this date (1633) to indicate the Samvat Era.

make it certain that in 1577 A.D. the author was a youthful prince and had not yet assumed the reins of Government.¹ And all this squares with the chronology of the Baghela kings known to history. Virabhadra's father Ramachandra Deva reigned till his death in 1592 A.D., Virabhadra succeeded his father to the throne in the same year, but his reign was cut short by an unhappy accident which ended in his death in 1593.

Now, who could this Sultan Selim be of whom even Virabhadra, himself a king of no mean authority, speaks as his master? From what we knew of mediæval Indian history I am disposed to identify this Sultan with the Emperor Jehangir, for it is to him alone that the epithet Sultan and the Selim are rightly and at once applicable.² The dates of Virabhadra and Jehangir also synchronise; and above all, there are events narrated in history which speak of them as being brought closely together. These events are given in the Nasir-ul-Umara (Persian Text, pp. 228-9) and may be summed up as follows:—

In 14 A.E. (=1569 A.D.) Akbar sent some of his nobles to besiege the fort of Kalinjar which Raja Ramachandra Deva had purchased. Seeing no other alternative open the Raja came out of the fort and sent his son Virabhadra to the Imperial Court in attestation of his allegiance.

Now it is probable that Virabhadra went to the Capital as an *attaché* of the new born prince (Selim being born in 1569) and lived there almost all his life. On this assumption only we can discover a meaning in the term *banda* as found in the impression. And it may be noted in passing that the seal bears exactly the same date (977 A.H.=1569 A.D.)—and the coincidence need not be merely accidental.

¹ (a) आलापनविधिरधिको यूना कथितो नवीनकालायाः ।

श्रीवीरभद्रविदुषा ॥ II. 28.

(b) आदर्शमं विशदयितुं राजकुमारी ऽ समुद्यतारम्भः । X. 1.

² The other probable alternative as to the equation of this Selim with the son of Sher Shah is rendered untenable by the facts that the latter could claim neither to the title of Sultan nor to contemporaneity with Virabhadra (having antedated him by several years). Sher Shah's son died in 1554 A.D. (Imp. Gz. II, 396.)

Virabhadra's literary activities, his heroic exploits, his patronage, his generousities—all these must be assigned to a period when he was only a prince, *i.e.*, a period prior to 1592, the year of his succession to the throne.

These are all the little scraps of information that we can gather from different sources regarding a king who claims for himself the rare honour of being ranked with Bhoja Raja of Dhara.

GOPI NATH KAVIRAJ.

SOME NOTES ON THE STATE LIBRARIES OF RAMPUR AND BIKANER.

During the course of the last cold weather, the writer spent some time as the guest of H. H. the Nawab of Rampur. The Rampur library is deservedly famous, not only for the richness of its contents, but for the excellence with which they are housed. The books are properly classified, adequately catalogued, and safely guarded in locked, glass fronted cases. The Librarian in charge is a scholar of parts, who takes an intelligent pride in the value of the books entrusted to his care—books which in the opinion of the present writer constitute one of the finest historical libraries in Northern India.

Among the features which may be selected for special mention are the following :—

- (i) Numberless original signatures and holographs of celebrities of Mughal times.
- (ii) A magnificent collection of portraits of prominent persons of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, drawn by contemporary artists. Among them is a very fine and hitherto unknown portrait of Francois Bernier, under the title of *Hakim Khan Firingi*. The famous traveller is represented sitting beside a stream, bareheaded, with his

books beside him. He is clad in dark coloured, flowing robes, and on the ground is a broad brimmed hat, somewhat of the type worn by yeomen of the Guard. This is a portrait that will well repay reproduction. There is also a particularly fine contemporary portrait of Babar, which has, to the present writer's knowledge, hitherto escaped observation.

- (iii) The precious little volume of Babar's Turki verse, with autograph notes by Babar himself and Shah Jahan. Of this a photographic facsimile has been produced by Dr. Denison Ross.
- (iv) A very curious old MS., which the present writer would tentatively ascribe to the early fourteenth century, A.D., containing a history of the ancestors and immediate descendants of Chingiz Khan. The great feature of the book are the remarkable illustrations of Mughal costume, ceremonial, and warfare. The volume is a large folio, written in the severest *nasta*, although the language is Persian. The copy is unfinished, lacking title-page and colophon. It goes by the name of *Shujarat Alaturak*, but does not appear to be the work mentioned by Rien (p. 164).

Among other tours of inspection taken by the writer during the last cold weather, that which had as its object the State Library of Bikaner was perhaps the most productive. This library, while famous for its Sanskrit and Marwari MSS., does not contain many books in Persian or Arabic. Indeed, Mr. Beveridge, in his article on Persian manuscripts in Indian Libraries (J.R.A.S., 1908) declares that there are no Persian MSS. at all in the library. This, however, is a mistake. There are some thirty Persian and Arabic books, which bear the mark of having been collected

by the same hand. They deal exclusively with mathematics, astronomy, natural science and poetics. While not of much intrinsic importance from the historian's point of view, their presence at Bikaner is a fact of some interest, since from the scribes' notes and the seals, there is little doubt that most of them represent the spoils of Golconda. Two fine volumes, one on Mathematics and the other on Poetics, bear colophons stating that they were finished in the same year, 1029 A.H., in the library of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi of Golconda. Both bear the seal of that monarch.

In the same library, however, the writer came upon a most curious and valuable document. This was a small pocket book, bound in red canvas, containing 63 folios about 3 by 4½ inches. On examination it proved to be the cash book and diary of a Dutch merchant who lived and carried on his business in Ahmadabad in 1659-60. It is written in the Dutch of the period, partly in pencil, partly in ink. The journal sketches over a period of nearly six months, and is particularly detailed in the matter of local prices. It also contains notes of a journey taken by the author round about Ahmadabad.

By the kindness of H. H. the Maharaja, the writer has been able to transcribe this little book, and he hopes shortly to publish it, with a translation and commentary.

L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.

PORTRAIT STATUES OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

At a meeting of a small society in Oxford held in June, 1915, Professor Percy Gardner exhibited by special permission a photograph of a colossal statue of Alexander found at Cyrene in North Africa by the Italians, who reserve the rights of publication. So far as I know the description of the discovery has not yet been published. Probably the war has prevented action being taken.

In the third edition of the *Early History of India*, 1714, I published a photograph of the portrait bust of Alexander, now in the Louvre, and known as the Tivoli Hern. The Professor observed that that work is pretty restored and in bad condition, facts which may explain the unduly aged appearance of the face. He added that it is not absolutely certain that the head belongs to the inscribed pedestal, but that, nevertheless, the bust may be accepted as a portrait of the great Macedonian. In Professor Gardner's opinion the Cyrene statue, which stands seven feet high, will in future be accepted as the most authentic likeness of Alexander.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1911-12. Edited by J. HOROVITZ, Ph.D., Calcutta, Superintendent, Government Printing, India.

THOUGH this, the latest issue of the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, appeared some years ago, it deserves notice both as containing new readings of Muhammadan inscriptions still extant in the United Provinces, and also as containing the most scholarly work which has appeared in recent years on the early Muhammadan rulers of India.

The greater part of the issue is taken up with an able article by the editor containing transcriptions of all the known inscriptions of the first three Sultans of Delhi, being the first instalment of a complete collection of Muhammadan inscriptions, the publication of which was under contemplation. Dr. Horovitz has been able to suggest with considerable probability some new readings in one or two of the inscriptions and his illustrations of the parallel use of certain names and titles in other countries are interesting and suggestive.

From the historical point of view the most interesting of the inscriptions is a new one from Palwal in the Panjab which enables us to date the death of Qutbuddin Aibeg more nearly than has hitherto been possible: the U. P. inscriptions are of less interest though the one at Budaon gives us the first dated inscription on which Iltutmish's relations with the Caliph are recorded: in the case of the well-known inscription at Delhi which gives the year 587 as the year of conquest, it is shown that there are good grounds for believing that the inscription was engraved at a later date when the correct year was forgotten. Dr. Horovitz considers that a mutilated inscription at Ajmer which contains the title "subjugator of the evildoers and polytheists," points to a recent victory over Hindu princes and suggests that the inscription was put up shortly after the conquest of Rautaubhur in 623 or Mandawar in 624.

As dated inscriptions up to the year 630 do not contain this or similar titles, it would seem more probable that it was put up after the destruction of the great temple at Ujjain in 630 or one of the two following years.

Other articles deal with new inscriptions from Palwal and Bengal and correction in the readings of the Mandu inscriptions that appeared in the previous issue. It is to be hoped that future issues will witness a better system of reducing the Hijri dates to the corresponding dates in the Christian era than has been adopted in two of these articles. The irritating and unscholarly method of quoting one year in the Christian era as identical with one year of the Hijri era has led in this case to two serious errors: on page 3 Qutbuddin Aibeg is said to have died in "607 or 1210" but Dr. Horovitz dealing elsewhere with the same inscription shows that it proves he was alive in Ramazan 607=March-April 1211: on page 4 the month Dhul-Hijjah 1072 should be shown as falling in 1662 and not 1661.

In view of the difficulty of obtaining rubbings of the inscriptions on the Qutb Minar, the Archæological Department employed the method of telephotography with a success which is evidenced by the examples printed with this issue. Other inscriptions are well illustrated by rubbings and photographs.

G. GARDNER BROWN.

PROCEEDINGS.

THE inaugural meeting of the United Provinces Historical Society was held in the Law College, Allahabad, on Tuesday, 30th November 1915, at 6-30 P.M. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir James Meston, presided and called the attention of the meeting to the business before it. The President then proposed "that a society to be called 'The United Provinces Historical Society' be formed."

Sir George Knox seconded the proposal which was carried with applause. His Honour then gave the inaugural address (see p. 7) to the newly formed Society. After the address, the Society proceeded to discuss the draft constitution, which was passed, after some slight changes, on the proposal of Dr. A. Venis, C.I.E. His Honour then proposed the names of the office-bearers of the Society, which Mr. Chintamani seconded. In conclusion the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Muhammed Rafique proposed a vote of thanks to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor for presiding, and the meeting was adjourned.

A meeting of the council was held on the 20th of December, Dr. Venis, the President, in the chair, to arrange the business of the coming year. It was resolved that the Hon'ble Sir James Meston, K.C.S.I., LL.D., V.D., I.C.S., be asked to become the Patron of the Society and that their Highnesses the Maharajah of Benares and the Nawab of Rampur be invited to become Vice-Patrons. It was also resolved that the Society should arrange for a series of public lectures to take place in Allahabad and Lucknow in order to put forward the aims of the Society and give an outline of the work before it.

The first lecture of this series was held, by the kind permission of the Principal of Muir Central College, Allahabad, in the Physical Theatre of that College, on Monday, 31st January 1916, at 6-30 P.M., Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams presided, and Pandit Hira Nand Shastri gave a lecture entitled "A bird's-eye view of the places of Archaeological interest in the United Provinces," illustrated by lantern slides. In this he surveyed the subject pointing out the opportunities for excavation and archaeological research. Starting from Mathura he toured through the Province to Allahabad, giving notes on the places visited. At the close of the meeting the Chairman proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer. This was seconded by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Rafique, and carried. The meeting then adjourned.

The second lecture of the series was held, by the kind permission of the Principal of Canning College, Lucknow, in the Science Lecture Theatre of that College, on Wednesday, 16th February 1916, at 6-30 P.M., the Hon'ble Syed Karamet Husain presided. Mr. F. W. Buckler, Professor of History, Muir Central College, gave a lecture on Factors in Indian History, in which he attempted to show a method of approach to Indian History so as to enable the student to gain some idea of development, and to show the place of the United Provinces in the History of India. At the close of the lecture, the Chairman moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was carried. The meeting was then adjourned.

The third lecture was also held at Lucknow, on Saturday, 26th February, at 6-30 P.M., the Hon'ble Syed Karamet Husain in the chair. Dr. Ganga Nath Jha, M.A., Litt. D., Professor of Sanskrit, Muir Central College, gave a masterly survey of the early philosophies of India under the title "Indian Philosophic Systems—a Comparative Study." In this he traced the development of the earliest systems of philosophy, showing their place in Indian religion and their points of conflict.

Mr. M. B. Cameron, M.A., Principal of Canning College, proposed a vote of thanks which was seconded by Mr. Chatterjee, and carried. The meeting then adjourned.

The fourth lecture of the series was held on 11th March 1916, at 6-30 P.M., in the Physical Science Lecture Theatre, Muir Central College, Allahabad. The Hon'ble Dr. Sundar Lal presided and the Hon'ble Justice Sir George Knox gave a lecture on "Excavations in Garhwa." The lecture was an account of his own work there, begun when he was Joint Magistrate of Allahabad, and will be found on page 20. The vote of thanks was proposed by the Hon'ble Sir Henry Richards, Kt., Chief Justice, and seconded by the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru. The meeting then adjourned.

The fifth and last lecture of the series was given in the Canning College, Lucknow, on the 17th March 1916, the Hon'ble Syed Karamet Husain presided, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, Patron of the Society, was also present. Pandit Hira Nand Shastri, M.A., M.O., gave a lecture entitled "Lucknow Museum as an Educational Institution." He gave a history of the Museum, and a statement of the work done there in training epigraphists. He then, by means of lantern slides, proceeded to show the most interesting relics in the Museum and to explain their importance as historical evidence.

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer in which he dwelt on the excellent start made by the Society and conveyed to the Society the congratulations of Sir John Hewett, his predecessor, who had from the first been interested in the Society, and who had during his term of office desired to start a society of the same sort. He then proceeded to point out the significance of the lecture, and the importance of realizing that material was at hand ready for work. Maulvi Nizam-uddin seconded the motion, and the meeting adjourned.

At a council meeting of the Society, held on Wednesday, 8th March 1916, it was resolved that the following

gentlemen be asked to become Honorary Members of the Society under Rule 4 :—

SIR JOHN MARSHALL, Kt., Litt. D.C.I.E.,
Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India.

SIR RAM KRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR of Poona.

MR. VINCENT SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (*retired.*)

Also that the Principals of Muir Central College, Allahabad, and Canning College, Lucknow, should be thanked for their kindness in allowing the Society to use their rooms for its meetings.

At the Naini Tal Club, on 14th September 1916, a lecture was given by the Rev. E. S. Oakley, of Almora, on "The Folklore of Kumaon in its relations to General Folklore." His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor presided.

The subject was discursively treated with a view to arousing interest and enlisting workers in this field of inquiry. After some general remarks on the "Primitive View of the World" as the basis of Folklore, illustrations were given, from original sources, of familiar types of folk-tales, such as the external soul, serpent wives and husbands (the Melusina type), and the soul's journey after death. The following subjects were also treated with considerable wealth of detail, interesting analogies with European folklore being pointed out as occasion offered :— Nidhis or talismans, omens and death-signals, ghosts, possession and exorcism, taboo, folklore relating to plants and animals, facetious apologues, popular riddles, and folk-songs.

In proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, His Honour dwelt on the claims to attention, on the part of people spending a large part of their life in India, of this fascinating though generally neglected subject. (See p. 34.)

At a meeting of the Society held in the New Library of the Allahabad University at 5-45 P.M., on 16th November 1916, Mr. G. Gardner-Brown, Principal of the Holkar College, Indore, read a paper on "The Character and Policy of Muhammad bin Tughlaq."

The writer pointed out that the ordinary presentation of this Sultan's character was an almost impossible one as it represented an admittedly able sovereign habitually acting with incredible folly. The normal view is very largely based on the *Tabakat-i-Firuz Shah* of Ziauddin Barni but this work shows marked bias, alike in arrangement, the omission of important events, occasionally mis-statements and frequent slurrings over of important details. As regards the main points on which the Sultan's administration is usually condemned, the effects of the increased taxation in the Doab are usually confused with those of the famine that immediately followed: the establishment of a second capital at Daulatabad was a matter of administrative necessity: the token coinage was almost certainly issued in consequent of a widespread shortage of the world's supply of silver: the Khurasan expedition was planned in the expectation of assistance from valuable allies: the so-called invasion of China was in reality a campaign against a Himalayan hill state, was probably closely connected with the capture of Kangra and proved a partial success. Barni's bias probably represent the views on administration held by the clerical school of politicians: to these views the policy of Muhammad bin Tuglaq ran counter in almost every respect. The charge of great severity brought against the Sultan must be considered side by side with his admitted love for justice, his judicial reforms and his lenient treatment of rebel leaders: his justice was impartial rather than severe and is condemned because so many of the clericalists were the objects of it. His rapprochement with the Mongols and his generosity to foreigners—due to his desire to recruit able officials—stirred up other forms of opposition. In his employment of Hindu officials and his other reforms the Sultan was ahead of his time and the victory of the opposition led to the disintegration of the Empire under his successor Firuz Shah.

Obituary.

JOHN GERALD GARDNER GARDNER-BROWN.

Died May 18th, 1917, aged 41.

HE who dies full of years, his work done and his warfare accomplished, passes to his rest mourned by his fellows, but in their sorrow there is no regret over the unfinished and no thought; 'what might he not have done?' But when a young man is cut off there is an added grief. His friends and his world lose not only what is past but what was to have come.

Gardner-Brown was in the prime of his life and a long career of useful and happy work lay before him. His fondness for the history and antiquities of this country had developed into a passion. His researches in Indian History had resulted in the collection of much material, but before this could be arranged and set forth, his life ended: and with it has ended the prospect of any such contribution to human knowledge as his years of patient reading and thought led us to expect from his pen.

But if we have to mourn him for what he might have done, we have reason still more to grieve for the man as he was. His was a strongly marked personality. His enthusiasm for anything that he attempted was wholehearted. He threw his soul into the task before him, whether it were his professional duties, or the encouragement of his students, or the advancement of historical learning, or the brightening of social life. The honour and welfare of his college were always before his eyes; he enjoyed meeting his students outside the class room, he urged vigorously the cause of his favourite study both

inside and outside the University, and did his best to help those round him to enjoy their days.

His friendships were catholic. Those who enjoyed intimacy with him felt his youthful zest in life and were cheered by his generous comradeship. He was given to hospitality. His house was ever open not only to his close friends but to those whose work brought them within his ken—who were in fact the strangers within his gate. With all such his memory will live.

All who knew him have lost a friend, but the bitterness of their regret is sweetened by the memory of a life well lived.

J. H. T.

*RULES AND CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIETY
WITH LIST OF MEMBERS.*

THE UNITED PROVINCES HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
1917.

Patron :

HIS HONOUR THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE UNITED
PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

Vice-Patrons :

H. H. THE MAHARAJAH BAHADUR OF BENARES, G.C.I.E.
H. H. THE NAWAB OF RAMPUR, G.C.V.O., G.C.I.E.

President :

DR. A. VENIS, C.I.E.

Vice-Presidents :

THE HON'BLE SIR SUNDAR LAL, Kt., C.I.E.
*THE HON'BLE SYED KARAMET HUSAIN.

Honorary Secretary :

MR. B. H. BOURDILLON, I.C.S.

Honorary Treasurer :

MR. S. B. SMITH.

Committee :

THE LORD BISHOP OF LUCKNOW.
DR. GANGA NATH JHA.
PROF. L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.
*MR. G. GARDNER-BROWN.
THE HON'BLE DR. TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU.

PANDIT HIRA NAND SHASTRI.

MAULVI NIZAM-UD-DIN HAIDAR.

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE MUHAMMAD RAFIQUE.

THE HON'BLE SIR GEORGE E. KNOX, Kt., I.C.S.

THE HON'BLE MR. R. BURN, I.C.S.

SUB-COMMITTEES OF THE COUNCIL.

1. *History, Social and Political*—
 Prof. L. F. Rushbrook Williams (*Convener*).
 *Mr. G. Gardner-Brown.
 Dr. A. Venis.
2. *Language and Literature*—
 Dr. Ganga Nath Jha (*Convener*).
 Sir George E. Knox.
 Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.
 Syed Karamet Husain.
3. *Ethnology and Primitive Culture*—
 Mr. R. Burn (*Convener*).
 Prof. L. F. Rushbrook Williams.
 Pandit Hira Nand Shastri.
4. *Archæology*—
 Pandit Hira Nand Shastri (*Convener*).
 Dr. A. Venis.
 Mr. R. Burn.
5. *Sociology*—
 Syed Karamet Husain (*Convener*).
 Dr. Sundar Lal.
 The Bishop of Lucknow.

RULES

OF

THE UNITED PROVINCES HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1. The object of the United Provinces Historical Society is to promote the study of the history of the United

Provinces and adjacent territories, by holding meetings for the reading and discussion of papers and by the publication of documents, studies and notes, relating to the history, languages, literature and economics of the Province.

2. The Society shall consist of the Patron, of not more than three Vice-Patrons, of fifteen members of the Council, of not more than ten Honorary Members, and any number of Ordinary Members.

3. Candidates for membership of the Society shall be proposed by two ordinary members, or one member of the Council. The names of candidates approved by the Council shall be announced at the next meeting of the Society as having been admitted as members of the Society.

4. Honorary Membership shall be restricted to persons, who, in the opinion of the Council, have rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society; and, ordinarily, to persons who are not residents in the United Provinces. Honorary Members shall be nominated by the Council, and their admission announced at a meeting of the Society. From that date they shall be entitled, without payment, to all the privileges of Ordinary Members.

5. The Council shall consist of the Officers of the Society, *viz.*: (1) The President, (2) Two Vice-Presidents, (3) The Honorary Secretary, (4) The Honorary Treasurer, and ten others. The Officers and other Members of Council shall be nominated for each year by the Council of the previous year, and their names submitted for approval at the Annual Meeting.

Vacancies occurring during the year shall be filled by the Council.

6. The Patron and Vice-Patrons shall be nominated by the Council, and shall enjoy the same privileges as an Honorary Member.

7. The annual subscription of Ordinary Members shall be Rs. 10, provided that members elected after the 1st September in any year shall only be liable for half the

subscription for that year, and members elected after the 1st December in any year shall not be liable for any subscription for that year.

8. All subscriptions are due on election, and thereafter on the 1st of January of each year.

9. A member may, at any time, resign his membership by notice in writing; such resignation shall take effect from the date on which it reaches the Secretary.

10. Any member whose subscription remains unpaid on the 1st July of the year in which it is due, shall be reminded of his default by the Treasurer, and if his subscription is still unpaid on the date of the next Annual Meeting shall, if the Council so determine, cease to be a member of the Society.

11. The administration of the Society's affairs shall be vested in the Council, and the Council shall have power to decide all matters not provided for by the rules.

12. In addition to ordinary meetings arranged by the Council at Lucknow or Allahabad or elsewhere, an Annual Meeting shall be held at or about the end of each calendar year (*a*) for receiving and considering the Annual Reports of the Secretary and Treasurer, (*b*) for the appointment of members of the Council and officers for the ensuing year, and (*c*) hearing and discussing any address or paper that the Council may arrange for.

13. Members shall be entitled to receive all the publications of the Society.

14. The accounts of the Society shall be audited annually by two Auditors, to be appointed by the Council.

15. No amendment of these rules shall take effect, unless it has been approved by the Council and by a majority of members present at a meeting of the Society specially convened for the purpose.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

ANY errors in this list, and any change of address, should be intimated to the Honorary Secretary.

Honorary Members.

The Patron (*ex-officio*).

The Vice-Patrons (*ex-officio*).

Sir John Marshall, M.A., LITT. D., C.I.E., Director-General of the
Archæological Survey of India.

Sir Ram Gopal Krishna Bhandarkar, LITT. D., K.C.I.E., Poona.

Vincent, A. Smith, Esq., M.A., I.C.S. (retired), Oxford.

Ordinary Members.

Abdullah, S., Esq., Vakil of the High Court, Allahabad.

Abdus Salam, Khan Bahadur, Maulvi, Rampur State, U.P.

Ahmad Ali Khan Sahib Bahadur, Maulvi, The State Library,
Rampur State, U.P.

Alakh Dhari, Esq., Manager, Oudh Commercial Bank, Fyzabad,
U.P.

Askari, S. Hassan, Deputy Collector, Mirzapur, U.P.

Baleswar Prasad, Rai Bahadur, M.A., Belvedere House, Allahabad.

Banerji, The Hon'ble Justice Sir P. C., Church Road, Allahabad.

Banerji, R. D., Esq., I.C.S., Superintendent, Archæological
Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta

Banerji, Mr. Sukumar, B.A., Government High School, Bareilly.

Barker, D. A., Esq., I.C.S., Lansdowne, Garhwal, U.P.

Benares, The Maharaj Kumar Bahadur of, Fort Ramnagar, Benares
State.

Bennett, Rev. Norman, Chaplain, Jhansi.

Bharat Singh, Kunwar, C.S. (retd.), Shankargarh, Allahabad
District, U.P.

Bhattacharya, Brindavan, C., B.A., 1, Agast Kunda, Benares City.

Bishop, T. B. W., Esq., I.C.S., Allahabad.

Blunt, E. A., Esq., I.C.S., Basti.

Bomford, H. E., Esq., I.C.S., Moradabad.

Bourdillon, B. H., Esq., I.C.S., Registrar, High Court, Allahabad.

Brij Chandra Sharma, Pundit, Deputy Collector, Gorakhpur.

LIST OF MEMBERS

- Brown, C. T., Esq., Professor of English, Canning College, Lucknow.
- Burn, The Hon'ble Mr. R., C.I.E., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to Government, U.P.
- Burrell, P. S., Esq., Principal, Queen's College, Benares.
- Butcher, Miss Flora, M.D., Janakpur, R. and K. Railway, Naini Tal District.
- Cameron, M. B., Esq., Principal, Canning College, Lucknow.
- Campbell, W. E. M., Esq., I.C.S., Collector, Pilibhit, U.P.
- Chakravarti, Rai Bahadur, G. N., Inspector of Schools, Benares.
- Chaterji, H. V., Esq., I.C.S., Lucknow.
- Chaterji, Aghor Nath, Rai Sahib, Headmaster, Government Eighth School, Gorakhpur, U. P.
- Chintamani, The Hon'ble Mr. C. T., Editor of the *The Leader*, Allahabad.
- Cole, B. L., Capt., Mayo College, Ajmere, Rajputana.
- Collett, A. P., Esq., I.C.S.
- Daniels, S. R., Esq., I.C.S., Allahabad.
- Darbari, Budh Sen, Babu, M.A., Deputy Collector, Muzaffarnagar, U.P.
- Davies, Rev. A. W., Principal, St. John's College, Agra.
- Dewar, D., Esq., I.C.S., Benares.
- Dewhurst, R. P., Esq., I.C.S., Gonda.
- Douglas, Rev. M. S., Cawnpore.
- Drake-Brockman, D. L., Esq., I.C.S., Lucknow.
- Dube, Kamalakar, Pundit, Deputy Collector, Sitapur, Oudh.
- Dutt, A. C., Esq., Professor of English and History, College House, Bareilly.
- Fremantle, S. H., Esq., I.C.S., C.I.E., Allahabad.
- Gairola, The Hon'ble Pundit Tara Datt, Pauri, Garhwal.
- Gobind Prasad, Pundit, Deputy Collector, Moradabad.
- Gokal Prasad, Esq., Advocate of the High Court, Allahabad.
- Gopal Hari, Pundit, B.A., Headmaster, Coronation High School.
- Habib-ur-Rahman Khan, Maulvi, Habibgang, Aligarh District.
- Hadi, S. M., Esq., Khan Bahadur, Collector, Hardoi.
- Hamilton, E. J. M., Esq., Inspector-General of Commerce and Industry, Gwalior State, Gwalior.
- Hargreaves, H., Esq., Archæological Survey, Lahore.
- Harris, E. F., Esq., The College, Ajmere.
- Hill, Rev. G. F., Karwi, Banda District, U. P.
- Ijaz Ali, Maulvi Sayed, Deputy Collector, Almora.
- Itifat Rasool, Sayed M., Taluqdar, Sandila, Hardoi District, U.P.
- Jesse, W., Esq., Principal, Meerut College, Meerut.

LIST OF MEMBERS

205

- Jevous, H. S., Esq., Professor of Economics, The University, Allahabad.
- Jha, Mahamahopadhyaya Ganga Nath, D. Litt., Professor of Sanskrit, Muir Central College, Allahabad.
- Jopling, C. M., Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow.
- Joshi, Janardana, Pundit, Deputy Collector, Almora, U.P.
- Knox, The Hon'ble Justice Sir George, Kt., I.S.O., LL.D., Allahabad.
- Knox, K. N., Esq., I.C.S., Settlement Officer, Gorakhpur, U.P.
- Lacy, The Rev. Canon, Allahabad.
- Lambert, G. B., Esq., I.C.S., Benares.
- Lindsay, B., Esq., I.C.S., Judicial Commissioner of Oudh, Lucknow.
- Lovett, The Hon'ble Sir H. Verney, K.C.S.I., I.C.S., Lucknow.
- Luard, Major C. E., Political Agent, Manipur, Mhow, C.I. Lucknow, The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of.
- Lupton, W. J. E., Esq., I.C.S., Allahabad.
- Mackenzie, A. H., Esq., Principal, Training College, Allahabad.
- Mirza Habib Hussain, Headmaster, Government High School, Shahjahanpur.
- Misra, Champa Ram, Pundit, Deputy Collector, Purnabagarh.
- Misra, Rama Shankar, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.), Benares.
- Misra, Pundit Shyam Behari, Bulandshahr.
- Mohammed Ahmed, Esq., Gaisar Bungalow, Bhopal.
- Mohammed Ishaq Khan, Nawab, Meerut.
- Mohammed Mirzamullah Khan, Khan Bahadur, Bhikampur, Aligarh District.
- Molony, E. A., Esq., I.C.S., Commissioner, Agra.
- Morris, T. W., Esq., I.C.S., Collector, Ghazipur, U.P.
- Murray, John, Esq., Inspector of European Schools, Naini Tal.
- Nadir Ali, Hajji, Agra.
- Nanavatty, E. M., Esq., I.C.S., Jaunpur, U.P.
- Naziruddin Hassan, Esq., LL.D., Barrister-at-Law, Lucknow.
- Nehru, J. L., Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Church Road, Allahabad.
- Nehru, The Hon'ble Pundit Moti Lal, Advocate of the High Court, Allahabad.
- Nicol, Miss Georgina, Janakpur, R. and K. Railway, Naini Tal District.
- Nizamuddin Haidar, Maulvi, 91, de la Touche Road, Lucknow.
- Norton, E. L., Esq., I.C.S., Censor's Office, Bombay.
- Oakley, Rev. E. S., Almora.
- O'Byrne, G., Esq., I.C.S., Assistant Settlement Officer, Gorakhpur, U.P.
- Pandaya, Rai Bahadur Srinivas, Ahraura, Mirzapore District.

LIST OF MEMBERS

- Panna Lall, Esq., I.C.S., Naini Tal, U.P.
 Pant, Pundit Ram Dutt, Assistant Inspector of Schools, Bareilly.
 Parasnisi, Rao Bahadur, D. B., Happy Vale, Satara.
 Parmanand, Mr., Professor of History, Reid Christian College,
 Lucknow.
 Pim, A. W., Esq., I.C.S., Naini Tal.
 Prasad, D. Ganesh, University Professor, Senate House, Calcutta.
 Prasad, Pundit Jwala, Prasada Bhavan, Shahjahanpur.
 Prasada, Rai Bahadur Shiva, Junior Secretary, Board of Revenue,
 36, George Town, Allahabad.
 Rafique, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Muhammed, Allahabad.
 Ram Ratan Lall, Munshi, Special Magistrate, Gonda.
 Ram Swarup Vaish, Esq., Sitapur.
 Randle, H. V., Esq., Professor, Queen's College, Benares.
 Richards, The Hon'ble Sir Henry, Kt., K.C., Chief Justice,
 Allahabad.
 Richardson, E. A., Esq., Assistant Director of Public Instruction,
 Allahabad.
 Rose, E. E. P., Esq., I.C.S., Mainpuri.
 Rust, N. A., Esq., I.E.S., Allahabad.
 Sale, J. F., Esq., I.C.S., Benares.
 Sanyal, Abaya Charan, Rai Bahadur, Benares City.
 Sapru, The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur, 19, Albert Road, Allahabad.
 Shirreff, A. G., Esq., I.C.S., Government Secretariat, Allahabad.
 Silberrad, C. A., Esq., I.C.S., Gorakhpur, U.P.
 Simeon, T., Esq., Vakil of the High Court, Allahabad.
 Singh, Thakur Jogendra, Morefield Grange, Simla.
 Singh, Thakur Rajendra, Tikra Estate, Biswan, Sitapur, U.P.
 Sloan, T., Esq., I.C.S., City Magistrate, Lucknow.
 Smith, S. B., Esq., Professor of History, Canning College,
 Lucknow.
 Stewart, D. M., Esq., I.C.S., Gorakhpur, U.P.
 Stuart, Louis, Esq., I.C.S., Lucknow.
 Sturdy, E. C., Esq., I.C.S., Fatehgarh.
 Sukhbir Sinha, The Hon'ble Lala, Muzaffarnagar, U.P.
 Sundar Lall, The Hon'ble Sir, Kt., C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor, The
 University, Allahabad.
 Thakur Suraj Baksh Singh, Taluqdar, Kasmandar, Sitapur
 District, U.P.
 Tailang, Pundia Rama Sastri, Professor, Government Sanskrit
 College, Benares.
 Towle, J. H., Esq., Principal, M. A. O. College, Aligarh.

LIST OF MEMBERS

207

- Venis, Dr. A., Litt. D., C.I.E., Professor of Post Vedic Studies,
University of Allahabad, Benares.
- Vindeshvari Prasad Singh, Colonel, Chief Secretary, Fort Ram-
nagar, Benares State.
- Walsh, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, Church Road, Allahabad.
- Weir, C., Esq., Principal, Law College, Allahabad.
- Wetherill, H. B., Esq., Inspector of Schools, Fyzabad.
- Williams, L. F. Rushbrook, Esq., Professor of Modern Indian
History, University of Allahabad.
- Willoughby, R. W., Esq., I.C.S., Lucknow.
- Wolfe, G. C., Esq., Military Finance Department, Grand Hotel,
Calcutta.

The Society desires to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following books and papers :—

- From The Superintendent of Archæology, Hyderabad State—
The New Asokan Edict of Maski (Hyderabad Archæological
Series No. 1).
- From Thakur Rajendra Singh—
Legends of Vikramaditya.
Barbarians of Ancient India.
The Great War of Ancient India.
- From Khan Abdus Salam, Khan Bahadur, Rampur—
"The Plague in the East" according to Mohammedan
Historians.
- From The Secretary of the Hyderabad Archæological Society—
The Journal of the Society for June 1916.

At the request of the Council of the Hyderabad Archæological Society, the following regulations are published for the information of members :—

PINHEY MEMORIAL MEDAL.

The Hyderabad Archæological Society, on the 21st April 1916, decided that a Gold Medal be instituted to commemorate the memory of Sir Alexander Pinhey, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., the Founder and first President of the Society.

REGULATIONS.

(1) The "Pinhey Memorial Gold Medal" shall be awarded triennially for the best work on Deccan Archæology or History, in accordance with the subjoined conditions.

(2) The competition shall be open to scholars in any part of the world.

(3) Competitors shall submit a thesis on any subject chosen by themselves relating to Deccan Archæology or History. The thesis should be an unpublished work, or, if published, it should not have been published more than two years before its submission for the Pinhey Medal.

(4) Thesis for the first competition will be received up to the end of October 1918, and subsequently in the October of every third year, *i.e.*, in October 1921, 1924, and so on.

(5) If the selected thesis is an unpublished work, the Society, at the recommendation of the Council, shall have the right to publish it in the Society's *Journal*.

(6) If in the opinion of the Council none of the theses submitted in any year are of special value, the Medal shall not be awarded in that year.

(7) If thesis is written in any language other than English, the competitor shall furnish an English translation thereof.

Garhwa

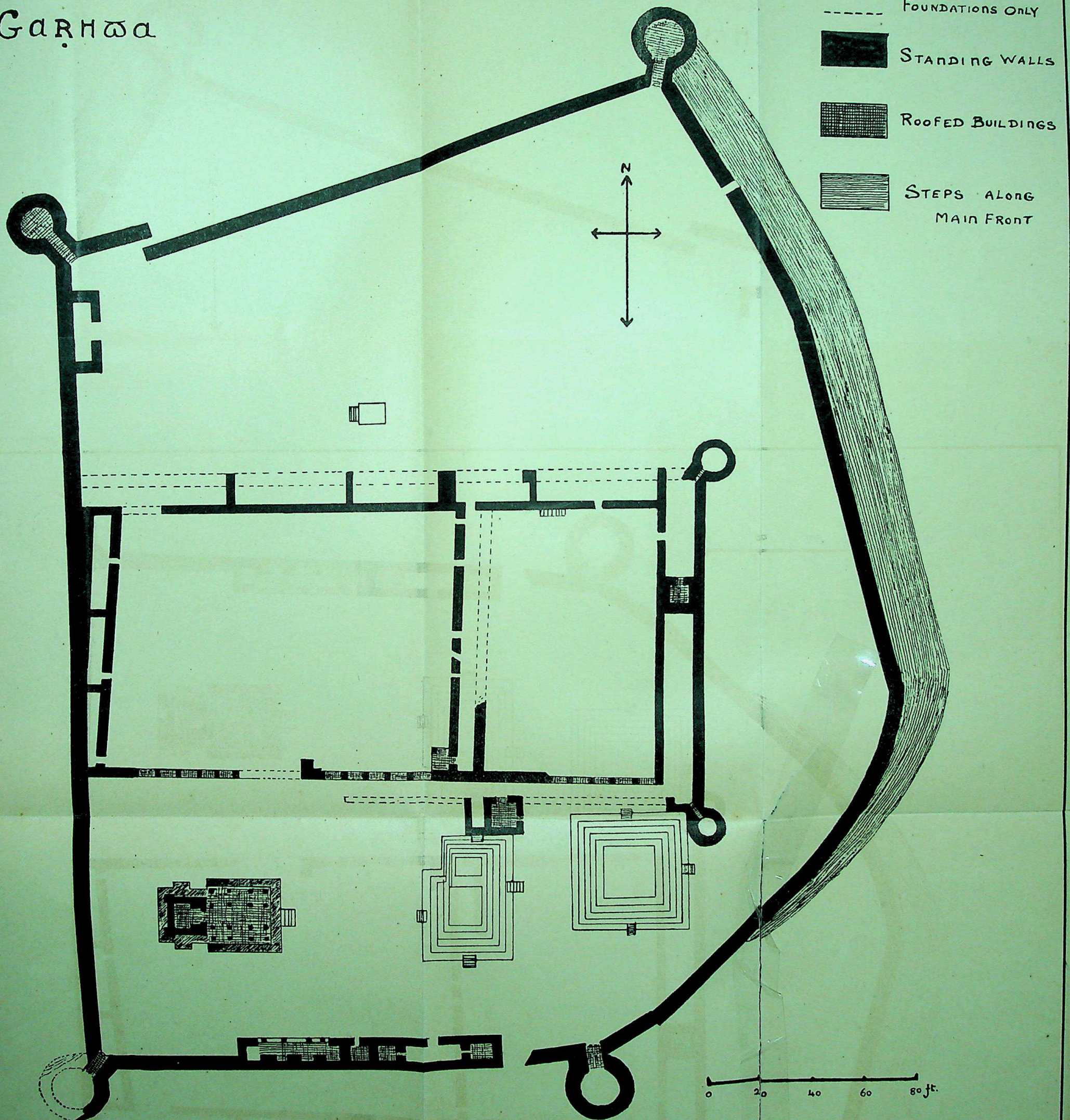


Fig. I.

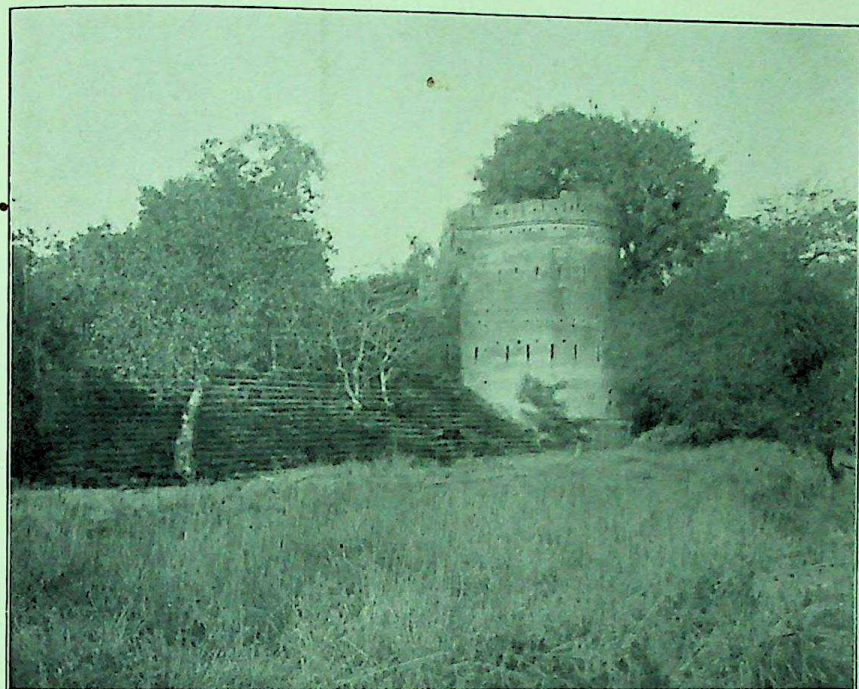


Fig. II.

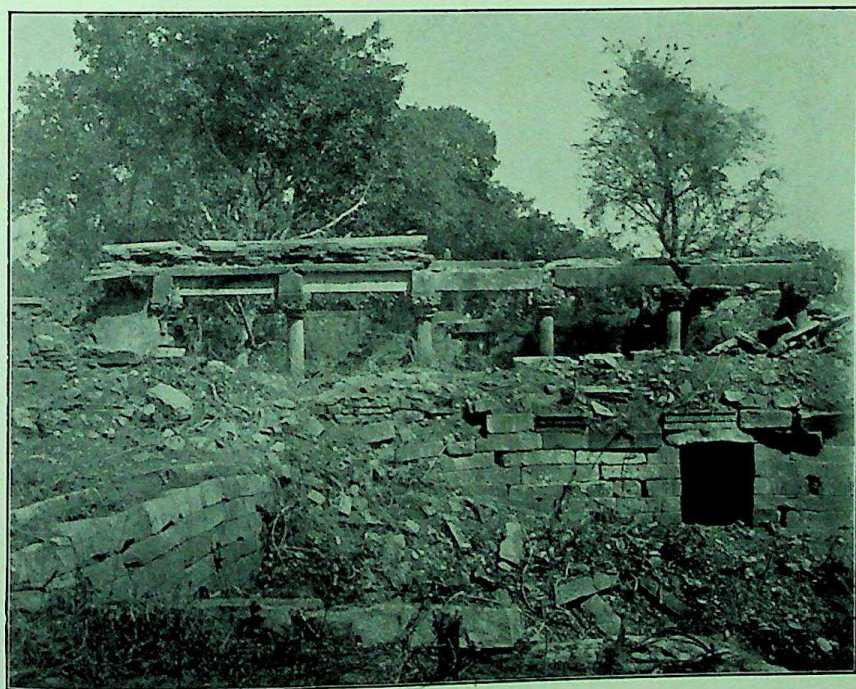


Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1917.



Fig. II.

Fig. III.



Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1917

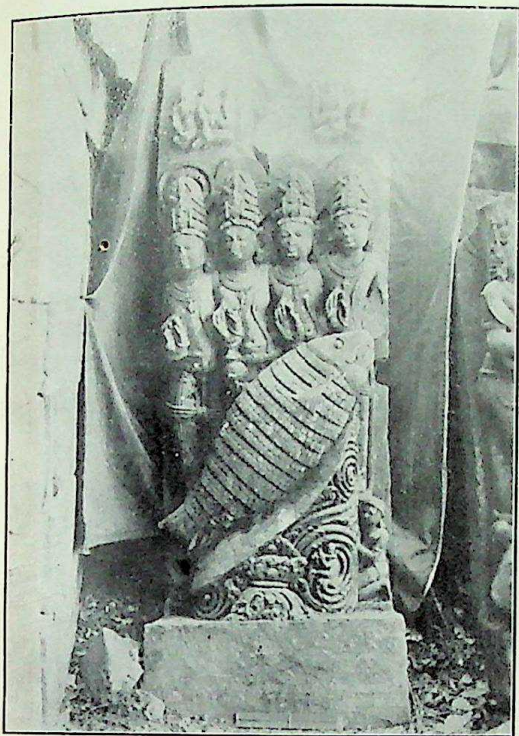


Fig. III.

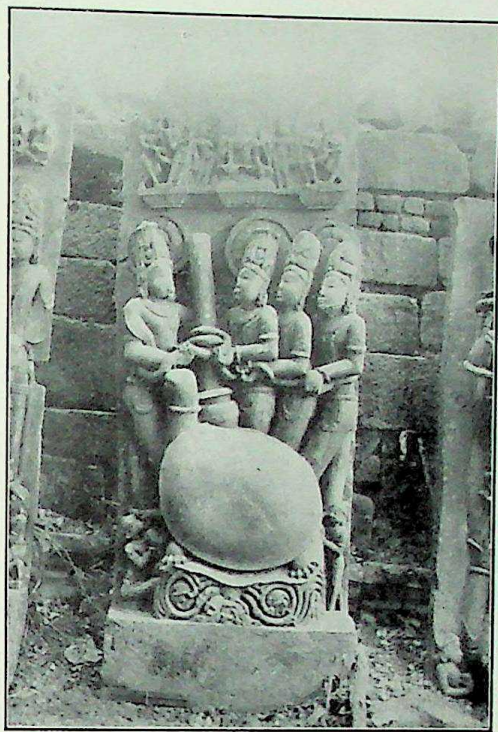
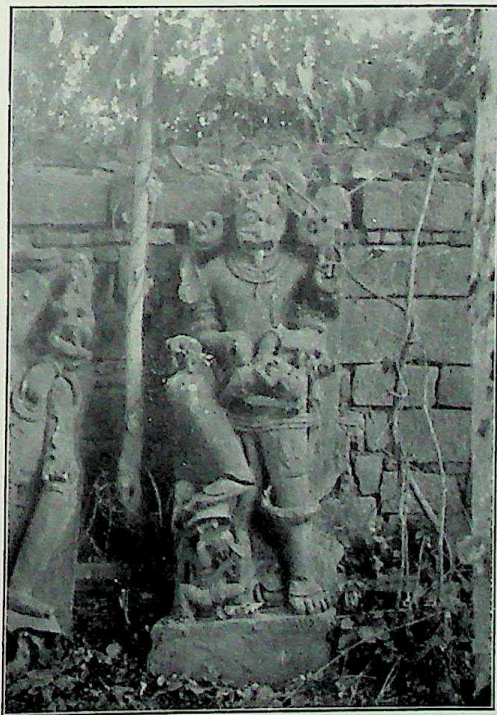
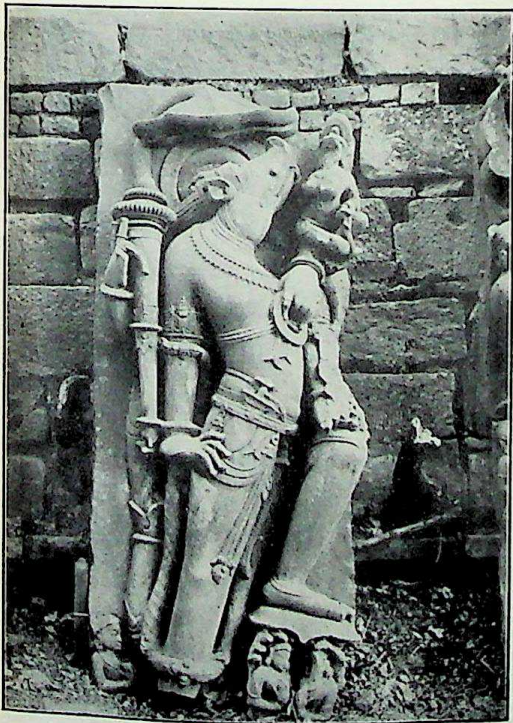


Fig. IV.



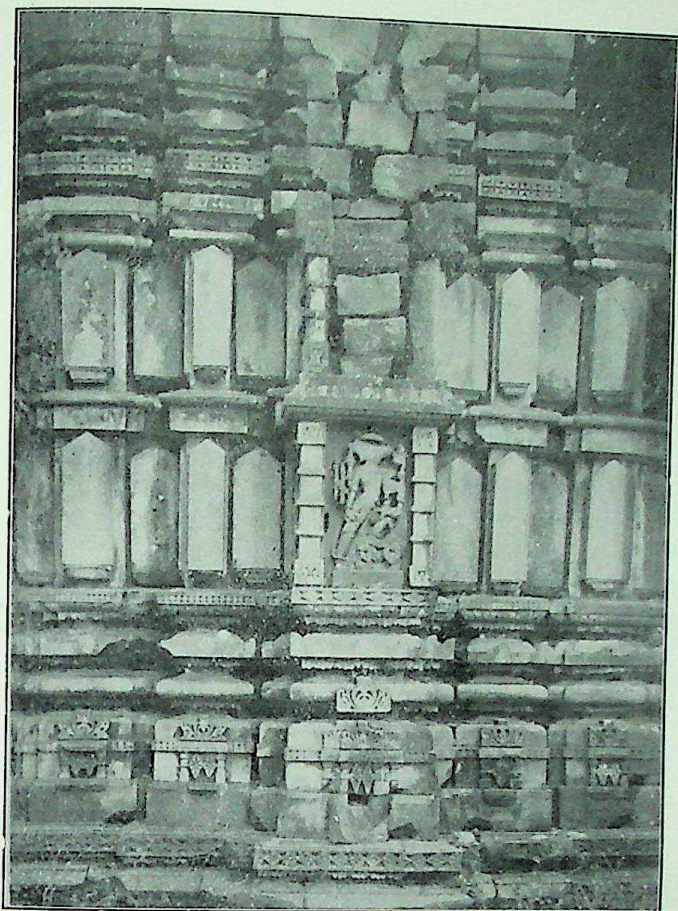


Fig. I.

Fig. II.

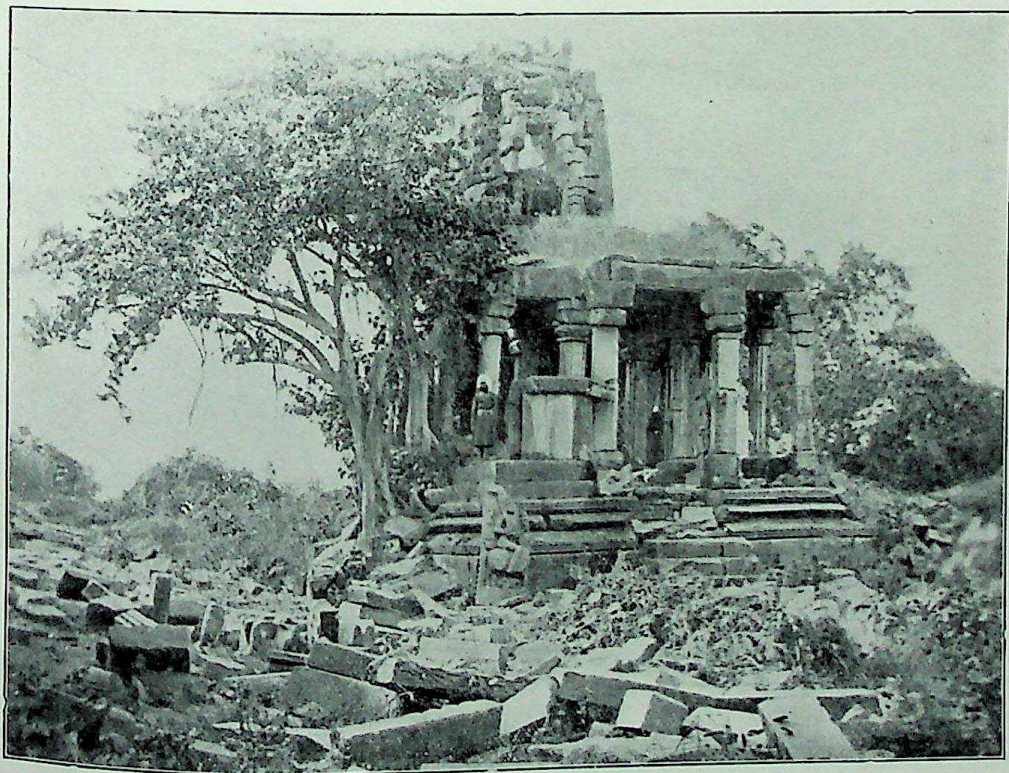


PLATE VI.

FIG. I.

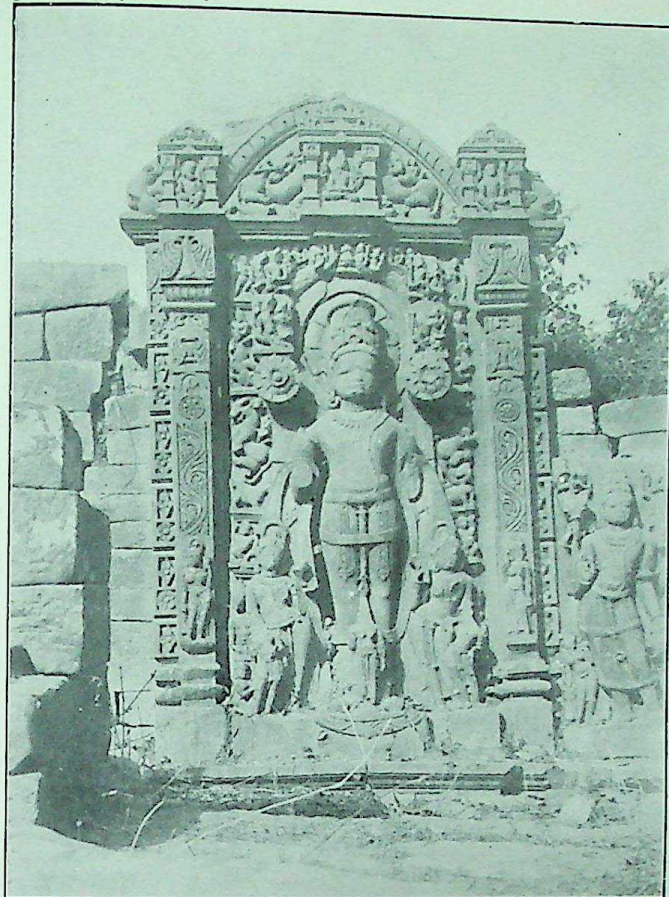
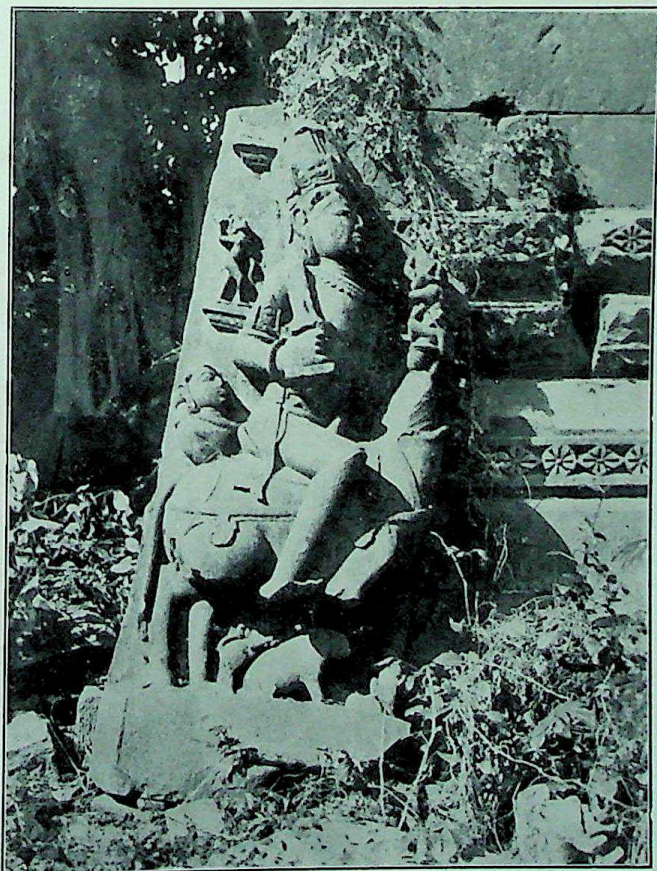


FIG. II.



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PLATE VII.

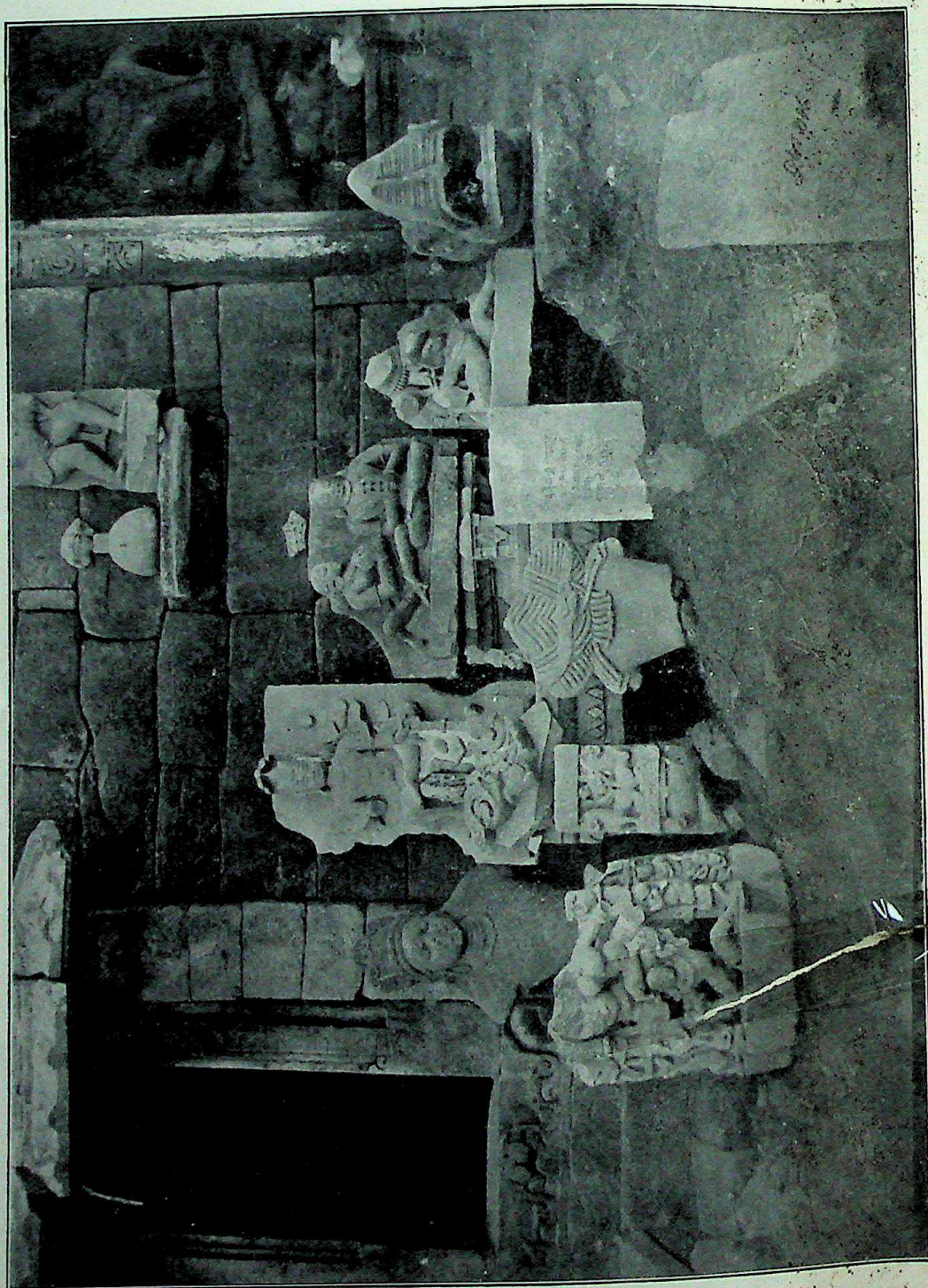


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CONTENTS

	PAGE
<i>Lectures and Articles—</i>	
Some Phases of the Character and Policy of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. By G. Gardener Brown	1
Krishna Obelisks at Garhwa. By B. H. Bourdillon ..	35
The Death of Hemu. By Ram Prasad Tripathi ..	41
The Administration of the Ceded Provinces under Henry Wellesley, 1801-3. By D. Dewar, I.C.S. ..	47
Fray Seb. Manrique's Description of Agra. (24 Dec., 1640—Jan., 1641.) By the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. ..	109
A Find of Clay Moulds for Forging Coins at Mathura. By Panna Lall, I.C.S.	137
Recent Excavations at Mathura. (Based on some rough notes —by the late Dr. A. Venis, C.I.E.)	141
<i>Notes and Queries</i>	144
<i>Proceedings</i>	151
<i>Rules and Constitution</i>	154
<i>List of Members</i>	157

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SOME PHASES OF THE CHARACTER AND
POLICY OF MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAQ.

A study in interpretation.

BY G. GARDNER BROWN.

NO one can study the history of India as we have it to-day, and especially that part of it which deals with the Middle Ages, without being struck by the fact that the conceptions of it which are most prevalent are often based on the flimsiest of evidence. This is doubtless to a great extent due to the circumstance that it is almost entirely based on the annals of Muhammadan historians; picturesque as they often are, their records are at best an *ex parte* statement and they do not flinch either from ignoring unpalatable facts or from blackening the reputation of those with whom their patrons or their party happened to disagree. Another cause is undoubtedly the fact that many of the writers who have first—and often very ably—described this history from a western point of view were men who in the majority of cases were unacquainted with the principles and methods of historical research, with the necessity of weighing conflicting evidence or of ascertaining the precise value or point of view of a particular author. It is desirable, therefore, that the verdicts of such writers should be from time to time reviewed in the light of the more scientific methods of modern times and with the aid of the new facts which research is bringing forward by degrees. When this is done we may sometimes arrive at the conclusion that the judgments of the past have perhaps too hastily bestowed the halo of the saint or

the brand of the criminal on men whose characters or actions have been misjudged.¹

A case in point would seem to be the very different reputations which hold the field as regards Muḥammad bin Tughlaq and his successor Fīrūz Shāh. The latter was something of a persecutor, distinctly indolent, priest-ridden and addicted to drink, yet he appears in history as an ideal monarch: the former was temperate, energetic, tolerant and full of plans for the good of his subjects, and yet no historian can find terms strong enough in which to condemn him. Fīrūz Shāh puts to death an aged and trusty Wazīr whose only crime was to try and preserve the throne for his master's dynasty at a time when he believed that Fīrūz Shāh himself had perished²: yet Fīrūz Shāh is recorded as a model of gentleness. Muḥammad bin Tughlaq pardons the leader of a rebellion which had endangered his person and his throne, and restored him to office,³ yet he is always called "The Bloody." Fīrūz Shāh wished to perpetuate his memory by the foundation of a city and selected a site where water was notoriously scarce for "he was filled with hope that if he built a town for the benefit of Mussalmans, God would provide the water."⁴

¹ The principal authorities referred to are:—

Ziāuddin Barnī—*Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*—Text (Bibl. Ind. series), cited as Barnī T.

„ „ „ Trans. (Elliott and Dowson, Vol. III), cited as Barnī E. D.

Ibn Baṭūṭa—ed Defremery and Sanguinette, cited as I. B.

Maṣālak al-abṣār—Notices et Extraits tom. xiii, cited as Maṣālak.

Shams-i-sirāj-'afīf—*Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*—Trans. (Elliott and Dowson, Vol. III), cited as Shams i-sirāj.

Nizāmuddin Aḥmad—*Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*—Trans. (Bibl. Ind.), cited as N. A.

'Abdal-Qādir al Badāonī—*Muntakhabul Tawārīkh*—Trans. (Bibl. Ind.), cited as Badāonī.

Muḥammad Qāsim Ferishta—*Tārīkh-i-Ferishta*—Text (Bombay edit.), cited as Fer. T. Trans. (Briggs), cited as Fer. Briggs.

² For the execution of Ahmad Ayyāz, *vide* Shams-i-sirāj, 282. It is, however, due to Fīrūz Shāh to point out that a good deal of pressure was put on him which he, being a weak man, was unable to resist. See also *infra* note.

³ 'Ainul Mulk's rebellion. I. B. iii, 342. All authorities agree as to this lenient treatment.

⁴ Shams-i-sirāj (299) on the foundation of Hiṣār Fīrūza.

Muhammad bin Tugh^hlaq having realized the truth of the saying that "God helps those who help themselves," laboured hard in a time of famine to induce the peasantry to dig wells, and when he failed, encouraged and assisted the inhabitants of the waterless districts to migrate. Yet the common verdict speaks of Muhammad bin Tugh^hlaq, and not of Fīrūz Shāh, as a visionary.

The high estimation in which the memory of Fīrūz Shāh is held can be comparatively easily accounted for: after the cataclysmic devastation caused by Timur's raid, men looked back to the reign of the last Delhi Sultān of any eminence as to the mythical Golden Age to which the Indian mind so constantly reverts: they failed to remember the disorder of his later years when the empire, rotten to the core, was rapidly falling to pieces: in his remission of taxes they saw the kindness of the man and not the disorganization of the imperial finances to which it contributed: and they accepted the self-satisfied complacency of the autobiographical *Futūhāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* as the standard on which their judgment should be framed.

But it is at first sight less easy to frame a fair and adequate estimate of the character of Muhammad bin Tugh^hlaq. Popular tradition—as evidenced by the South Indian proverb "Never live in the country of the Tugh^hlaqs"—is on the side of those who condemn his character and actions: the tone of contemporary evidence is in many points unusually hostile: and in all Indian histories from the childish text-book to more solid and pretentious tomes we find the same conception of a ruler who can hardly be sufficiently condemned. It runs habitually in something like the following terms:—

'Muhammad bin Tugh^hlaq was a man of great personal ability, but he proved a great failure as a sovereign: his reign was marked by reckless prodigality and attempts to carry out mad schemes: chief among such schemes may be reckoned his introduction of a debased currency, the transfer of his capital from Delhi to Daulatābād, and

wildly ambitious designs for the conquest of Persia and China: his ferocious cruelty and relentless taxation provoked rebellions and caused the loss of provinces, and the empire of Delhi, shaken by his tyranny, was only preserved intact for another half-century by the mild rule of his cousin and successor Fīrūz Shāh.¹

From this unimaginative and one-sided conception no writer seems able to escape; few—except to a limited extent the wise and moderate Elphinstone—seem able to realize that it presents to us an almost impossible figure, that of a clever and experienced ruler who was a fool. The conception of a genius, literary or otherwise, being a transcendental failure as an administrator is of course a familiar one; James I was the most learned fool in Christendom, Louis XVI was a very able watchmaker, and they sowed a crop of troubles for themselves and their successors. But this is not the case of a man with the theories of a pedant or the instincts of an artisan called to occupy an imperial throne: Muḥammad bin Tughlaq had made his mark as a soldier before his accession, and fools were not suffered gladly to rule for six-and-twenty years in the Mediaeval East. There is no doubt what his contemporaries thought of him; omitting for the moment the two most familiar characteristics—his severity and his generosity—here is his portrait as it is limned in the pages of three of them.

The Sultān was famous (they say) for his good looks and skilled in all forms of athletic exercise:² exceptionally well educated, especially in calligraphy, Persian literature and medicine (the three main branches of learning in the East in the Middle Ages): he was famous for his eloquence both in the speeches that he made and the official despatches which he personally drafted: he was endowed with keen insight and a good memory, was courteous in manner and appreciative of wit in others: he was noted for his habits of temperance and sobriety, was affectionate

¹ Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, 79.

² Barni, I. B. and Maṣālak *passim*.

to his own relations and loyal to the family and memory of his former master Qutb-ud-dīn: he took steps to encourage in others the due observance of the religious duties of Islām, and was God-fearing and orthodox himself, though in the opinion of some he listened too freely to the voice of reason and to the doctrines of philosophers in the literary assemblies he loved to hold: he was very charitable and is one of the few early rulers of India of whom it is recorded that he took steps to develop a system of education: he was not only assiduous in his efforts to secure the regular and equal administration of justice, but himself submitted with patience and humility to verdicts awarded against himself: brave and ambitious, he was respected and feared by all and was the recipient of embassies from many courts and countries.

Few sovereigns can boast such a roll of accomplishments and virtues, and it is equalled or perhaps exceeded by one alone, Ghāzān Khān, the ruler of Persia in the later years of the 13th century.¹ It is all the more remarkable in that two out of the three contemporaries from whose pages this picture is derived, were for different reasons undeniably hostile to the prince whose character they set themselves to draw. Nor was it with any of them the outcome of lip-service or of flattery poured out in the spirit of that hope which is a lively sense of favours to come, for the Sultān was dead when two of them began to write and the third lived in a distant land and never visited India.² Such then is the man they describe—no bigot urged forward by

¹ For the extraordinary versatility of Ghāzān Khān, *vide* Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, Part III, 492 seq. In view of the fact that the Tughlaqs came from Khurāsān it is not impossible that Muḥammad b. Tughlaq took, consciously or unconsciously, the earlier ruler as his model.

² Abū 'Abdullah Muḥammad, known as Ibn Baṣūṭa, *i.e.* *The Traveller*, dictated his travels to the editor of his work Ibn Juzai in 1354-5. Zī'uddīn Barnī (b.c. 123-4) completed his history in 1356 and there are clear indications that it was commenced after the Sultān's death. The *Maṣālak al-abṣār* was composed between 1337 and 1342. Shihābuddin Abul Abbās Aḥmad, its probable author, who died in 1349, was a native of Morocco and in the service of the Sultān of Egypt.

fanaticism, no al-Hākīm lighted on his career by hideous freaks of ghastly insanity, no profligate lapped in a round of vicious pleasures, no idler leaving to his ministers the cares of state—but a sober, God-fearing, hardworking monarch, accomplished and well educated, thoughtful for others, and a brave and able soldier. Such was the man all historians invite us to condemn—a brilliant genius and a brilliant failure, a courteous gentleman and a savage blood-thirsty tyrant, an accomplished and experienced ruler behaving like a most unparalleled fool. Is such a contradictory character possible, or is it that the Sultān has been maligned?

It will be well, however, to consider this problem with special reference to one aspect, namely the evidence on which the ordinary view is based, in other words the record of the reign as penned for us by Zīāuddin Barnī. He is the one purely Indian contemporary whose narrative is still extant, and his work has deeply influenced the compilations of the 16th century historians and the views of all later writers. A native of Bulandshahr, he came of a family that had served the state with some distinction in the days of 'Alāud-dīn, he was 42 when Muḥammad bin Tughlaq succeeded his father, he served him for over 17 years, was (according to his own account) the recipient of his confidence on more than one occasion, and survived him for some years. He was thus in a position to see and know and judge the events of the reign which he narrates in a vivid and effective manner. But though Barnī in his portrait of the Sultān ascribes to him those personal virtues and high qualities which no contemporary who knew him could omit, yet his description of the reign is dark and gloomy—one eccentric scheme following another in quick succession, an endless series of revolts, the loss of provinces, disastrous famines, and over all the trail of unceasing bloodshed of the good and great. The problem of the hopeless inconsistency between the Sultān's character and his recorded deeds meets us thus early on the roll.

of History, and, whatever later generations may put forward, the words of a knowledgeable contemporary are bound to carry weight. Now in almost all histories written in India there is unhappily a marked tendency towards bias which constitutes one of the chief difficulties of the student. In modern times the spirit of sectarianism is only too obvious; in earlier times the bias was a personal one and took the form most frequently of *suppressio veri* rather than of *suggestio falsi*. From such a partisanship Barnī is not free and even the most casual reader must be struck by the tone of bias which is shown in the very arrangement of his work. For when he comes to the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, he frankly and openly abandons the chronological method which he has hitherto adopted and divides this portion of his narrative into three main sections:—(1) the character of the Sultān, (2) the mad schemes which brought ruin on the state, (3) the revolts which the Sultān's misgovernment provoked. Such an arrangement may represent a well-considered verdict on the reign as formed by Barnī before he sat down to write, but it has much more the air of a man setting out to write a thesis on a pre-conceived theory than the detached and impartial judgment of one who claims to be a truthful recorder of events. When we come to check his narrative more closely, we cannot but be even more struck by the tone of undiluted hostility that runs through it, shown alike by what he omits, by what he states, by what he disguises or slurs over. He is frank enough about his abandonment of the chronological method: "I have not," he says, "followed the exact order of events, for that is not important for those who want to understand,"¹ and for those who want to understand—in other words those who are prepared to accept a biased verdict—his omissions, his inaccuracies, and his slurrings over are of no importance: they matter only to those who want a faithful picture of the truth.

¹ Barnī T.

Important as his chief omissions are we may dismiss them very briefly, for since Barnī has not mentioned them, they are likely to be less familiar. We may, if we will, accept the plea that as an orthodox Muhammadan, Barnī preferred to leave unmentioned the revival of Hindu states in the North and the curious episode of the protectorate over the Hindu state of Jāwhār:¹ we may take one side of the disputed story of Tarmashirīn's invasion² and say that, as a patriotic citizen, Barnī preferred to pass over a discreditable occurrence in proud silence: we may hold non-proven the conquest of the territory on which Bombay now stands.³ But after making all possible allowances it is not justifiable on the part of a presumably loyal officer to omit all facts that even to a jaundiced eye undoubtedly redounded to his master's credit, to ignore the successful repression of two most serious revolts,⁴ to pass over without notice the capture of the famous fort of Kāngra⁵ and the clearing out of the great pirates' nests of Pīram and of Gogo,⁶ to say

¹ Powlett, *Gazetteer of Karauli State*, 4 seq., states on the evidence of traditions preserved by the ruling family that the dynasty took its rise with Arjun Deo's capture of Mandrail c. 1327. It is also stated that his possession was confirmed by the contemporary ruler of Delhi. That such a fact is not improbable is shown by the recognition of Jāwhār as a subordinate state in 1341. (Extr. from the Bo. Govt. Records, n. s. xxvi. 14). Mr. V. A. Smith (*Contributions to the History of Bundelkhand*. J.A.S.B. 1881, Pt. I) assigns the first appearance of the Gaharwār ancestors of the Bundela clan to c. 1343 when Arjun Pāl Gaharwār overthrew the Khangārs of Garh Kwiār who were holding Mahoba for the Delhi Sultans. I. B. (iv. 29) speaks of two Hindu chiefs besieging Gwalior and Rapri, which would have been unlikely if the neighbouring states had not revived in power and importance.

² No early writer mentions the invasion of Tarmashirīn. Bad. (305) states that he was defeated and pursued as far as Kālānūr. Ferishtah (Briggs, 413) affirms that he was bribed to depart.

³ The conquest of Mahim and neighbouring districts in 1347-8 (Edwardes, *Rise of Bombay*, 52) is derived from the *Bimbakhyān*. This work which was probably drawn up in 1583 was believed by the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson to be a compendium of traditions with a certain admixture of true history.

⁴ The revolts referred to are those of Bahādur or Bahāuddin Gurshasp (I. B. iii, 318; Bad. 304, Fes. Briggs. 418) and of Ghiyāsuddin Bahādur Shah of Benga (I. B. iii, 316).

⁵ Badr Chach in Elliott and Dowson iii, 570.

⁶ These two places had been notorious haunts of pirates under Mokheraji the Gohil. I. B. (iv, 60) refers to their recent conquest and Forbes (*Rās-māla*, 247)

nothing of the glory of the court with its pompous but suppliant embassies from Persia and from China,¹ from Khwārizm and from Java,² to leave unmentioned the great reforms, the reduction of the customs,³ the improvement in the currency,⁴ the revision of the judicial system.⁵ It is not justifiable to omit such things as these and to insert only those things which can be unreservedly condemned: it is not enough to say that these things do not matter to those who want to understand.⁶

In what he actually says Barnī is a careful writer and it is not easy to detect him in a deliberate falsehood. Still there are such statements and one may be briefly mentioned.⁷ He tells us that infidels and philosophers were too often to be found among the advisers of the Sultān and he cites the name of 'Ubaid the poet as one of these; but he has himself already told us just before that the same poet was executed for rebellion in the previous reign. This is less likely to be due to a pardonable forgetfulness than to an anxiety to prove a point regardless of the truth.

Far more misleading than the great omissions, far commoner than incorrect assertions, are the cases in which Barnī succeeds in disguising the nature of an incident or slurring over some important element in it. A striking illustration⁸ occurs when he is describing the events that preceded and led up to 'Ain-ul-Mulk's rebellion and narrates how certain men from fear of the severity of the Sul-

quoting from Hindu legends gives a detailed but one-sided account of the campaign. Their overthrow appears to have occurred in or about 1347, and may be alluded to in Barnī's statement "The Sultān took Karnāl and brought all the coasts and islands into subjection." It seems probable that I. B.'s reference to the islands should be dated from the time he finally left India and not at the commencement of his Chinese embassy.

¹ Maṣālak, 195.

² I. B. iv, 1 seq.

³ I. B. ii, 73.

⁴ I. B. iv, 234.

⁵ I. B. ii, 373; iii, 117; iv, 265.

⁶ Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, 217 seq.

⁷ See *infra*.

⁸ Cf. Barnī T.

ṭān fled from Delhi and took refuge with the brothers of 'Ain-ul-Mulk: the Sultān sent orders to have them bound and brought back for punishment; struck with horror at this fresh example of the Sultān's cruelty their new supporters determined to protect them from it and could see no better way of doing so than open defiance and revolt.¹ What a picture of unfortunate victims fleeing before the wild and unrestrained brutality of a merciless tyrant! What a picture of noble-hearted men shielding the innocent and helpless at the risk of their own lives! How familiar in all histories of the reign is this tableau of the mad and brutal sovereign and the suffering subject! How rare, unhappily, is the third figure of the fearless champion!

Barnī omits one fact and one fact only: he does not tell us why the fugitives were afraid of the severity of the Sultān. Other writers, with a curious unconsciousness of the way it affects the whole tenor of the story, are less reticent. It was during the great and awful famine which affected all districts that lay west of the Ganges, when 'cannibalism'² was rife not only in thinly-populated districts of the Panjāb but even in the darker purlieus of the capital. The Sultān had returned from a distant campaign with grievous sickness still upon him, but he threw himself with characteristic energy into the task of grappling with this awful visitation. No Indian administration before the closing quarter of the 19th century tackled the problem in so comprehensive and so thorough a way. The steps he took to deal with it in the country districts are well known: less familiar are his measures of relief in the capital itself, the careful census of the population, the lists drawn up of the inhabitants of each mohalla and each street, their division into easily-handled groups, the assignment of each

¹ Barnī E. D. 247.

² I. B. cites an instance of cannibalism between Hansi and Sirsati (iii, 372) and another in Delhi itself (iv, 37). Such instances were not uncommon during the Indian famines in the Middle Ages.

group to some responsible official directed to distribute daily at the state expense to every individual an adequate supply of food.¹ This was the time when the work of every branch of the administration gave place to the most urgent duty of the moment, the task of combating the famine and starvation that stalked through the streets of Delhi: this was the time when certain clerks thought fit to make the miseries of their fellow-citizens their profit, and applied to their own uses the funds entrusted to them for the operations of relief. Such could not long escape the knowledge of the secret police: some of the culprits were arrested and met the fate their offences had deserved; others, more fortunate but not less guilty, escaped to Oudh, where the brothers of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who had been long contemplating revolt, met them with open arms, rewarded them with lands and villages and enrolled them among their adherents. It is a different picture to the one that Barnī draws and throws a lurid light on the spirit in which he wrote: to him the omission of the all-important fact is one more matter that is not important to those who want to understand.² It is not however, enough to enumerate Barnī's defects or prejudices and no study of the Sultān's reign and character can be complete without some consideration of the five main points on which his administration is most usually condemned, though it is not possible in this paper to discuss them very fully. The first in point of time was the increased taxation in the Doāb, which may be dealt with briefly. The Doāb was the most prosperous portion of the Empire and could well bear—as 'Ala-ud-din

¹ For the organisation of relief in the capital *vide* I. B. iii, 290, 373; iv, 37. Ibn Baṭūṭa was himself one of the officials charged for superintending the measures of relief.

² This appears to be the conclusion to be derived from N. A. 226, where it is stated that the culprits were charged with embezzlement. Both Barnī and N. A. (who had used the best *Tughlaqnamah*) connect their flight with the famine in Delhi. It may be, of course, that their embezzlement was of a less scandalous nature; but even so Barnī's omission of any grounds for their fear of punishment is unpardonable.

had shown—a higher taxation than was usually imposed. The new taxation was not heavy, indeed lighter than was subsequently levied,¹ but its imposition was unfortunately followed by the first famine of the reign. This enabled hostile critics to ascribe to the taxation the misery that was really due to want of rain.

The second scheme which, in Barni's words, "brought ruin and destruction on the Empire" was the selection of Deogir as a capital and the transfer thither of the population of Delhi. For any adequate comprehension of this step, it is essential to grasp the true bearings of the political geography of the time. The Empire of the first two Tughlaqs was composed of three almost isolated portions: the first comprised the Ganges valley, the Panjab plains as far west as Lahore and a narrow portion of the Indus valley lying to the south of Multān: the second portion, smaller than the first but still large and compact, comprised the eastern portion of Khāndesh, Berar and Hyderabad and strips of land along the Eastern coast of the Madras Presidency: the third was that part of Northern Gūjarāt which borders on the Gulf of Cambay, far smaller than the others but valuable on account of the great foreign trade that centred in its ports. These isolated tracts were linked up only by a very narrow strip that run from Gwālīor to Dhār and thence west and south which with the possible exception of a tract in the neighbourhood of Ujjain resolved

¹ The land-revenue system of the Delhi Sultāns is somewhat obscure but the main facts regarding the Doāb appear to be clear. 'Alāuddin, largely for political reasons, had raised the *khārāj*—in the case of Hindu cultivators and landlords—to 50 per cent of the produce or rent (Barni 762). This rate Quṭb-ud-din reduced (Bar. E. D. 212), though we are not told to what extent. Ghiyāsuddin Tughlaq fixed the rate at 10 per cent but allowed officials to levy slightly larger sums. (Barni T.). Muḥammad b. Tughlaq appears to have increased the rate to 20 per cent:—Barni (E. D. 238) says 'he hoped to get from 5 to 10 per cent more tribute: N. A. (218) says 10 per cent more, Bad. (304) says the land-revenue was raised from 10 to 20 per cent, Firūz Shāh reverted to 10 per cent on the ground that it was the legal rate (E. D. iii, 377). It is however stated that 50 per cent could legally be levied. (Baillie, *Of the khārāj or Muhammadan land tax*. J.R.A.S., 1875, 176.)

For the scanty rainfall and famine that followed, vide Barni E. D. 238, N. A. 218, Fer. Briggs, 422.

itself into the holding of a few fortresses to guard the road.¹ For two reasons, neither of which Barnī thinks worth mentioning, the Empire's centre of gravity had shifted very considerably at the commencement of the reign. The first was a decline in the importance of the Panjāb devastated by a hundred years of Mughal raids and recently laid waste by a great flood that rendered thousands homeless and changed the river-courses.² The second was the recent acquisition of the great southern tract, commonly called "The Deccan" but including much besides. The administration of this new territory, differing in character from the North, not yet quite subdued and with hostile or semi-hostile kingdoms on its southern borders, was a serious problem and we find that no less than three different methods of solution were attempted in the course of the reign. The first, which alone concerns us now, was to take the new provinces under the Sultān's personal rule and make of Deogīr a second capital, nearer the centre of the Empire than was Delhi and closer to the scene of possible danger. The extant details of the scheme are scanty but it seems clear that during the Sultān's absence in the South, the Wazīr was to act with full authority as Regent in the North: distant as were the two headquarters of the administration, communication between them was in normal times a matter of no difficulty, thanks to the well-equipped and well-maintained service of official messengers. Circumstances, into which we need not enter, led to the eventual abandonment of the scheme, but at the outset it was undoubtedly a reasonable solution of a serious difficulty.

Historians, however, leaving out of sight the sound reasons at the bottom of the scheme, have focussed their attention on the method of its carrying out and even so

¹ I. B. (iv, 34) who passed through it on his way to the court speaks of Per-nan near Gwalior as a place held by the Muhammadans "in the middle of the country of the infidels."

² For this flood in the Panjab *vide* Raverty. *The Mihran of Sind*. J.B.A.S. 1892, 280, 392, 498.

have usually omitted to observe that there were two different stages.¹ The first was the transfer in or about 1327² of the machinery of government or such parts of it as were essential for the purposes of administration: the second stage, a few years later, involved other classes of the population and is what has given rise to the general condemnation of the measure. In view of the Sultān's great building operations at Delhi and Ibn Baṭūṭa's description of its prosperity, we cannot literally accept Barni's exaggerated statement of what occurred, when he says not only that "not a cat or dog remained" but that of the immigrants brought there from other cities some died and the rest returned to their old homes:³ such are the statements of a biassed witness expressed in terms of Oriental hyperbole. There is more probably some connection between these immigrants to Delhi and the havoc caused in the Panjab by the recent flood, the invasion of Tarmashīrīn and the first famine of the reign. But without labouring such a point, let us consider the main theme. A new headquarter in a hostile country must be colonised: who so fit to colonise it as a portion of the inhabitants of an overgrown and still

¹ Bad. (303, 305) speaks specifically of two separate migrations and his account is too detailed to be a mere slip: he is supported by Fer. (419, 421) and his version is not incompatible with Barni's summary account [E. D. 239].

² The date usually assigned is 1337, which is obviously wrong as it had occurred some time before I. B. reached Delhi in 1334 (I. B. iii, 314). Bad. specifically dates it as 727 (1326-7) and though his chronology cannot always be relied on, he places it in the same year as Bahādur or Bahāuddin Gurshasp's rebellion. Fer. connects the transfer rather definitely with the rebellion which he assigns to the same year 727 (see Bad. 304, n. 1). The appearance of the title "metropolis of Islam" on the Daulatābād coin of 727 (Thomas op. cit. 209) though not conclusive is also significant.

³ I. B. (iii, 316) says that when he reached Delhi he found it "empty, abandoned, and thinly populated." This occurs in his account of the Sultan's misdeeds, but in the more detailed account which he gives (iii, 146) in that part of the work which describes his actual arrival there he says that "it possesses a large population." This could hardly be the case if, as we are told, all attempts to repopulate an entirely deserted city had failed. Can I. B.'s reference to the deserted aspect of the capital refer to the older portions of Delhi and Sirī, which would not impossibly have been deserted in favour of the newer Tughlaqābād and Jahānpanāh?

expanding city? The transfer of a capital is no uncommon thing—Ambar, Clitor, Fatehpūr Sīkri, Mandū remain to show us what has been—and even more apposite examples may be drawn from Persia. To take one only, barely ten years before this case in India, Uljāitū Khān, the Persian sovereign, built him a new city at Sultāniya and transferred thither the artisans of Tabriz.¹

As for the methods of the transfer, scandalous stories subsequently sprang up and have passed from mouth to mouth,² but they are not in consonance with what we know. The emigrants were lavishly compensated for what they had to leave behind, they were well provided with means for their expenses and their sustenance on the journey, they received rewards and grants on their arrival in the new-built, well-planned city.³ Doubtless some died upon the road, some wished to return again to Delhi, and many probably much disliked the labour of the route and their new residence in strange and unfamiliar surroundings. But though so much was done for them, it has never been in India an accepted maxim that the exigencies of the state must overrule the wishes of the individual citizen, and so Barnī, democratic for once, is sure of an attentive audience when he details (with some exaggeration) the sufferings of the poor.⁴

One of the most obscure and therefore interesting problems of the reign is the issue of a brass token-currency designed to be the equivalent for silver. It is obscure because not only have Indian historians failed to understand it, but, more extraordinary than this can be, the two contemporary writers—Ibn Baṭūṭa and the author of the *Maṣālak-al-abṣār*—who show an intelligent interest in such

¹ Howorth op. cit. Part iii, 582.

² The well-known stories of the bad treatment accorded to the blind man and the paralytic are to be found in I. B. (iii, 315), but he is not a reliable authority for matters which had not come directly under his own observation.

³ *Vide* Barnī (E. D. 239), I. B. (iii, 314), N. A. (218-9), Bad. (303, 305), Fer. (T.). That Daulatābād was well planned we learn from *Maṣālak* 172.

⁴ Barnī, E. D. 240

matters, entirely fail to mention it. Put briefly, Barnī's version of the matter is as follows:—brass coins were issued and made legal tender, whereupon every Hindu forged them, and the revenue being paid in these forged coins the state lost heavily: they depreciated rapidly in value until the edict of issue had to be repealed: the state bought up true and false coins alike and the loss to the Treasury was grievous. Omitting the minor improbabilities in this account, let us consider the two main questions—Why were these coins issued? and why did the scheme break down?

As regards the cause Indian historians are hopelessly at sea: Barnī is satisfied with the remark that the Treasury had been depleted by the Sultān's generosity, a statement he had already implicitly denied: a second writer ascribes it to the need for funds for the Sultān's ambitious schemes of conquest:¹ a third explanation is forthcoming in the great expenditure involved in the transfer of the capital.² Modern writers content themselves with reproducing one or more of these explanations and the rather foolish comment that it was a mad scheme. It is of course possible that causes such as these when combined with the first famine of the reign might produce a temporary decline in revenue and a consequent deficiency in the Treasury, but plausible as this may sound it is hardly an adequate explanation of so revolutionary a measure.

Now either Muḥammad bin Tughlaq or one of his advisers was a rare expert in all numismatic business and he had already introduced four valuable and important monetary reforms before this token-currency appeared.³ It was hardly likely then that it was introduced in ignorance or from wanton avarice: in view of the disastrous fiasco of a token-currency in Persia thirty years before, it was hardly

¹ Fer. T.

² Bad. 306.

³ In addition to the well-known improvement in the design of the coins, there were (1) the establishment of new mints, (2) the introduction of a decimal system (Thomas op. cit. 220), and (3) an improvement in the method of minting (Thomas 225).

likely to be introduced unless some great necessity required. It is obvious that the Sultān was desperately anxious for the scheme to prove a success: no threats appear upon the coins as in the case of the paper-currency of China and of Persia,¹ for Muḥammad bin Tughlaq did not threaten: he appealed instead to the dictates of religion to induce his subjects to take the new coinage as *equivalent to silver*. It is in these last few words that there lies the clue to the whole problem. For years a shortage in the world's supply of silver had been threatening and it had been realized at a time when the Delhi Empire had recently annexed a large new tract of territory and required in consequence a larger coinage. The supply of silver in the Middle Ages was but just sufficient to meet the ordinary wear and tear of the world's currency: were the sources of supply interrupted or the metal diverted to some other use the supply must fall short of the demand. Both things had happened: the sources of supply in Transylvania, Saxony and Spain had all been interrupted, while the growing taste for luxury and display in most European and some Eastern countries had led to a wide use of silver for artistic articles of ornament and of use. The currency and legislation of lands so far apart as England, Egypt and Japan, of Flanders, Persia and of Scotland all show the effects of this deficiency at or about the time when the Sultān was searching for a substitute for silver.² It may be asked why did he not adopt a paper-currency such as had been in use for centuries in China and had been recently adopted in Japan? It is possible that he was unwilling to introduce so great an innovation, or feared the effects of climate on the material, or found it difficult to procure the necessary block-types: but the more probable reason was the

¹ For the most detailed account of this *vide* Howorth, *op. cit.* Part iii, 370 seq.

² For evidence regarding England, Flanders and Scotland *vide* Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, 5th edit. I, 203, 326, 329. For Egypt see Lane-Poole, *Egypt in the Middle Ages*, 297, 303, 340. Japan issued a paper-currency for the first time in 1319-31. (Howorth, *op. cit.* iii, 391.)

discredit attached to the system by its notorious failure in Persia in 1294. Failing this, brass was as good a medium as could be found, and since the prevailing practice was to test all coins by weight and feel, perhaps the best.¹

That the scheme failed is less surprising in that ignorant age than the amazing fact that, like so much else that the Sultān did, it came so near success. For no less than three years the coins passed current and only towards the end of that time did signs of failure show themselves. Barni's statement that every Hindu's house became a mint is probably a gross exaggeration in view of the fineness of the coins and in the absence of all tales of punishment for forgery. Where forgery did occur was probably in the Decan provinces where, as the Bahmani rulers subsequently discovered to their cost, every goldsmith had the prescriptive right of striking coins. But far more serious in its results than forgery was the policy of some bankers who bought up in the distant provinces all the gold and silver coins they could acquire, thereby dislocating the important foreign trade of the time.² The corner thus made in the precious metals together with the non-issue of silver coins in any appreciable amount led not unnaturally to a great depreciation of the new token-coins. The Sultān was quick to act as usual, and by a stroke not only of honesty but also of financial genius, repealed the discredited coinage and brought up all the brass coins at their nominal value.³ It was no doubt expensive but it prevented further forgery and so restored the credit of the currency that Ibn Baṭūṭa who reached the country only two years later makes no

¹ Thomas, *op. cit.*, 344.

² *Fer. Text.*

³ *Bad.* states (306) that when the brass currency was recalled the copper tankas were to be paid for in "golden tankas of equal value." *Badāoni's* translator (307, n.) takes this to mean that they were to be exchanged for silver or gold tankas, but surely *Bad.* means exactly what he says, *i.e.* that the token coins having a nominal face value equivalent to silver tankas they were to be taken at the value, but that payment was made in gold, silver coins not being available to a sufficient extent for the purpose.

single reference to the issue. Seeing the matter as a whole we cannot deny that this attempt to meet a serious difficulty has been ingenious and bold, but when it failed no other had any chance of success.

And then the scheme for the conquest of Khurāsān on which Barnī and later writers have poured so much cold scorn. Was it so wild, so unparalleled a scheme as they would have us believe? The great Islamic conquerors of the past—Maḥmūd of Ghaznī and Shihābuddīn of Ghor—ruled both Northern India and Khurāsān. 'Alaūddīn, the last great king of Delhi, dreamt a similar dream. Sher Shāh, with far smaller resources than the Tughlaqs could command, planned something even larger and Sher Shāh was no fool, no dreaming theorist. And in the 14th century was it so impracticable? The might of Persia under the degenerate rule of Abū Sa'id had declined: its one great champion Amīr Chānbān, who had stemmed earlier invasions, was no more: on its northern and western frontiers lay two hostile powers who would not stir a finger except to share in the spoil. One of these, the Chaghatai ruler Tarmashīrīn, had already attempted more than once to invade Khurāsān and was now an ally of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq: the other was the Sultān of Egypt who, by threatening the Western frontiers, could detain the Persian forces in the wrong quarter, and to him Muḥammad bin Tughlaq sent an embassy. How near the scheme came to a definite invasion we can see from what the Sultān did. His gifts and bribes to nobles and officials of Khurāsān would have been a useless waste of money had the plan been projected only for the distant future: they would only have been of use if the scheme was ripe for action. Similarly the recruitment of an army for the purpose would have been a practical step only if it was required for immediate use. Obviously therefore the plan broke down at the last moment though some delay may have intervened before the decision to abandon it was taken.

Why did the scheme break down? Barnī in his ignorance of all that went on outside India does not know or will not tell us, and other Indian writers are similarly silent. Fortunately there are other clues and from them we see that probably three causes combined to wreck a very promising scheme. The first was the refusal of the Egyptian Sultān to take the part assigned to him and the restoration of friendly relations between him and Abū Saʿīd: the second was the unexpected interference of China, unwilling to see an increase in the power of Tarmashīrīn, a troublesome neighbour and insubordinate vassal, the interference taking the form of the conferment of a posthumous title on the father of Abū Saʿīd, a broad and significant hint to those who knew the ways of China: the third and absolutely fatal cause was the deposition by turbulent nobles of Tarmashīrīn who had waited four years on the frontiers of *Khurāsān* to undertake his share of the invasion. Left without allies, Muḥammad bin Tughlaq very wisely abandoned a scheme too great for his own unaided efforts.

But if such a scheme was too great for the resources of a Sultān of Delhi, surely, it may be said, a design to conquer China was far madder. Certainly, if we mean to imply by this, a march across the *Himālayas* and the Tibetan plateau culminating in a victory outside the gates of *Pekin*. But of all the charges brought against the Sultān this is the most unfair, for it rests on the weakest evidence and implies the greatest folly: it implies moreover an ignorance of foreign states of which Muḥammad bin Tughlaq was assuredly not guilty. The objective of the *Kārajal* expedition was well defined, the conquest of a neighbouring hill-state which possibly but not certainly owned vaguely the supremacy of China: the expedition was closely connected with the *Kāngra* conquest of the previous year and may have been part of the same campaign. There are indeed good reasons to believe that the district attacked was that now known as *Kālū*, and that

the aim in view was the extension of the rule of Delhi over the nearest states of the Himālayas.

The expedition was, as Barnī carefully neglects to tell us, a success, and its objective was achieved. Then, as another writer tells us, disaster began with the overthrow of a detached force which disobeying orders pushed on beyond the frontier and was overwhelmed probably in the neighbourhood of lake Mānasarovar. Then came the heavy hill-rains to complete the discomfort of the garrisons of Kārajāl. All history shows us, that before the introduction of European discipline, unaccustomed heavy rains almost invariably demoralized North Indian troops and with the insanitary arrangements of their camps brought in their train disease. The officers, affected like their men, applied for leave to evacuate the country and started on their return to Delhi. As the troops, wet and miserable, disease-stricken and demoralized, reeled wearily along the hill-roads, the tribesmen gathered on their flanks: the result was a disaster which has so struck the imagination of historians that they mostly forget to tell us that some territory was annexed to Delhi and that the evacuation was intended to be only temporary. The fickle public mind forgets the achievement and remembers only and ascribes to the Sultān the catastrophe which a better set of officers would have averted.

Into the rebellions of the reign it is not necessary to enter, for they do not differ materially from the revolts so common in all other reigns, except in the Sultān's lenient treatment of the rebel leaders. A careful examination of his accounts of them shows, however, that, as in all else he writes, Barnī is often intent on making out a bad case against the Sultān.

Though an examination of Barnī's inaccuracy or bias may help us to revise our views of the Sultān's policy or character, it will not of itself explain the causes of the bias or the hostility which the Sultān's policy undoubtedly provoked. In the case of Barnī it would be tempting to find

the solution in the personal element: to say that he had himself suffered in some way in the repressive measures that stamped out rebellion in the districts of which his native place was the centre: to ascribe his bitterness to the pangs of disappointed ambition: to put down the gloomy tone of his narrative to a keen sense of the declining glories of the Empire. But of the first there is not the slightest clue: the only allusion to the second lays stress rather on the wrongheadedness of the Sultān's policy: while he hardly lays sufficient stress on the third to justify so simple a solution.

The true explanation would appear to lie in a much more fundamental matter, which, hitherto overlooked, goes far to explain much in Muhammadan rule in India. From *Iltutmish* to *Aurangzib* there were in matters of administration two very different schools of policy: the first was based on the strict application of the letter of the *Qur'ān* and the practices of the earlier Caliphs to all branches of government and policy: the second relied on the more general principles expressed by 'Alāuddīn—"What I think to be for the good of the state or suitable for an emergency, that I do: whether it be strictly legal or illegal I do not know, and I leave it to God to judge me." But as most of the histories that have come down to us were written by representatives of the first school, Sultān after Sultān is judged, praised and condemned in so far as he falls in with the views of this school and more or less irrespective of his real merits. Those who are picked out for praise are the pious but incompetent, the orthodox but unsuccessful—*Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd*, the lay figure propped up by the competent *Balban* while he wrote out *Qur'āns*, *Firūz Shāh Tughlaq* whose orthodox methods led to the complete disintegration of the Empire. However able a ruler might be, whatever successes he might meet with, if his policy was of the second kind, if he defied or ignored the 'Uluma, his plans were opposed or wrecked, his reign was thickly sown with revolts, his reputation was blackened or at the

best damned with faint praise. Iltutmish, the iconoclast, is praised but his quite legal selection of Razziyah as his successor was set aside and the continuance of her reign was rendered impossible by a series of revolts: 'Ala'uddin's great services in checking the Mughal hordes, his extension of the Empire and, above all, his anti-Hindu policy, should have secured a favourable verdict, but the greatest space in all histories of the reign is taken up in the condemnation of his principles of administration: even Akbar, great as his achievements were, does not pass free from strongly-worded criticism.

In detail this clerical policy—for so we may call it in the absence of a better name—varied slightly at different periods, but in the 14th century its main elements were as follows. Taxation must be limited to the four legal taxes—*kharāj*, *zakāt*, *jizya*, and *khamṣ*: Hindus within the realm must be kept in due subjection—in other words must under all circumstances be treated with the utmost severity: those without the realm must be conquered and subdued: of the booty acquired in such conquests, only one-fifth pertains to the state, the rest must be divided among the conquerors: of the revenues of the state, the Sultān is entitled to only a moderate portion, they are not his to dispose of as he will. Justice is a matter for the lawyers and must be left to them to deal with, unhampered by the interference of men not skilled in the tradition of the Hanifist School: the execution of a Muhammadan is unlawful: last but by no means least the class of Saiyids, Qāzis, Muftis and the like are not only sacrosanct but entitled to a large share in the administration of the state.

The exponents of this policy held not only a definite but a prominent position in the 14th century and were entitled to expect the support of the majority of the Indian Mussalmans, planted as these were in a Dār-ul-Harb and profoundly ignorant of Islamic policy elsewhere. Still the clerical party had not yet succeeded in capturing the administration or controlling the policy of the state, chiefly

because the bulk of the nobles were neither formalist nor strictly orthodox and were more inclined to support a sovereign whose hands were less tied in the matter of revenue-control. All that was required, however, was for a Sultān to attack those material interests which inclined the nobles to his side.

Now to every item of the policy of the clericalists, the administration of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq ran definitely counter: it followed in some cases the lines laid down by earlier rulers, in others it stroke out a new and original line. With a keen perception of the value of pomp in enhancing the power and dignity of the throne and with a real desire to introduce reforms and ameliorate conditions he was not likely, any more than 'Alāuddīn, to limit the revenues of the state to the four legal taxes: he therefore continued to levy many occupational and industrial taxes which had come down to him and possibly created new ones, though of this there is little evidence: we have already seen also in this connection how bitter a grievance it was felt to be when he doubled the *kharāj* in the Doāb.

So far from oppressing his Hindu subjects and keeping them in subjection, he showed himself the forerunner of the great Akbar both in his restriction of the practice of sati, and his employment of Hindu princes in high military posts and of competent unconverted Hindus in high civil posts. He appears, moreover, to have been willing to allow other classes of Hindus to prosper without interference, for Barnī's bitterest complaint about the token-currency is that the Hindus prospered and became rich thereby: a true upholder of the orthodox policy would have compelled them to disgorge had they been so wicked as to accumulate wealth. In the case of independent Hindu states he began well by the weakening of the states of Southern India, and subsequent years saw crowds of Hindu captives brought to Delhi, some to be shipped as slaves to China, Turkistan and Russia. But he undertook no great campaigns to subdue the Rajput fortresses of

Chitor and Rantambhōr, preferring to plan what seemed to Barnī fantastic schemes of distant conquest and to recognise the semi-independence of newly-formed or revived Hindu principalities. That the main lines of his policy in this respect were wise can be denied by none who praise Akbar for his similar actions: that it was statesmanlike to realise that the capture of Rantambhōr and Chitor involved an extravagant waste of life that was of little avail in view of the difficulty of retaining possession of these strongholds, is again a matter for little argument: but the whole policy was anathema to the orthodox and bigoted. That it was, however, in accordance with the general spirit of the time is shown by Ibn Baṭūṭa's scoffing anecdote of the Mussalman hero who still regarded it as his duty to kill Hindus: such a man, it is implied, was a natural curiosity.

It was apparently 'Alāuddīn who revised the earlier rule about the proportionate share of plunder to be taken by the state: when he first took four-fifths and left one-fifth only for the soldiers, his action provoked a serious mutiny, but he suppressed the mutiny with an iron hand and we do not hear of his reversion to the earlier practice: his example was certainly followed by the first two Tughlaqs and was well justified by the 14th century practice of giving the soldiers individual pay, a bold approximation to modern conditions, which even the Mughal Emperors hesitated to introduce, though it is recommended in the *Siyāsat-nāmah*, that great marvel of mediæval Mussalman administration.

That the sovereign should confine his personal share of the state revenues to an amount equal to or but slightly larger than the salaries of his chief subjects is in modern times well recognised in the principle of the Royal Civil Lists. In the Middle Ages it was difficult: even in England the theory formed one of the keenest subjects of dispute between the sovereigns and their Parliaments: the Delhi Sultāns were still less ready to submit to this

encroachment on their prerogatives. 'Alāuddin and Muhammad bin Tugh^{LAQ} perhaps least of all.

The remaining item of the clerical policy—non-interference with judicial matters, the freedom of Muhammadans from the penalty of death, the Saiyids' sacrosanctity—lead us to the old familiar charge of the Sultān's bloodthirsty cruelty. We should remember at the outset that while nowadays he is most often called "The Bloody," to his own generation and as late as Akbar's time he was better known as "The Just." The detailed accounts of his personal interest in the administration of justice, his own submissiveness when the Court's decrees were adverse to himself, would alone justify this title: but he went further—and it was this that constituted such a mortal offence in the eyes of the clericalists—he made himself the Supreme Court of Appeal and when his verdict disagreed with that of the Muftis who had tried the case, he first used every argument to induce them to change their opinion, and if he failed, persisted in his own and then reversed their judgments: not only so, but to the more highly-placed of his most trusted officers he also gave judicial powers, in spite of the fact that they were not Qāzis, Muftis, or skilled canonists. This does not affect, it may be said, the charge of hideous cruelty, and it will be, therefore, well to deal quite briefly with two general considerations which affect that charge. The first is the case of rebel leaders: twelve rebellions were successfully repressed, seven by the Sultān himself, five by his officers: in the case of those which the Sultān put down, one leader was killed in battle, one escaped, and five were pardoned: in four of the cases which his officers repressed the leading rebel was executed without reference to the Sultān, in the fifth he was for sound and obvious reasons executed by the Sultān's decree. This striking illustration hardly supports the charge of savage cruelty. Still more interesting are the specific cases which historians have selected as definite examples of the Sultān's savagery.

They number fifteen in all and have been chosen with a lack of nice discretion, for, of the fifteen, one is an instance of great leniency, two are accidental, and two are entirely unconnected with the Sultān. But the most noticeable thing is something else: in eight at least of the cases the victims are men of the lawyer or priestly classes charged in most cases with open rebellion, flagrant sedition, or gross embezzlement of religious funds. This indeed is the real gravamen of the charge so often brought against the Sultān: men did not shrink from blood-letting in those harder times of barbarous punishment, but all classes stood aghast at a fearless sovereign who was not afraid to lay his hands on a Saiyid or a so-called pious Shaikh: it was not that the Sultān's justice was severe, it was that it was rigidly impartial: no reputation for learning, no claims of birth or rank, no name for religious austerity or holiness, availed to save an offender from the punishment his guilt had merited. To a class that had hitherto regarded itself as inviolate, it was indeed a reign of terror, the Sultān was not Just but Bloody.

Had this class stood alone in its opposition to the Sultān's policy, his reputation might have weathered the storm, but in two other matters his ideas ran counter to contemporary feeling. The first was the entire reversal of the frontier-policy. For a century the western provinces had been raided by the Mughals: the Panjāb formerly so prosperous had been laid waste, and the problem of coping with the raiders had been almost the first care of all able Delhi rulers: the capital itself had repeatedly been threatened and a special post as Warden of the Marches had to be created. It was indeed an ominous change to conservative minds when the son of the last great Warden showed himself a friend, and not an enemy, of these feared and hated foes. There was much to justify the change: the Mongols were divided by internal troubles and an alliance with the nearest powerful faction was a useful safeguard: moreover, this nearest faction—the Chagatais—and their

ruler Tarnstirin had recently adopted Islam and were no longer the pagan hordes with whom the orthodox could hold no intercourse: the fact that no invasion disturbed the peace of the country after the earliest years of the reign also justified the alliance. But the Sultān's friendliness led to an invasion of another kind which was even more unpopular, and Barnī inveighs bitterly against the countless numbers that reached India in the early forties and were well received. Is it too much to say that when he thus complains of their too-friendly reception he should not, as a good Muhammadan, have omitted to record the fact that they were co-religionists fleeing from a bitter persecution?

Barnī's indignation is connected with the second famous charge—the Sultān's reckless generosity. It is indeed a strange occurrence for liberality to be regarded as a crime, for all the available evidence goes to show that the state could well afford the Sultān's many gifts. But an examination of recorded instances reveals a curious fact: in the great majority of cases the recipients were foreigners and not natives: many were men already in his service, others were on the point of entering it, others were men of reputation whom he desired to recruit. The grievance is, in fact, a personal one: the Sultān's generosity was not in itself a crime, but it was directed to what men considered were alien undesirables. The Sultān's preference for foreigners cannot be adequately explained by the statement that he too was a foreigner whose family had entered India at the close of the preceding century. It was more definitely due to his desire to obtain a better system of administration, to the undoubted fact that Persia and Western Asia were better administered than was India, and to his lack of trained and experienced officials. Of the men trained under 'Alāuddīn, some had passed away in the ordinary course of nature, some had perished in the executions of his later years, others had lost their lives in the reigns of Qutbud-

din and Khusrū Khān. Meanwhile the Empire had been growing and a larger number of competent officials than before were required, and the Sultān sought them either in the kindred land of Persia or in those classes of the native-born which had not hitherto aspired to high official rank. Both courses were bitterly unpopular with the old official class, the first perhaps more than the second for we hear that the revolt of 'Ainul Mulk developed into a trial of strength between the Hindustanis and the foreigners. It is difficult to blame the Sultān so anxious for good government, but it is easy to see the sense of deep-rooted grievance such a procedure would inevitably arouse.

Thus the Sultān had offended two great classes of public opinion—the clericalists and the native-born officials,—and we may perhaps trace in his recognition of the Egyptian Khalifa an attempt to strengthen his position and to win over or overawe the opposition. If so, it partly failed, and by the irony of fate it was some of the Sultān's foreign officers who stirred up the great revolts that overshadow the last years of the reign. Into these we cannot go, but as life and reign close in the sands of Sindh, we see dark hints of a clericalist plot to depose the Sultān and set up in his stead his weak priest-ridden cousin. It was a good choice from one point of view, and as the years go on and the men trained under his great predecessor pass away, Firūz Shāh falls more and more into the hands of the partisans of orthodoxy and his administration develops those disastrous traits that ensured the ruin of the mediaeval Sultānate long before the advent of Timur completed the disaster by the sack of Delhi.

There remain two points for brief consideration—Barnī and the Sultān. It has been inevitable in the method of treatment that has been adopted, that the picture that has been drawn of Barnī, the man who traduced his master, should be a black one. But it is possible that the man was (or thought himself to be) honest in his verdict. Consider his position: after the Sultān's death this man who had

been for 17 years an official, trusted and sometimes consulted by the Sultān in his later years, found himself out of favour, poor, and not respected: probably in the great bouleversement that undoubtedly occurred with the accession of Firūz Shāh he had lost his post, and in the five years that elapsed before he wrote his history, we seem to see him sitting unemployed and glooming over the events of the last reign. He cannot when he comes to write deny the great qualities and the personal fascination of his old master, and a spirit of temporary enthusiasm over a reform once half breaks through the dark pages of his narrative, but with the true fatalism of the orthodox Muhammadan he sees in the disasters of the reign the warning finger and avenging hand of Heaven: "God has decided, the Sultān was wrong," and he sits down to write in the spirit induced by that idea. He is profoundly ignorant of all that happens outside India: he can plead the Sultān's unwillingness to seek advice as a reason for omitting the motives of the Sultān's plans: and so his work takes on a half-deliberate half-unconscious bias with the result that it is accepted by the party then in power as the official history of the previous reign, and when he dies, Firūz Shāh, with an unconscious lack of true perception, can lament "Would I had such a man to write my history!"

What are we to say of the Sultān? We have seen the uncontradicted opinion of his personal character and ability that his contemporaries held: we know that in the early 17th century a writer can speak of him as one "whom men still call 'The Just'": we have seen that for his most condemned conceptions there is something to be said: are we to accept the common verdict and record "a brilliant genius and a brilliant failure"? The epigram is hard and more than a little unfair, for it ignores the undeniable bad luck that dogged his more conspicuous plans—the years of famine which followed the increased taxation in the Doāb, the unexpected difficulty that wrecked the token-currency, the loss of allies when the plans for the conquest of Khu-

rāsān were almost ripe, five years of famine in the first twenty of the reign : these are instances of blows sufficient to wreck the policy and reputation of any mediaeval monarch, but we can hardly blame him for the unexpected, however much a hostile critic may gloat over it. Was he in other ways a failure ? We may, if we will, lay stress on his loss of the provinces of Bengal and the Deccan, forgetting how rarely Bengal had been ruled from Delhi and how intensely it was hated, forgetting how the reconquest of the Deccan was but postponed until in the end Death postponed that and all else for the Sultān, forgetting how by the subjugation of Kathiawār he made instead the Empire's hold on the great trading centres more secure. Let us look rather at the task he had before him—an overgrown and straggling Empire, hopelessly understaffed—and how he struck out a new line of policy which we praise in Akbar and therefore cannot condemn in him : we see the proofs of a new orientation of administration in his case for education, his encouragement of hospitals, his system of poor-relief, his development of agriculture : and if in his more liberal policy towards Hindus he failed in face of the opposition he aroused, it was the kind of failure that the poet speaks of :—

“ That low man seeks a little thing to do,
 Sees it and does it :
 This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
 Dies ere he knows it.
 That low man goes on adding one to one,
 His hundred's soon hit :
 This high man, aiming at a million,
 Misses a unit.”

Let us go back to the earlier truer view of the Sultān's character and not follow modern historians misled by too cursory a perusal of the prejudiced Barnī and Brigg's inaccurate translation of Ferishta. To such indeed he is a madman, or a visionary or an uncontrolled despot, but such terms are but labels easily affixed and serving to con-

ceal a lack of impartial judgment, of scientific study, of a knowledge of the way in which human affairs are conducted. That he was mad is a view of which contemporaries give no hint; that he was a visionary his many-sided, practical and vigorous character forbids us to believe. To call him a despot may be true, but no other form of government was conceivable in the Middle Ages: to use the term as though it were the name of a vice or a disease is to ignore the fact that a despotic prince who is accessible to new ideas or who embarks on measures of reform can do much to advance the prosperity of his people in an age when education is but little advanced and conservatism deeply rooted. Such a ruler, however, has in his own time serious difficulties to face: the inevitable disturbance of vested interests, the innate preference for established custom, raise up for him numerous enemies: officials carrying out unpopular reforms shelter themselves beneath the plea of the master's orders: should unmerited disaster befall his schemes, should corrupt or incompetent officials pervert their ends, it is he—because he is a despot—who must bear the blame: if he has been a warrior and Death finds him when engaged on some small campaign—like Muhammad bin Tugh^{LA}q beneath the walls of Thatta—the judgment of Heaven is cited to confirm the popular verdict, and Literature records:—

“He left a name at which the world grew pale
To point a moral or adorn the tale.”

And when the grave has closed over him, the annals of his reign are probably recorded by men whose hatred or whose prejudice his reforms have excited, his intentions are misrepresented, his virtues ignored or minimised, his achievements underrated: truth may in the end emerge and overturn the verdict of hostile contemporaries, but calumny has many tongues and a lie that has outlived centuries is hard to overtake.

Such has been the case with this learned, courteous, energetic king, who showed such sympathy for the weak

and helpless, but on whom History with too easy a facility has conferred the outrageous title of "The Bloody." One thing he most loved, one epitaph he would have most desired, and he was scarcely dead before in a distant land a well-informed and critical writer penned it. There were few kingdoms from Cordova to Peking, from the Crimea to Mambāsa, which Ibn Baṭūṭa had not visited, there were actions of Muḥammad bin Tugh^hlaq of which he disapproved, he had nothing more to hope from a sovereign whose service he had deserted, and yet in the light of his wide experience he wrote those pregnant words which we so easily forget :—

"Of all men this king is the most humble, and of all men most loves Justice."

(The late Mr. Gardner Brown never completed the foot-notes to this article.—ED.)

KRISHNA OBELISKS AT GARHWA.

BY B. H. BOURDILLON.

AMONG the most interesting of the remains at Garhwa (see Vol. I) are the fragments of a number of small obelisks with carved panels which were found lying about the enclosure in various places. Plate I shows two faces of the most perfect of these obelisks, which I was able to piece together and set upright. The height of the stone is 4 feet 7 inches and the breadth of each face 9 inches, there being seven panels, all carved, on each face. While it may now be said with some degree of certainty that the general nature of the objects represented by these carvings has been discovered, both the date of the obelisks and the object with which they were set up remain matters for speculation. A reference to pillars of this nature will be found in the article on Bhuili in Vol. II of General Cunningham's Archæological Survey Reports, from which I take the liberty of quoting in extenso.

"In the neighbourhood there are some square stone obelisks, with curious carvings on all four faces. Buchanan has given drawings of three of them. (Eastern India, Plate 9, Fig. 2). He attributes them to the Suirs or Sivas, whom I take to be the Savaras or Sabaras of Sanskrit writers. Similar obelisks were found by him at Baijnath and Darouli. The scenes sculptured on them are very various."

"Some," says Buchanan, "seem to represent the ordinary occurrences of life such as a woman suckling her child, or churning butter, or a porter carrying a load. Others are quite monstrous, such as a man riding on a serpent. A figure often repeated seems to represent a

butcher killing a cow or buffalo, for he has the animal suspended with the head down as if about to remove the skin. From this we may perhaps infer that the Siviras, if they did not eat the ox, at least devoured the buffalo."

At a village called Hetanpur, about nine miles to the east of Ahrora, I found a large number of similar obelisks collected together near a temple. I counted 21 pieces and I judged that there must have been at least 15 obelisks. I also found similar broken pillars at Mangror, Chayanpur and other places. The largest of the Hetanpur obelisks was 13 inches square and 5 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. It was divided into seven compartments on each face, each containing a small sculptured scene. There were men and women dancing and playing an instrument; a man standing near a house; a man sitting over a prostrate human body with a fish's tail; a large fish, etc. Among other scenes I recognised the Varāha and Narasimha avatars, the former being a man with a boar's head. The top of the obelisk was crowned with a low pinnacle like that of a temple..... I believe that Buchanan is right in attributing these monuments to the aboriginal races..... There are similar shaped obelisks at other places, particularly at Pathari in Malwa, and at Markanda in the Chanda District."

The reference to Buchanan is to Martin's "History, antiquities, topography and statistics of Eastern India," Vol. I, p. 464, where drawings will be found of several obelisks of this nature found at Baidyanath and Bhui. A certain amount of imagination appears to have been exercised in filling in the details of the various carvings, but a very large number are easily identifiable with some of those represented on the Garhwa obelisks and others illustrated in this volume. Both Cunningham and Buchanan were wrong in imagining that the scenes depicted represent occurrences in the ordinary life of aboriginal tribes. They undoubtedly represent, as I hope to be able to show with the assistance of several

photographs, scenes from the life of Krishna, with occasional representations of other gods and of the various incarnations of Vishṇu. Buchanan's "butcher killing a cow or buffalo" for instance, almost certainly represents Balarāma, the brother of Krishna, in his encounter with the ass-demon Dhenuka.

In Fig. 1 of Plate I, the bottom panel represents a cow, the figure usually found on the bottom panel of these obelisks. Above this, reading from the bottom, come Gaṇesh, and the Kachhapa, Matsya, Varāha and Nara-siṃha avatars, all easily identified. It will be noticed that first two are in the wrong order. In the top panel are three balls, which appear in three out of the four faces of this particular pillar, and are common in other pillars. While it appeared likely at first that these balls, from their frequent occurrence, might help to solve the question of the main character of the objects represented, they have, on the contrary, proved the hardest puzzle to solve. Another of the Garhwa obelisks has a top unsurmounted by a pinnacle and finishing off in a pyramid of *five* balls. It appears more than likely that the carving of three balls, particularly as it usually occurs on corresponding panels on at least three faces, represents such a pyramid.

Turning to Fig. 2 of Plate I, we find the cow in the bottom and the pinḍakas in the top panel again. Above the cow is a representation of Kāliya, the serpent who lived in a whirlpool in the Jumna, the waters of which he poisoned, being overcome by Krishna, who crushed him by sitting on his head. The next panel, which appears to be the same as the second from the top, possibly represents Krishna exercising with a club preparatory to his encounter with the two wrestlers Chāṇūr and Mushtika, who had been engaged by Kansa to kill him. Next we possibly have Krishna and Yashodā, and above them the two wrestlers Chāṇūr and Mushtika themselves, preparing for their encounter with Krishna. Were these carvings the only evidences that these pillars represent scenes from the

life of Krishna, it might be objected that the proof is very slight, but the pillars which are in the Museum at Sārnāth appear to place the matter beyond a doubt. Before dealing with them I would, however, refer to the other obelisks found at Garhwa. There were altogether fragments of six or seven more such pillars, one incomplete fragment measuring about 11 inches across each face; all the others measured about 9 inches. The complete pillars would seem to have varied in height, as one, on which traces of both base and pinnacle were visible, must have been under 3 ft. high. Among the objects depicted on these the following appeared clearly distinguishable; Krishna with his hand inside a jar, stealing butter; the river Jumna; Yashoda churning butter; Krishna supporting the hill of Gobardhan; Vāsudev leaving his house with the infant Krishna in his arms; Krishna being suckled by Pūtānā; besides other carvings of the same nature as some of those found in the pillar depicted in Plate I.

Plate II shows all four faces of a similar obelisk in the Sārnāth Museum. I am indebted to students of the Sanskrit College, Benares, for the following explanation of the figures thereon depicted. The numbering of the panels is from the bottom upwards.

Fig. 1, Panel 1. A cow and a kadamba tree; this appears in the bottom panel of all four faces.

Panel 2. Krishna restoring to their original form the two sons of Kubera, Nala and Kubera, who had been changed into trees by the curse of Nārada.

Panel 3. Krishna withering up the demoness Pūtānā, sent by Kāṣa to poison him with her milk.

Panel 4. Vāsudev bringing Krishna out of his house to take him across the Jumna to Nanda and Yashodā.

Fig. 2, Panel 2. Krishna supporting the hill of Gobardhan on his finger, and thereby protecting Gokal from the excessive rain which Indra in his wrath was pouring down on the land of Braj.

Panel 3. Krishna slaying the demon Shakaṭāsura (the

demon of the cart); who came and sat in the cart under which Krishna was sleeping while the festivities in connection with the twenty-seventh day after his birth were being observed. Krishna is represented as stamping on the cart.

Panel 4. Krishna overcoming the serpent Kāliya.

Fig. 3, Panel 2. Krishna slaying the elephant Kubaliya, which had been stationed by Kaṁsa at the gate of the arena to kill him.

Panel 3. Probably Krishna destroying the wrestler Chāṇūr.

Panel 4. Possibly Vasudev and Krishna on the banks of the Jumna.

Fig 4, Panel 2. This may represent Krishna exercising with a club before the encounter with Chāṇūr and Mushtika.

Panels 3 and 4 probably represent either the crossing of the Jumna, or the incident of Krishna's encounter with the demon Triṇāvart, who carried him off, assuming the form of a whirlwind.

The top of this obelisk is missing, but the top of another, also in the Sarnath Museum, has the three balls on all four faces. This pillar also contains representations of the river Jumna, the Matsya and Kachhapa avatars, and the infant Krishna sleeping on a bed.

In Plate III (from photographs presented by Mr. Dayaram Sahne, M.A., Superintendent, Archaeological Survey), will be found two faces of a pillar now standing near the Central Jail at Benares. This pillar is interesting as being probably of a later date than those at Garhwa and Sarnath. Not only is it in better preservation, but the very different style of finish at the top, suggestive as it is of Gupta work, appears to be later than the more simple style found elsewhere. It is also very interesting to find the top panel in each face representing a god not always closely connected with Krishna. Gaṇesh and Sūrya are shown on the two faces given in this plate, while on the other two faces the

top panel appears to represent Vishṇu, and Shiva and Pārvati. The bottom panel on Fig. 1 clearly represents Vasudev leaving his house with Krishna, while the panel above gives the crossing of the Jumna, fish and tortoises being clearly visible in the river. The bottom panel of Fig. 2 probably represents Krishna breaking up the churning staves while the butter is being churned in Nanda's house, the female figure by his side being either Yashodā or a maid with a pot of butter. The figure above I am unable to explain. I have myself seen other obelisks of a similar nature at Mahuwat and Deori Purab, two villages near the Mirzapur-Jubbulpore Road where it crosses the Belan. The two pillars at Mahuwat were both complete. One had the three balls in all four top panels, while in the other they were in the top panel but one in each face, the top panel being occupied by a serpent. At Deori Purab the top panel in one case bore a hooded serpent. At the latter place I noticed a representation of a man fighting with a horse, obviously Krishna and the demon Keshi, while one panel at Mahuwat suggests Krishna's conflict with Vyomāsura, the wolf demon, and another Krishna with the bow of Mahadeo.

I have been unable to ascertain the nature of the obelisks said by Cunningham to exist in the Pathari State and the Chandla District. There are none of this nature in the Nagpur Museum, nor have I been able to hear of their existence anywhere else in the C.P. Leaving aside these two places it will be seen that the obelisks are found on a line running nearly due east and west, along the Ganges and Jumna, extending from the west of the Allahabad District to a few miles east of the Mirzapur border. The location of the obelisks should undoubtedly give some clue to the people who erected them, and thence to the object with which they were erected. Mr. R. D. Banerji of the Imperial Museum, Calcutta, where there are no such obelisks, tells me that he has seen them described as Bhar Funerary Monuments, but is unfortunately unable to give me the

authority for this description, the accuracy of which, in view of the subject represented, is more than doubtful. I am myself at present unable to offer any suggestion, and should be very grateful for any ideas on the subject, as well as for descriptions and photographs of similar obelisks that are almost certain to exist in other places in Bundelkhand, if not further afield. Similar representations of scenes from the life of Krishna do not appear to be of common occurrence, and, in particular, I am unable to recall any in the Muttra District, where they might naturally be expected. The Krishna temple at Udayagiri in the Nellore District is adorned with carvings representing scenes of this nature, and on p. 135 of the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India will be found an article by D. R. Bhandarkar on two pillars at Mandor, the ancient capital of Marwar, which are adorned with similar carvings. The pillars are, however, of an entirely different type from the Garhwa obelisks, being about 12 feet high, and carved on one face only. They would, in fact, appear to have formed part of some structure, and it is quite clear that the obelisks with which I have been dealing must have stood alone. This fact increases the difficulty of determining their date, and I am unable to suggest more than the probability that the majority of them are pre-Gupta. Their existence in a part of the country which has no connection with the Krishna story, and which, so far as is known, has never been a particular stronghold of the worship of Krishna, opens a field for interesting research and speculation, and it may well be that other members of the Society may be able to supply facts and offer suggestions which will be of considerable use in elucidating a problem which it is the object of this brief article to state rather than to solve.

THE DEATH OF HEMU.

BY RAM PRASAD TRIPATHI.

AN interesting article from the pen of Mr. V. Smith appeared in the July number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* "on the death of Hemu." Mr. Smith is of opinion "that the current story about Akbar's magnanimity on the occasion of Hemu's execution is a fiction made up at court to suit the later view of the Emperor's character, and that the truth is that the young prince obeyed his guardian and smote off Hemu's head with a scimitar, thereby securing the title of Ghazi which he assumed immediately" (p. 534). His 'conviction' is entirely based on the evidence of Ahmad Yadgar and de Laet and on the dubious attitude of Ferishta. He rejects quite unhesitatingly the version of Badaoni who 'was a courtier eating Akbar's bread' and is not at all surprised 'at his adopting the late court version which Abul Fazl had decided as the official form.' Jahangir's statement has only been thrown aside because his 'curious tale' is a queer reproduction of the story which he heard 'from the people at court.' No weight has been attached to sober Ferishta because his account may be looked upon as a poor though 'amiable attempt at compromise.'

The reasons why he summarily brushes these historians aside are twofold. First, because they are not so 'plain' as Ahmad Yadgar and de Laet, who had no interest in garbling facts; second, because the whole story seems to be highly unpsychological. For Akbar who was only fourteen years old and was 'reared up in scenes of violence and bloodshed by the Muhammadans who regarded the killing of a Hindu infidel as a highly meritorious act' could

hardly have felt any scruples, or have 'set up his private opinion against that of his guardian and all the bystanders.'

Apparently, indeed, this view of the case seems plausible, but it is unfortunately fraught with serious presumptions and omissions and can hardly be swallowed in without critical examination. Assuming for a moment that Abul Fazl is quite mendacious we are hardly justified in bringing a charge of flattery against the author of *Muntakhib-ul-Tawarikh*. Badaoni is undisguisedly ill disposed towards the heretic Emperor; and his book was certainly not meant for the court or the courtiers. Nor could it be expected from a historian like Badaoni that he should have allowed any information about an event, which was public enough to have been witnessed by 'all the bystanders,' to escape so conveniently. Any intelligent reader of Badaoni would; on the other hand, expect either a direct contradiction of the story had it been invented by the Emperor of his own free will, or a positive mention of it. For it was a holy act to flesh sword on an infidel in the eyes of the pious Badaoni.

Mr. Smith would not have brought forward his argument of plainness had he noticed that plainest and most unqualified statement of Nizamuddin Ahmad, which is as follows:—"Shah Quli Khan, fully alive to the importance of his discovery, drove the elephant, along with several others which had been captured in the field, to the presence of the Emperor. Bairam Khan Khan-Khanan then put Hemu to death with his own hand." (Elliot V, p. 253). It should be also noted that Ahmad Yadgar's account 'of the reign of Humayun is copied verbatim from the *Tabkati Akbari* (of Nizamuddin); only one short variation has been discovered.' It is quite likely his account of the death of Hemu may be the variation alluded to by Elliot. Ahmad Yadgar, however, gives no source of his information on this point, and in view of overwhelming evidence to the contrary he cannot be safely relied upon or made the basis of 'conviction.' Neither can we pin our faith to

the statement of de Laet which was based on the second-hand authority of P. Van Den Broecke, and who had no good opportunity of verifying his information from any of the 'bystanders.'

The statement about Akbar's 'winning the title of Ghazi at a cheap rate' on the strength of 'his boyish action' is open to grave doubts. True, Ferishta seems to think that 'Akbar, in order to fulfil the wish of his minister, drew his sword, and touching the head of the captive became entitled to the appellation of Ghazy,' but no other historian, not even Ahmad Yadgar or de Laet, mentions anything like that. 'Akbar undoubtedly assumed the title of Ghazi from the first year of his reign' but what evidence is there to prove that the smiting of Hemu's head secured him the title of Ghazi? An inscription on the Allahabad pillar, known as Bhimsen's Gada, shows that the title of Ghazi was attached to the names of all Emperors from Babar to Jahangir. Shah Jahan too was honoured with it as is evident from the inscription on his outer grave in the famous Taj tomb. It is quite needless to say that Aurangzeb's name is uttered with this complimentary title by every Muhammadan school-boy.

There is strong reason to suppose that at some time not far from their accession, every Moghal Emperor in India assumed this title. Conclusive evidence on this point is afforded by coins of the Moghal Emperors collected either in the British Museum or Calcutta or Lahore. With the probable exceptions of such insignificant and short-lived rulers as Azam Shah, Kam Bakhsh, Ibrahim and Bedar Bakht, all the Emperors from Babar to Bahadur Shah II bore this title. Not even did Kamran Mirza and Sulaiman Mirza go without it! Indeed Murad had adopted it in his unlucky anticipation of ascending the newly built throne of Shah Jahan! This fact cannot be accounted for by confining the meaning of 'Ghazi' to 'slayer of an infidel.' Steingass in both his Persian and Arabic lexicons gives also other meanings of the word. Hughes

in his famous 'Dictionary of Islam' gives the following explanation of Ghazi :—" One who fights in the cause of Islam. A hero, a warrior, one who slays an infidel. It is also a title of distinction conferred by Muslim rulers upon generals and warriors of renown. In the Turkish Empire the title of Ghazi implies something similar to our own 'Field Marshal.' " The title thus seems to be quite a flexible one and there is no positive reason to conclude that Akbar assumed it for slaying Hemu with his own hand in his boyhood.

We now turn to the most delicate kind of historical reasoning. The psychological line of argument in defiance of positive documentary evidence is not much favoured by the modern historian, and is usually with justice rejected as irrelevant. It seems incredible to Mr. Smith how a boy of fourteen, in view of the circumstances in which he was placed, could have refused the wishes, rather, the orders of the regent who was also the most powerful of all the turbulent Turkish nobles. Does it necessarily follow that a boy reared up in scenes of violence and bloodshed should invariably grow into a merciless and heartless fellow? Humayun, the father of Akbar, was himself brought up in no better environment, yet to his very last he possessed an uncommon share of compassion and kindness. Indeed the school of adversity and violence is capable of turning out types of widely different nature and temperament. Without wasting any more words on abstract reasoning and vague mental exercise we should allow the available historical data concerning Akbar's boyhood to speak for itself.

Akbar was snatched from the bosom of his mother when his age could be counted by months only, nevertheless he was placed under the kind charge of cultured ladies of very tender feelings and warmest affection. He had hardly completed his fourth year when he was brought back under the protection of his living father. There is no detailed account of the boyhood of Akbar but if our

general information about the early education of Moghal princes be allowed to indicate anything, it may be said that they were generally brought up within the walls of royal palace in the midst of soft influences and romantic atmosphere. In his eighth year Akbar again merges out for a short time as a nominal governor of Kabul only to be immediately captured by his hostile uncle Kamran. But a few uneasy months were allowed to pass by when Humayun drove out Kamran from Kabul and recovered his son again and "resolved on no future expedition to separate from him anymore." All this took place within the short space of a year. It was in Akbar's tenth year that he accompanied his father, probably for the first time, in his campaign against Bangash. So when the time for his outdoor exercises and field sports arrived, disturbance and confusion in Afghanistan was at its lowest ebb and a reaction became visible. Moreover a boy of such an impressionable age could not have been allowed by such a cultured person as Humayun to spend all or even a large portion of his time in "an atmosphere of violence and bloodshed." For we are informed by good authorities that Humayun was sufficiently careful in giving an all-round education to his son. This is all that we know of Akbar's early days at Kabul and surely this offers a very poor data to assert definitely that he was reared up in violence and bloodshed.

Akbar's whole subsequent career is a commentary upon his unmistakable tendencies and inclinations, which were partially inherited and partially formed at Kabul by environment and education. His dynamic energy was wedded to love of peace; his sternness was combined with mercy; his quickness of decision never interfered with the natural working out of a thing. During his father's life in India he saw his lieutenants victorious on the fields of Sirhind, and when his father passed away he faced the delicate situation with remarkable sobriety and manliness. He did not clamour for the throne, nor did he ever plunge

into the intrigues of nobles, but allowed things to have a natural course till the hour was ripe. During this period of apparent inactivity he showed his solicitude for justice and mercy when he highly disapproved of the murder of Tardi Beg by Bairam Khan and the proud Khan Khanan had to offer an apology for it. Nor was this the only case of his independence of conscience. Shah Abul Mali; a refractory noble, was charged for having deliberately refused to appear in the Darbar, and Bairam Khan wanted to cut him off but Akbar interfered; for, as Badaoni says, "the merciful Emperor disapproved of this design, and said that it would be a pity to shed the blood of a (possibly) innocent man *on the very day of his accession*. So he sent him to Lahore." Twice, therefore, before the second battle of Panipat had Akbar shown his sense of justice and mercy and had at least once succeeded in saving the life of a man from the revengeful claws of Khan Khanan. What wonder is there if for the third time he declined to thrust his noble sword into the bleeding body of a senseless victim?

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CEDED PROVINCES UNDER HENRY WELLESLEY, 1801-3.

BY D. DEWAR, I.C.S.

BY a treaty, signed on November 10th, 1801, and ratified by the Governor-General in Council on November 20th, the Nawab Vizier of Oudh ceded to the Hon'ble the East India Company in perpetual sovereignty portions of his territories described in the treaty, of which the land-revenue amounted to Rs. 1,35,23,474-8-3 a year.

The transfer of territory took place with effect from the *Fasli* year 1209 (September 22nd, 1801). It was made in lieu of the annual subsidy of 76 lakhs of rupees which the Nawab Vizier had previously contracted to pay to the Company for the protection of his dominions from foreign aggression.

It will be observed that the land-revenue of the ceded provinces was considerably in excess of the subsidy. The excess is accounted for by the fact that the Company had to pay the expenses of the annual settlement of the revenue, of collecting it, and of administering the territory; moreover, the Nawab Vizier was rarely able to realize the whole of the assessment. The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, although they approved of the treaty, did not consider that the Company would derive any immediate pecuniary gain therefrom. This is apparent from the following extract from a minute recorded by the Committee:—

“Although the revenue of the territory ceded, according to its produce when in the hands of the Vizier, does not exceed the subsidy payable by his highness for the number of troops which it appeared

expedient permanently to station in Oudh, together with a reasonable charge for the civil administration of the same: we, nevertheless, do not disapprove of the Governor-General, in consideration of the cession, having liberated his highness from all extraordinary charges which may hereafter be incurred by the Company in providing for the internal, as well as the external, security of Oudh, to which charges his highness would have been liable under the treaty of 1798: we are satisfied to accept as compensation for such extraordinary expenses the increased revenue which may reasonably be expected to arise from the superior administration of the ceded districts under the Company's management. And we feel the more satisfaction in such an indemnity, as, whilst it can alone arise out of the improvement and prosperity of the country, it will be unattended by any sacrifice on the part of the Vizier, under whose ruinous and oppressive system of collection the produce of those districts was likely annually to decline, as it had hitherto done.

We also entertain a sanguine hope, that the Vizier, relieved from the embarrassment, as well as of the charge, of a licentious and worse than useless army, and rescued, by the dissolution of the great proportion of that force, from the most abject dependence on his own powerful subjects, at whose disposal those mutinous and disaffected troops chiefly were, will, now supported and defended by a disciplined and orderly force, apply himself with energy to the internal administration of his affairs."

The tract of territory ceded by the Nawab Vizier is represented to-day roughly by the following districts: Moradabad, Bareilly, Etawah, Mainpuri, Etah, Farrukhabad, Cawnpore, Fatehpur, Allahabad, Gorakhpur, Azamgarh and Basti.

A glance at the map shows that these districts form a belt of land round Oudh, resting on the Himalayas as a base.

It would be impossible for an enemy to attack Oudh from the plains without penetrating the Ceded Provinces.

On November 14th, 1801, the Governor-General issued the following proclamation :—

Richard, Marquis Wellesley, Governor-General of the British Possessions in India, &c., &c., &c., to all whom these presents shall come, greeting.

Whereas by a Treaty concluded between the Hon'ble English East India Company and His Excellency the Nabob Vizier, under date the 10th November, 1801, the Provinces of Corah, Currah, Etawah, Rekkhareghur, Azimghur, Goruckpoor, Allahabad, Bareilly, Asophabad, Shelpory, Nawaubgunge, Rehly, Mohaub and their respective dependencies, have been ceded by His Excellency the Vizier in perpetual sovereignty to the English East India Company; now know ye, that with a view to the introduction of the authority of the said Company within the said Provinces, and for the administration of justice, the due collection of the Revenue, and the maintenance of peace and good order within the same, I, Richard, Marquis Wellesley, Knight of the illustrious Order of St. Patrick, Governor-General of the British Possessions in India, Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Land Forces in India, &c., &c., &c., do hereby constitute, nominate and appoint the Hon'ble Henry Wellesley to be President, and Mathew Leslie, A. Seton and J. Fombelle, Esquires, to be members of a Board of Commissioners for the management of the affairs of the said Ceded Provinces, with full power to make and issue all such Regulations for the ordering and management of the Civil and Military Government and of the Revenues of the said Provinces, and to issue all such orders and directions to all officers, Civil and Military, appointed to or to be appointed or acting within the said Ceded Provinces, and to the officers commanding the British Troops stationed therein, as

may appear to the said President and Members of the Board of Commissioners to be necessary for the settlement, administration and security thereof. The said Lieutenant-Governor and the said President and Members of the Board of Commissioners to be nevertheless subject to such orders and instructions as they, from time to time, receive from the Governor-General or from the Governor-General in Council, or from the Vice-President in Council, and regularly to report their proceedings to the Governor-General or to the Governor-General in Council, or to the Vice-President in Council, the said President and Members of the Board of Commissioners keeping an exact diary or daily record of their proceedings in their collective capacity under the signature of their Secretary, and I do hereby empower the said President and Members of the Board of Commissioners to hold their meetings at such places within the said Provinces as they shall judge most convenient, and to adjourn from time to time and to change the place of their meeting according to the exigencies of the public service, and I nominate and appoint Graeme Mercer, Esquire, to be Secretary to the said Lieutenant-Governor and to the said Board of Commissioners. I do hereby invest the said Lieutenant-Governor of the Ceded Provinces with full powers to act, as occasion may require, in all matters connected with the ordinary management of the Civil and Military Government and of the said Revenue of the said Provinces by his sole and exclusive authority, and to carry into effect such orders as he may think fit to issue or may receive from the Governor-General, or from the Governor-General in Council, or from the Vice-President in Council, without the participation of the said Members of the Board or Commissioners, provided always that such acts as the said Lieutenant-Governor may perform under his sole and exclusive authority as aforesaid, shall be

subject to the confirmation and control of the Governor-General, or of the Governor-General in Council, or of the Vice-President in Council, and in case of the absence of the said Lieutenant-Governor from the said Board of Commissioners the said members of the Board of Commissioners are hereby required to conform to such orders and directions as they may, from to time, receive from the said Lieutenant-Governor during his absence from the said Board of Commissioners in the administration of the affairs committed to their charge, and the said Lieutenant-Governor, during his absence from the said Commissioners, is hereby directed to keep a regular record of all his proceedings to be transmitted by the first opportunity to the 2nd Commissioner and to the Governor-General, or to the Governor-General in Council, or to the Vice-President in Council, and, as soon as may be convenient after the said Lieutenant-Governor and the said Members of the Board of Commissioners shall receive this Commission, he and they shall severally take and subscribe, in presence of each other, the following oath, that is to say :—

I, A. B., do faithfully promise and swear that as Lieutenant-Governor of the Ceded Provinces (or President of the Board of Commissioners, or Member of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of the Ceded Provinces), I will execute the several powers and trusts reposed in me according to the best of my skill and judgment, without favour or affection, prejudice, or malice to any person whatsoever.

I do further swear that, in executing the duty of Lieutenant-Governor (or as a Member of the Board of Commissioners), I have not demanded, taken or accepted and that I will not take, demand or accept directly, or indirectly by myself, or by any other person for my use, or on my behalf, or on the behalf of, or for the use of, any other person, any sum of money or other valu-

able thing, by way of gift, present, or otherwise, and that to the Governor-General, or to the Vice-President in Council I will justly and truly account for, answer and pay any sums of money which may come to my hands, or to the hands of any person, or persons in trust for me in the execution of the powers and authorities vested in me (or in the said Board of Commissioners) by the said Government.

So help me God.

And the said Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor and Board of Commissioners shall take and subscribe the following oath, that is to say :—

I, A. B., do faithfully promise and swear, that I will execute the duties of Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor and Board of Commissioners for the affairs of the Ceded Provinces according to the best of my skill and judgment without favour or affection, prejudice or malice to any person whatever, and that I will obey all such orders as I may receive from the said Lieutenant-Governor and Board of Commissioners respectively in all matters connected with the administration of the affairs of the Ceded Provinces. I will not disclose, or make known, any other orders or instructions, which I shall receive from the said Lieutenant-Governor or the said Board of Commissioners, save only to the person or persons who shall be duly nominated, and employed in transcribing, or preparing, the same respectively, or in recording the proceedings of the said Board of Commissioners; or unless I shall be authorised by the said Lieutenant-Governor, or by the said Board of Commissioners, or by the Governor-General, or by the Governor-General in Council, or by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, to disclose or make known the same. I do further promise and swear that in executing the duties of Secretary I have not demanded, taken or accepted, and will not demand, take or accept, directly or indirectly, by myself or by

CEDED PROVINCES UNDER WELLESLEY. 53

any other person, for my use or on my behalf, or on the behalf, or for the use, of any other person, any sum of money or other valuable thing by way of gift, present or otherwise, and that I will faithfully and truly record all the proceedings of the said Lieutenant-Governor and of the Board of Commissioners, under the orders which I shall receive from them respectively for that purpose.

So help me God.

And I further constitute and appoint the said M. Leslie, Esquire, A. Seton, Esquire, and J. Fombelle, Esquire, to act as a Court of Circuit and Appeal for the Ceded Provinces, under such rules and regulations as the Governor-General or the Governor-General in Council, or the Vice-President in Council, may hereafter establish, concerning the administration of civil or criminal Justice within the said Ceded Provinces, and whereas the said Board of Commissioners cannot at present be assembled conveniently for the despatch of business, and whereas it is necessary to proceed, without delay, to the settlement of revenues of the said Ceded Provinces for the current year, and also to provide for the arrangement of the other urgent affairs concerning the Civil and Military Government thereof, I hereby order and direct the said Lieutenant-Governor to proceed forthwith to carry into effect such arrangements as may be necessary for the purposes aforesaid, reporting to me his progress therein, and I further order and direct the said Commissioners, with all convenient speed, to assemble at Bareilly for the despatch of business according to the tenor of this Commission.

Given under my hand and seal on the Ganges near Benares this 14th day of November 1801.

WELLESLEY.

A glimpse at the condition of the territories at the time of their acquisition will enable us better to appreciate

the labours of the Lieutenant-Governor and the Board of Commissioners for the Ceded Provinces.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

In 1800 Sir John Anstruther, who made a tour from Fort William to Allahabad, wrote:—

“Benares is a garden. I can compare the country from Buxar to Mirzapur to nothing but a fine English park which has been ploughed up, and the owner, not to spoil the view from his house, has bestowed continual pains on the cultivation. From Mirzapore to Allahabad I went by Dawk; nearly thirty miles of the route lay through the Vizier’s dominions. The difference is not to be described: the country is a desert, but the remains of cultivation visible. Villages only to be distinguished by the rising grounds covered with broken bricks formed of their ruins. Desolation cannot be more strongly painted, but I am told that the effect of disbanding the troops in many places is being felt; people, having a soldiery to protect and not to plunder them, begin to return to their fields—What would not that country be under British government?”

Mr. John Routledge, Collector of Gorakhpur, wrote as follows, in a letter dated, Azimghur, December 26th, 1801, and addressed to the Hon. Henry Wellesley, Lieutenant-Governor and President of the Board of Commissioners for Settling the Ceded Districts, Cawnpore:—

“Altho’ I have been only a short time in the district, the number of arzees presented to me have enabled me to obtain some knowledge of its present state, and which is that it is entirely without any sort of administration, that the inhabitants are most cruelly oppressed and the jumma declining so rapidly that, without the introduction of some system, the whole Province, which is now nearly a waste, would, in course of one or two years, become an entire scene of desolation.”

CEDED PROVINCES UNDER WELLESLEY. 55

Mr. Welland, Collector of Cawnpore, wrote as follows to the Board of Commissioners on October 26th, 1802:—

“The subjects in this part of the country are in the most abject poverty. Let the face of the country be examined and there will be hardly a manufacture found, or an individual in such circumstances as to afford the payment of a tax. The whole is one desolate waste, in which tyranny and oppression have hitherto universally prevailed.”

It will be most convenient to deal separately with the various branches of the administration, although this will result in some of the correspondence being quoted piecemeal.

THE SETTLEMENT AND COLLECTION OF THE LAND REVENUE.

The collection of the land-revenue being the most important of the duties of the Commission, the steps they took to this end will first be considered.

At the time of the acquisition of the Ceded Provinces, the Permanent Settlement was in force both in Bengal and in Benares. The Administrators were then so favourably disposed to this measure, which they considered as an unmixed blessing, that they intended to extend it, as soon as possible, to the Provinces ceded by the Nawab Vizier. For a time, however, they had no leisure to devote to this momentous question. Their first duty was to secure the Revenue already assessed in the New Provinces, and to take steps for its resettlement at the expiry of the year for which engagements had been taken by the agents of the Nawab Vizier. The latter, in accordance with the custom of the country, resettled the land every year. For the purpose of the first settlement under British rule, capable officers were hastily summoned from the Provinces of Bengal and Benares. On December the 12th, 1801, the Lieutenant-Governor issued a lengthy circular letter to the new Collectors, giving them instructions for the carrying out of their

duties. The following extracts from this letter relate to the collection and settlement of the Land Revenue:—

“Upon your arrival in the District, you will consider it your first duty to enter into the enquiries necessary to enable you to furnish a report to the Lieutenant-Governor and Board of Commissioners, under the following heads:—

1. The mofussil Jumma of the District and the period at which the kists are paid, whether the mofussil Jumma is collected on account of the Amil who holds his Sunnad from the Nawab Vizier, or whether the whole, or any and what portion of the District is subrented by him to other Amils at a surplus to his Kaboolyat. The character and responsibility of these sub-Amils, should such exist.
2. The amount of deductions allowed to the Amils under the heads of Nunkar, Moafee, Rozana, etc., and the actual sum disbursed by them on this account.
3. A statement of the collections made in the District on account of Sear, Customs, Sungowaznee, Kulladoghee, or under any other denomination than that of Land Revenue.
4. The state of the cultivation, with its apparent tendency to increase or decrease, and the supposed abundance or deficiency of population.
5. The nature of the existing engagements between the Amils and the Zemindars or farmers. Whether engagements are usually entered into, and when entered into, whether they are generally adhered to by the Amils? Whether the Talooks and villages are in general owned by real Zemindars or yearly farmed to the highest bidder? In the latter case whether the proprietors are allowed any and what Malikana.

CEDED PROVINCES UNDER WELLESLEY. 57

6. The situation of the Canoongoes, and the local usages observed in the engagements of the Rayats with their Zemindari farmers.....

14. Until you can be furnished with detailed instructions much must be entrusted to your own discretion and observance of local circumstances; you will be careful however to avoid any sudden encroachment on the ancient usages of the natives, and will in the meantime confine your interference with the collection of the Revenue, to the support of the Amil and his just demands, founded on written engagements having been entered into by the Zemindars, or where no written engagements have been entered into, the claims may be founded on the established usage of the Pergunnah declared by the Canoongoe as the rate of payment in proportion to the extent of the produce of the lands. You will, at the same time, inform the Amil that you are equally prepared to resist all demands which may appear to be contrary to the written engagements or the established usage of the District, that in no case may he employ Military force in aid of those demands without your sanction, given on a previous enquiry into the merits of the case, and that he must consider himself equally responsible for the quiet as for the Revenues of the District. You will take the earliest opportunity of notifying to the inhabitants of your District, by a public advertisement, that no demand will be made upon them, within the current year, beyond the amount of their written engagements with the Amils, or beyond the established rate of payment declared by the Canoongoes.

15. The Amils of the Districts under your charge have already been instructed by a Perwanneh from the Lieutenant-Governor to pay the kists of the current Fussily already collected into the Company's Treasury at Lucknow, agreeable to their Kabooliyat. They will continue to do so until such time as your Report may

enable the Lieutenant-Governor to fix the station of your Sudder Kutcherry and your establishment. The receipts from the Resident at Lucknow will, in the meantime, serve as vouchers for these payments. In the event of its being deemed necessary for you to take charge of the collections in supercession of the Amils, you will be careful to assure the other native officers employed in the collection of the Revenue, and others who may be of rank or consideration, either by their station or family, in your District, that it is by no means the intention of the Government to refuse a candid attention to the claims of those who, either by their personal services or other circumstances, may be entitled to the notice and the protection of the State."

Having set his Collectors to work in securing the Land Revenue for the current year, in accordance with the agreements entered into between the Nawab Vizier and the Landholders, Wellesley addressed the Governor-General in Council on the subject of the future administration of the Ceded Provinces. On January the 7th, 1802, he formulated "A General Outline of a plan for the temporary management of the Ceded Provinces." As regards the Settlement of the Land Revenue he wrote:—

"It must be observed that, when the Regulations were introduced into Bengal and Berar, the country had been many years subject to the British Government, the natives had long been accustomed to the modes practised by the Company's servants in the annual Settlement of the Revenues, the collection of the Government Dues, and the Administration of Justice, and the country was in a degree prepared for the change introduced by Lord Cornwallis. Whether it was as much prepared as might have been expected or desired, it is not necessary here to enquire, but it was much more prepared for such a change, than the Ceded Countries in Oude are at present, or than they can be for some years. The

CEDED PROVINCES UNDER WELLESLEY. 59

Government of Oude is not only in the nature Despotic, but it appears in its Administration to combine all the abuses to which Despotism is liable, and though a very great change in the internal management of the Ceded Country must be the primary object now in view, it is all important to consider whether it would be advisable to effect this change immediately, or to employ the safer method of introducing it gradually.

In introducing the necessary reforms and Regulations into the Administration of the Ceded Provinces, great consideration is due to the manners, Religion and habits of the natives. No sudden or violent innovation can fail to be viewed with an eye of jealousy and distrust and might be attended with very serious consequences.....

With regard to the Settlement of the Land Revenue the assurance to the landholders of undisturbed possession in the produce of their industry is the best foundation that can be laid for the prosperity of the country, for the security of the collections, and for the establishment of a permanent Revenue to Government, and this assurance may best be given by making a Settlement in all practicable instances with the Zemindars. But there are many reasons why the Settlement should be made for a short term of years, rather than in perpetuity at the outset.

We are in possession of no detailed accounts of the Revenues or Resources of the country, and as the system of the collections has hitherto been conducted by acts of oppression on the part of the Amil and of resistance on that of the renter, the most authentic accounts we could obtain would contribute little towards a complete knowledge of its real Resources, and although much may be done by immediate local enquiries towards obtaining the information required, much must also be left over for future investigation.

It will therefore be advisable to adopt a term at first of one, and afterwards of 3 or perhaps of 5 years for the Settlement with the landholder. This Settlement would of course include various provisions for the security of the Ryots, which would be determined by the existing local circumstances and usages..... for this purpose, the office of Canoongoe which very generally exists, at least nominally, in Oude, should be retained and the ancient Canoongoes of the Pergunnahs, in cases where they may have been unjustly dismissed by the Amils, reinstated.

But few, I believe, of the ancient Zemindars are at present in possession of their Zemindarees, which are generally farmed to the highest bidder. If these Zemindars are to be restored, it will form an important object of consideration to determine the period from which such claims are to be admitted.

In settling the Revenue, enquiry will first be made into local customs subsisting between the Zemindars and the Cultivators, in other words the rate and mode under which the latter have been accustomed to pay their rent, and by which the former on those grounds have a right to demand it. Though alteration may be requisite in certain particulars, it will be advisable to defer any considerable change for some time, or until a reform can be gradually introduced, and at first to consider that reform to be sufficiently large which, by means of written engagements or records, shall render the reciprocal engagements easily ascertainable in the course, or at the end, of the year. The same precaution should be used with reference to the Zemindars in their engagements with the officers of Government, and this, when effectually introduced, will in reality form the most important reform that can be desired, and of itself remove the principal evils which had prevailed under the Nabob's Government. It has been much less in the nature

and form of the engagements than in the object of them or in the oppressive mode of enforcing them, that we have found room for objecting to the internal management under the native Government, and the principal abuses complained of in Oude have arisen from a rapacious excess of demand on the one side, producing an habitual evasion even of a reasonable obligation, on the other. The abuses which the British Government had to reform in their own Provinces are to be attributed to similar causes.

After the conclusion of the engagements between Government and the Zemindars, by which engagements the latter should be held responsible for the Public Peace, it would, I think, be found advisable to entrust the collections to Tehsildars."

After making proposals regarding the status of these Tehsildars, which are quoted later, the letter continues:—

"In realizing arrears of Revenue, in the Company's Provinces, where other means fail, recourse is had to a sale of the land, and within the 11 last years, this Regulation has occasioned the sale of a large proportion of the land and the dispossession of a great number of the old Zemindars. Some of these may have become inferior cultivators, and some may have sought other means of livelihood, but under a Government so long and so well established, few have ventured, or, if they have ventured, few have been able to maintain themselves in a state of insurrection, but from the temper, disposition and character of the inhabitants of the Ceded Countries, particularly of the Province of Rohilcund, I have no doubt that they would rather submit to the varied modes of oppression, to which they have been accustomed under the Nabob's Government, while their Zemindari titles should be continued to them, than endure to be dispossessed of their land, under the most regular and legal mode, under new Regulations. The former grievance, they

would think supportable, under the hope, however slender, of future redress, but the latter would drive them to despair, and, from the neighbouring countries to which they might easily resort, they would continually infest their alienated lands. Though not prepared to give any specific detail on this subject, I am satisfied that, where coercion is necessary to realize the dues of Government from defaulters, some mode less offensive should be devised, and the sale of the land only resorted to in the last extremity."

In reply to the above, the Governor-General, in the course of a long letter, dated 8th March, 1802, said :—

"With respect to the first article of your statement, namely the Settlement of the Land Revenue, my judgment entirely coincides with yours in the most essential particulars of the Settlement.

8. The foundation of the prosperity of the country, of the welfare of the people, and of the vigour and internal order and tranquility of your Government cannot be laid effectually, by any Settlement of Revenue which shall not conciliate the entire confidence of the people in the stability of such engagements as may be contracted, between the Government, the Zemindar and the cultivators of the soil respectively.

9. With a view to effecting this most important object, it appears to me to be desirable that you should take the earliest opportunity of proclaiming throughout the Provinces subject to your authority, in the most solemn manner, the unalterable determination of the British Government to maintain inviolate the faith of all such engagements as have been contracted or shall be contracted for the current year, between the Government and the Amils, Zemindars or others, or between any description of these intermediate farmers and the cultivators of the soil. The same proclamation should state a similar determination on the part of the British Government to maintain

and enforce the observance of all engagements of a similar description which shall be contracted in any succeeding year.

10. To facilitate the establishment of reciprocal confidence between all parties concerned in the receipt and payment of the Revenue, you should immediately introduce throughout the Ceded Provinces, a Registered and Established form of Engagement, to be recorded in such a manner as you shall deem most expedient, adverting to the practice of the Lower Provinces, for the purpose of ascertaining by an authentic local document the precise nature of the reciprocal engagements between the Zemindars or farmers and the cultivators of the soil, and you should introduce a similar local instrument to be used in all engagements between the farmers or cultivators of the soil and the Government.

11. This instrument should be declared by Law to constitute exclusively the measure of the rights of Government or of the farmer, in demanding and enforcing the payments respectively due to each.

12. The Courts of Justice should afford speedy relief to any party upon whom a demand shall be made exceeding the amount of the rent specified in any such written and recorded engagement.

13. The immediate introduction of this important improvement in the condition of every class of our new subjects would necessarily inspire general confidence in the justice and faith of the Government, and I therefore order and direct you to apply the principles set forth in the preceding paragraphs, in the utmost practicable extent, to the Settlement of the Revenue for the current year. At all events, the intention of the British Government to introduce and to adhere to it henceforth may be signified without delay.

14. I am aware that you have already anticipated

these instructions to a considerable extent, by the introduction of stamp paper into the Ceded Provinces under the orders which issued at your suggestion to the Collector of Benares, directing him to comply with indents for stamp paper from the Collectors in the Ceded Districts. You will report to me to what extent, and in what manner, this stamp paper has been applied for the purposes which it is the object of the preceding instructions to effect.

15. It would certainly be highly impracticable to attempt in the present moment to conclude any Settlement of the Land Revenue of the Ceded Provinces in perpetuity; a Settlement for 3, or at the utmost 4 or 5, years, secured by a written and recorded engagement, in a Court of Justice, will afford sufficient assurance to the cultivators of the soil of the stability of their respective rights and interests in the soil and its produce, and of the certainty of effectual protection in the enjoyment of their property and of the fruits of their industry and labour. The attention of the Collectors might be immediately directed to ascertaining the real resources of the country, as well as the local usages and prescriptive rights of the cultivators of the soil and the Zemindars respectively, and the most accurate obtainable information must be diligently collected with respect to the rights of the ancient Zemindars, with whom, in all practicable cases, the future Settlement of the revenue should be conducted.

16. The office of Canoongoe should be retained wherever it exists; wherever the ancient Canoongoes have been unjustly dismissed they should be restored.

19. No sales of land for the recovery of rent due to Government should be authorized within the Ceded Provinces until a more effectual settlement of the country shall have taken place."

Meanwhile the newly-appointed Collectors had gone

forth into their districts and were making great efforts to introduce some sort of order into the chaos that prevailed. Unfortunately all the district records except those relating to the zillah of Gorackpore have been destroyed. These are fairly complete and are of considerable interest.

On December 8th, 1801, Wellesley sent the following letter to John Routledge, who had just been appointed Collector :—

“The actual state of the Provinces of Gorackpore and Kheiragur renders it necessary that I should furnish you with separate instructions for your guidance in assuming the management of these Provinces.

I enclose a statement, lately presented to the Resident of Lucknow by Meer Kazim Ally Khan, the Amil of Gorackpore, by which it appears that the annual expense of the Troops employed in that district amounts to more than two Lacs of Rupees, besides which there are contingent charges on the upkeep of artillery bullocks for the draft of it, &c., &c., to a considerable amount.

Amongst the Troops are 400 Horsemen, a large proportion of whom are absent on fictitious pretexts and those present are, by the acknowledgment of the Amil himself, of no use whatever. This heavy expense may therefore be immediately reduced.

The Amil's Vakeel having requested a detachment of the Company's Troops to assist in realizing the collections, the Resident desired him to detail on paper the particular places where military force was requisite. A copy of this detail is herewith enclosed.

The Resident abstained from furnishing the Detachment required because there appeared a probability of their being engaged in actual hostile operations and in the reduction of Forts.

It certainly would not be politic in the British Government to commence its administration by any violent coercive measure at the instance and under

the immediate direction of an Amil, and indeed it is more than probable that, were equitable terms held out to the inhabitants of Gorackpore and the British faith pledged for the maintenance of those terms, matters might be amicably adjusted.

Under these circumstances I can perceive no advantage from Khasim Ally as Amil, nor is any loss or inconvenience likely to result from transferring the management of the Country from his hands at this period of the year, excepting perhaps a little difficulty in adjusting his accounts. The net Revenue which, according to his agreement with the Vizier, he would have to pay in the whole year amounts to little more than two Lacs and a half of Rupees. I should hope that under your management a much larger sum might be realized, and certainly much confusion and alarm, and perhaps bloodshed, may be prevented by a clear explanation of the equitable principles of the British system of Revenue.

You will therefore consider this as an official notification to you to assume the exclusive management of the Province of Gorackpore, and you will take such measures as appear to you best calculated to give confidence to the inhabitants and to improve the resources of the Province.

It is my intention immediately to write to the Resident at Lucknow directing him to dismiss the Amil of Gorackpore.

With respect to Kheiragur I have reason to believe that the profits of the Amil of that District are more than double his agreement with the Nabob. I must leave it however to your judgment to determine whether any advantage is likely to result from the immediate removal of the Amil, or whether it will be more prudent to continue him in the district according to his agreement with the Vizier until the end of the present Fussilly year."

CEDED PROVINCES UNDER WELLESLEY. 67

To this letter Routledge sent a reply, dated Azamgarh, December 26th, 1801, in the course of which he wrote:—

“Honourable Sir,—Having, in obedience to the instructions contained in your letter of the 12th instant, proceeded to take charge of the Districts of Azinguh, etc., it is now necessary for me to give you an account of my proceedings at these places. On my arrival, I delivered your Perwanneh to Akber Ally Khan, the Amil, notifying my appointment of Collector, and, at the same time, I applied to him for the account he was directed to furnish me, and he duly promised immediate compliance, till this morning, when, in consequence of my having been obliged to repeat my application in a more positive manner, he acknowledged that he had neither a Sudder or Mofussil Huḍbundy, and that he could only furnish me with an account of his receipts since the commencement of the present Fussilly year..” Routledge then states that he has accepted the resignation of the Amil, and continues: “That the Malgoozars may not from too much indulgence prove refractory, I have thought it necessary to issue a Publication..... In this Publication, after recapitulating my instructions to the Canoongoes and saying that the happiness of the Ryotts and the improvement of the country at large are the principal objects of the system now introduced, I have laid down rules for the realization of the Revenue, and, indeed, I have thought it necessary to declare that in case any Malgoozar should refuse to obey a summons regularly served on him for the payment of Revenue, and for which he cannot give a satisfactory reason, he shall be punished by a fine not exceeding Rs. 100/-, but subject to my approval, or disapproval; and where landholders are proved on evidence, taken on oath, to have forcibly resisted written process directed to them, they shall be liable to a confiscation of their

lands, and that they shall be actually confiscated, and not restored to them without your permission."

On February the 6th, 1802, Routledge wrote from Mahole, that the Amil, Mansur Beg, had retired from the District previous to the arrival of Routledge's Tahsildar, taking his accounts with him, and owing over Rs. 26,000 to Government. In the same letter Routledge wrote:—

"I hope you will not consider my having been compelled to place 3 farmers under Military restraint as any exception to the general satisfaction expressed at the change of Administration, for my having apprehended these persons has considerably increased it. Their names are Surhjeet Sing, and his relations, Belgore Sing and Surnam Sing of the Palwar or Rajput Caste..... Surhjeet Sing positively refused to attend at the Tehseeldar's Cutcherry, and when I summoned him after my arrival here, he came attended with 200 armed men, and in consequence of his equivocal answers to my demands for the arrears of Revenue due from him and his two relations, I was under the necessity of ordering their followers to retire, and of placing a guard over their persons. On the following day I was informed that a rescue would be attempted, and, therefore, to avoid any confusion, I deemed it my duty to apply to the Commanding Officer at Azimgurh for a party of Sepoys mentioned in my letter to your Military Secretary of the 3rd instant. The Guard is arrived, and I shall proceed with the persons to Azimgurh, where I beg leave to recommend their being kept in confinement, until the arrears stated by the Canoongoes to be due from them shall be liquidated, their forts demolished, and responsible security given for their future peaceable behaviour.... Having been informed that there were several mud forts in this District, I summoned the proprietors, and informed them that, as no demand would ever be made for more than the just dues of Government, they

would not require these places as an asylum to retire to, in order, either to evade the payment of undue exactions, or to commit exactions themselves, and that, as they would be protected by Government, it became necessary for them to place sole dependence on that protection and to demolish their forts. After some hesitation, they all consented, and I received from them written engagements to destroy their forts 20 days from that date I have directed the Tehsildar to depute proper people to superintend the performance and report it to me, but should there be any delay, I beg leave to recommend that a party of Sepoys be sent to assist in destroying them."

All the Azamgarh Zemindars except the retainers of Surhjeet Sing, Belgore Sing and Surnam Sing, named above, complied with this request, and Routledge found it necessary to write to Colonel Sir E. Baillie, Commanding at Azamgarh, asking him to send a force of Sepoys, sufficient to put the Tahsildar in possession of the forts of these individuals, and to prevent any opposition to the immediate demolition of their forts.

On May the 31st, 1802, Mr. Welland, Collector of Cawnpore, wrote as follows to the Hon. H. Wellesley, describing the state of the Cawnpore District :—

"The policy of the Newab Vizier and of Meer Ulmas Ally Khan was to levy and collect, by every means practicable, all they could, and at the commencement of each season of cultivation, they granted supplies for carrying it on; even the subsistence, food, raiment, and dwelling of the inhabitants were mostly regulated and paid for from funds furnished by Government The cultivators having been deprived of their stock in the past year, at the cultivating season, advances were made in money, or seed. Cattle and instruments of husbandry were delivered, and, at a stipulated rate of value, the amount of each, together with a sum as interest, equal to a fourth of

the principal, would be received at the gathering of the crops. Whether the terms were verbal or written, it depended on the season how far they were abided by. The Amil was all powerful and arbitrary, was guided by the necessity of the moment, and is said to have always demanded the utmost which the stock and produce would afford."

While the various collectors were still busy endeavouring to collect the revenue for the current year under the existing engagements, they had to take in hand the matter of the new settlement proposed by Henry Wellesley and approved by his brother the Governor-General. This was to take effect from September, 1802. Before the exact terms of the forthcoming settlement had been decided upon, Wellesley issued to all the Collectors in the Ceded Provinces the following circular letter, dated May 2nd, 1802 :—

"As it may be of much importance in the uncultivated state of your district that some immediate measures should be taken with a view to affording due confidence to the cultivators of the soil in the future intentions of Government respecting their encouragement and protection, and as it is necessary that I should be apprized of the sentiments of the Governor-General before I can furnish you with detailed instructions for making a settlement of the district, I deem it expedient in the meantime to authorize you to take such measures as you may think immediately necessary to the introduction of a Settlement upon the following principles.

2. Your own enquiries will have enabled you to ascertain with sufficient accuracy the State of the Zemindaries in the districts under your charge with the means their proprietors may possess of increasing the Cultivation to admit of your making a Settlement with them. For this purpose a Proclamation may be issued inviting the Zemindars of the Villages

or Talooks now paying Revenue to Government to offer proposals for holding their lands for a term of three years at a yearly increasing Jumma, and the same to Mustageers, where no Zemindars are forthcoming, or where circumstances may have contributed to render the Zemindars unwilling or unable to enter into Engagements with Government.

3. With regard to waste lands of which there must be large tracts in the Districts under your Charge paying no Revenue to Government, and of which there may be no actual proprietor, or perhaps a nominal one receiving Nankar, a proclamation may be issued inviting proposals for farming these lands for 5 years at the rates which have been usual in the several Pergunnahs, or which, in your judgment, may be best adapted to promote the increase of cultivation by encouraging men of property to engage in it. You will assure the Zemindars of such lands, that their Nankar will be continued to them, or, should you deem it necessary, I thereby authorize you to assure them that the Nankar will be increased in proportion to the increased Jumna of Government. It will be an object of importance in receiving proposals for these lands to restrict each individual to such portion of country as your information may lead you to think his means may enable him to cultivate during the term of his Engagement, both with the view of increasing the population by dividing amongst a greater number those lands which may be more easily brought into cultivation, and of leaving it more in the power of Government to pursue hereafter such other measures as may be deemed advisable for the more speedy and effectual improvement of the resources of the country.

4. Although I hope I shall be enabled to furnish you with detailed instructions for your guidance before any necessity can exist for the Engagements being

entered into for the ensuing year, the above observations may in the meantime enable you to arrange matters to the extent that may be immediately necessary, and I desire that you will, with as little delay as possible, report to me your opinion how far they are applicable to the state of the districts under your charge, as well as any observations which your local knowledge may suggest on the general principles to be observed, and the details which it will be necessary to attend to in carrying it into execution."

On June 13th, 1802, the following circular letter was sent to the Collectors of the Ceded Provinces by the Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor and Board of Commissioners:—

Sir,

The Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor and the Board of Commissioners being desirous of adopting every practicable measure for the improvement and prosperity of the country preparatory to concluding the Settlement for the ensuing year, I am directed to communicate to you for your information and guidance the following instructions and to desire that you will exert your best endeavours to give them full and immediate effect.

The Current Year of Account being nearly expired, it is necessary that the customary advances in Money and Seed be made to the Ryotts, and that every other reasonable encouragement be afforded them for the purpose of promoting the cultivation for the ensuing year. At the same time that the Board is sensible of the necessity of making such advances, it is aware of the inexpediency of making them through the Amils or Farmers, who must naturally be in doubt whether or not they will be continued in their present farms after the expiration of the present Fussilly Year and who would consequently, in all probability, defeat the salutary effect of the Measure by

appropriating the advances to the liquidation of the outstanding Mofussil Balances due to them, taking Tuccavy bonds from the Ryotts for the amount, thereby subjecting Government to the double loss, of the money advanced and of the advantages of which it would otherwise have been productive. The Board has therefore determined, in order to obviate the evil consequences which would result from distributing the requisite relief through the channel of the farmers, that the advances be made by persons who have no interest in misappropriating the money. Persons of this description being deputed immediately on the part of Government will naturally instil a greater degree of confidence in the Ryotts and others to whom they may afford relief, whilst the latter will place more faith in the engagements into which they will consequently enter than they have been hitherto used to do, the more especially as, by the System under consideration for forming the ensuing Settlement, the persons who may be employed on the occasion will be excluded from the farm of the Pergunnah to which they may have been respectively deputed or from having any interest whatever therein either directly or indirectly.

In conformity to the principle above laid down, you are directed immediately on receipt of these instructions to portion out your Zillah into subdivisions, yielding as nearly as you can estimate, or as local circumstance will admit of, a Gross Jumma of one Lac of Rupees each. In instances however in which it may be inexpedient to divide a Pergunnah yielding a larger Jumma than the Amount above mentioned and in which the services of more than one Aumeen may be required, you are desired to allow the Aumeen appointed to make the advances in such Pergunnah to entertain as many Naibs or Deputies to act under his orders and authority as you may think proper, it being

the wish of the Board that the responsibility and superintendence should be confined to one person in each division. After having completed this arrangement you will depute a person of respectable character and properly qualified for the office as an Aumeen to each subdivision, furnishing him with the necessary Supplies of Cash from your own Treasury or by orders or Tuncas on the present farmers and Tahseeldars who may be in balance. In the latter event you will take especial care that the important object of the present measure be not defeated, by granting orders on any farmers or Tahseeldars who, from inability or unwillingness to discharge the amount, might give rise to delays which would render the intended relief nugatory and ineffectual. As however it is not impossible that obstacles of this nature may occur which you could not have foreseen, you are desired in such case to adopt the most expeditious measures for furnishing the requisite Supplies from your own Treasury or from the nearest farmer or Tahseeldar having the means of affording them.

A Draft of the Instructions in English and Persian to be given to the Aumeens is herewith enclosed. These Instructions, as far as they can be applied to the district under your charge, are to be the rules of your Conduct on the present occasion; and you are required to enforce a strict conformity to them on the part of the Aumeens. Should a literal observance of any part of the instructions, and particularly those relating to the proposed division of Crops, be inapplicable to your district, you will be guided by their general spirit and by the local and established usages of the Country, immediately communicating to the Board every instance in which you may have been under the necessity of deviating from them, with your reason for doing so.

As the allowances to be made to the Aumeens

must materially depend upon the distance to which they may be deputed and the amount of the advances entrusted to them respectively, it is left to your discretion to fix such Allowances as existing circumstances may render expedient, a due regard being had to the Responsibility and reasonable expenses of the Persons employed and the Allowances made on such occasions.

You are desired to report to the Board from time to time the progress you may have made in carrying these instructions into execution.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

GRAEME MERCER, Secy.

BAREILLY :

13th June, 1802.

Instructions to the Aumeens.

On your arrival at the Sudder Cutcherry of the Pergunnah, you are to assemble the Chowdries, Canungoes, Mokuddums, Perdauns, and Ryotts as is hereinafter directed.

You are next to get a capable Mutsuddy from the Chowdries and another from the Canungoes, and go about from village to village to superintend the cultivation, and see that the Ryotts are pushing it on agreeable to their respective Engagements.

You must examine the Jumabundies of each village for 1207 and 8 Fussily and note the particular articles of Mal and Abooab of which it was composed and the aggregate amount.

In making advances of Tuccavy, you are to be guided in the amount of them by the number of ploughs in the village, the quantity of land cultivated last year, its capability of further improvement, and the prosperous or impoverished state of its inhabitants. But you are to be personally responsible that the

money you advance be applied to the Promoting the Cultivation of the ensuing year, and not the liquidation of the balances of the current one.

You are to make Tuccavy bonds (for what you may advance) in the usual form, attested by the Chowdries, Canungoes and the Mokuddums of the respective villages, specifying the quantity of land each Ryott agrees to cultivate with interest at one per cent per mensem.

The Settlements are made either Nukhshee for ready money, or Amla for a certain division of the Crop. In Amla villages you are prohibited from entering into any engagements of the kind called Nukshee, nor are you to make an Amla Settlement in villages where it has been heretofore Nukshee; you may however give the necessary advance to such village.

The Lands are divided into three Classes—Bunjur, or waste, and Chunchar or Land only three or four years out of cultivation, and Polick or Land in full state of improvement. For these three kinds of lands you are to give the Ryotts Pottahs, specifying the mode in which the crops are to be hereafter respectively divided, *viz.*:—

In Polick Lands Government to get five and the Ryotts three Possaries.

In Chunchar Lands Government to get two Possaries and the Ryotts six Possaries.

In Bunjur Lands Government to get one and the Ryotts seven Possaries.

You are to bind down the Ryotts that the cultivation of the Polick Lands shall not be less in the ensuing than it was in the current year.

The expenses attending an Amla Settlement are, Bhait or Nuzzers, Aussoot or Charges of measuring and valuing the Crops, and Patwaries' wages.

The first of these is in future to be stopped, the

second is to be defrayed by Government instead of by the Ryotts, and the third is to be defrayed by the Ryotts.

In all cases where the Crops may be valued the Ryotts are to be assured it will be done agreeable to the price current of the Pergunnah at that time.

Agreeable to the usage of the Country, Mokuddums and others of certain descriptions have been allowed an indulgence in the division. Whatever the custom of the Country in this respect may have been, it is to be continued."

On June 22nd the Collector of Gorakhpur wrote to the Board of Commissioners asking to be permitted to make takavi advances "to such Zamindars as shall offer proposals for holding their lands for three years."

Permission was given him in a letter dated, Bareilly, July 14th, 1802, on condition that the Collector took security from Zamindars for the advances being distributed among the *ryots* and employed solely for the purposes of cultivation.

On the receipt of the order of the Governor-General in Council conveying approval of the proposals for the settlement of the Land Revenue in the Ceded Provinces, the following letter dated July 14th, 1802, was issued to the Collectors in the Ceded Provinces:—

Sir,

In obedience to the orders of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor and Board of Commissioners I herewith transmit you instructions for your conduct in making the Settlement of the Land Revenue of your zillah. I also transmit you a draft of the instructions you are to give to Tehseeldars, in which you are at liberty to make such alterations as Local Circumstances may render absolutely necessary, reporting the same without delay to the Board.

2. The enclosed proclamation under the seal of the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor setting forth

the terms on which the settlement is to be made and pledging the faith of Government to the observance thereof, you are to have fixed up in a conspicuous place in your Sudder Cutcherry and to send copies of it to your several Mofussil Cutcheries. You are at the same time to call on all the Zemeendars whose estates you may intend to make Husoor Tehseel or of which you may choose to make the settlement yourself to come in by a certain time for the purpose of concluding engagements.

3. You are without delay to depute the Tehseeldars for the purpose of making the Settlement of such lands as you may entrust to them conformably to the principles laid down for their guidance. The particulars of the Lands included in their respective jurisdictions are to be set forth on the back of their sunnuds.

4. As it is the wish of the Lieutenant-Governor and Board of Commissioners to avoid as much as possible making Bowlea Settlements with the Ryotts, you are to discourage them all in your power.

5. There can be no doubt that a large accession of Revenue is obtainable by letting out villages which are totally desolate, and of which there are no proprietors forthcoming, on a favourable lease to men possessing the means of improving them; you are therefore desired to submit to the Board a proposal containing the terms on which you would recommend that such leases be granted, and in the meantime you will give notice that all persons desirous of taking such farms should without delay make proposals for that purpose.

6. You are carefully to explain to all Zemeendars and others taking Lands in farm that they are not to be permitted to levy any Sayer or other collection duties under the new Settlement, but those persons who have taken the Sayer duties in farm to the end

of the current year are to be permitted to continue collecting the same until the expiration of their respective engagements.

7. In all cases not provided for in the Instructions, or in any other where you may be in doubt, you will apply to the Board for such Information as you may require. As however the Board have a perfect reliance on your exerting your utmost endeavours to give full effect to the Instructions with which you are now furnished and as references for their further instructions on points of the foregoing nature must necessarily tend to delay the execution of the important measures now entrusted to you, the Board are desirous that you should avoid as much as possible making any references to them connected with the ensuing Settlement which are not indispensably necessary.

I have etc.,

F. FORTESCUE,
Actg. Secy.

BAREILLY:

July 14th, 1802.

As the Proclamation and the Instructions to the various officers issued are lengthy and as they are embodied in Regulation XXV of 1803, which is easily accessible, it is not necessary to reproduce them.

The subject of the Settlement of the land revenue may be concluded by quoting from a letter dated Bareilly, December 6th, 1802, written by Henry Wellesley to the Collector of Gorakhpur:—

“I entirely approve the principles upon which you have framed this settlement and consider them as equally calculated to secure the rights of Government in the Revenue, and the prosperity and happiness of the inhabitants. The realization of a larger Jumma by farming whole Pergunnahs to the Rajah, would have defeated the principal object of Government for

the improvement of the country, that of bringing the Zemindars and cultivators under its immediate protection; and I approve of your having rejected the offers of a larger Jumma, tendered with the views of subverting this principle.....

Although the speedy resumption of muafee lands held under irregular sunnads would certainly increase the Jumma of your district, yet in the present state of the country I consider it to be more for the honour and advantage of the Government that such claims should, for the present, be admitted than that many helpless individuals should be deprived of the means of subsistence by a strict investigation into the legality of their tenures.....

I have only to add to the above remarks that I confirm the conditional Settlement you have formed and authorize you to grant Pattas to the several Zemindars and Moostagirs accordingly, and, that entertaining a just sense of the zeal and ability which you have manifested in the discharge of the arduous and important duties entrusted to you, it will afford me real satisfaction to transmit my sentiments of your conduct for the approbation of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General. I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

(*Sd.*) HENRY WELLESLEY.

THE TAHSILDAR.

The Tahsildar, unlike the Kanungo and the Patwar, appears to have been a British institution. He took the place of the Amil of the native Governments. As constituted by the British Government he was both a collector of revenue and a police officer.

As regards this official Wellesley wrote as follows in his "General outline of a plan for the temporary management of the Ceded Provinces," dated January 7th, 1802:—

"It would, I think, be advisable to entrust the

collections to Tehsildars, and a question naturally arises whether they should be appointed on the same footing with those at Benares, or according to the established practice in the Lower Provinces, or whether some improvements may not be made in these officers peculiarly adapted to the Provinces of Oude. The Nabob's Revenues are collected by Amils, who in reality are farmers of the Revenue, exercising an almost uncontrolled authority over the landholders, and cultivators. Whatever has been found pernicious in this system might easily be avoided, and all the advantages of it retained by the employment, under certain restrictions, of Tehsildars, as at Benares, instead of Amils. In Benares, after eight or nine years of experience of the plan of employing Tehsildars, it has (notwithstanding some objections, which may perhaps be found capable of remedy) been deemed advisable to continue them on the same footing, and, under all circumstances, it appears that the same plan, with such modifications of it as peculiar circumstances might suggest, would be the most eligible that could be devised for the Ceded Countries in Oude.

The following arguments occur in support of this opinion :—

1st. The office and authority of a Tehsildar would be readily understood by the natives who have been so long subjected to Amils.....

2nd. This office, placed on a respectable footing, would not only tend to reconcile the upper classes of Natives in the Ceded Provinces to the recent changes in the Government, by furnishing employment for many of them, but it would hold out expectations to many more.....

3rd. It would at the same time and nearly the same expense furnish an adequate number of efficient officers to be placed in charge of the Police on the same plan....which has been adopted, and on trial

approved, in Benares, and which has long been found much more efficient than the Darogha system of the Lower Provinces.

Under an arrangement of this nature one active and experienced European officer will be enabled to superintend a much greater proportion of the collection than in general is allotted to each Collector in the Lower Provinces, and the number of Collectors now appointed, under such an arrangement only, will be sufficient for the varied duties they will have to perform.

Each Tehsildar may be entrusted with a collection amounting from one to three or four lacs of rupees. He should be bound to make his collections upon the written engagements already suggested, and, as in Benares, should be allowed a percentage upon the amount realized, under a responsibility to account for any deficiencies. He should have immediate charge of the police within his division and be bound to indemnify losses from robbery.....”

In reply to this the Governor-General in Council, in the letter already quoted, ordered:—

“17. The Zemindars should be rendered responsible for the preservation of the public peace.

18. The Tehsildars should be appointed of the same description with the officers of that name employed at Benares, with such modifications as the local circumstances of the Ceded Provinces may require.”

On receipt of these orders the various Collectors in the Ceded Provinces were directed to appoint Tehsildars to collect the revenue on a commission of ten per cent. These were also made police officers. Their duties in this capacity are described in the next paragraph. In a Circular letter, dated August 10th, 1802, Collectors were empowered to make to their Tehsildars an additional allowance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent over and above the 10 per cent on the revenue collections if the Collector was of opinion that such an

addition was necessary to enable them effectually to carry out their police duties. If a Collector decided to grant this additional commission he had to declare expressly that this was to cover all risk and charges of whatever description and that no further allowance would be made under any circumstances whatever.

THE POLICE.

At the time when the Ceded Provinces came into the possession of the East India Company the system of police that prevailed in the Company's dominions may be briefly described as follows :—

The Magistrate was at the head of the police in his district, with the Tahsildar as the chief police officer. The latter was not paid a fixed salary, but was allowed a commission on the land-revenue collected in return for policing the area under his control.

The landholders and farmers of the land-revenue were in their turn responsible to the Tahsildar for thefts, robberies, affrays and breaches of the peace that occurred on their estates.

This system was at once introduced into the Ceded Provinces. Every person with whom a settlement of land-revenue was made was required to enter into an engagement in the following terms :—

“I will not on any account harbour robbers or murderers in my zemindari, but, on the contrary, will hold myself responsible for all such robberies committed within the limits thereof, as in the opinion of the Magistrate, after investigation, shall appear to have taken place with my connivance or through my negligence.”

The following circular letter, dated Bareilly, August 6th, 1802, to all Collectors in the Ceded Provinces lays down clearly the duties of the Tahsildar in his capacity as police officer :—

“As doubts may be entertained with regard to the nature and extent of the responsibilities which it is intended to impose on the Tehseeldars to be appointed under the Board's orders and instructions of the 14th July in keeping up a sufficient police and preserving the peace of the country, and as such doubts may possibly deter persons of character and responsibility from offering themselves as candidates for the situation of Tehseeldar, I am directed by the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor and the Board of Commissioners to communicate to you for your information and guidance the following instructions on the subject.

2. The police of the country (subject to the control of the Magistrate) is to be considered under the charge of the Tehseeldars and, subordinately to them, of the Landholders and Village Farmers, who are to be respectively bound and held responsible for the preservation of the peace. It is accordingly to be expressly declared in the engagements to be entered into by the Tehseeldars that, although they will be considered answerable to Government in the first instance for the maintenance of the peace in their respective divisions, a subordinate responsibility of a similar nature will be imposed on the Landholders and Village Farmers under their immediate authority, and that all denominations of village watchmen will be rendered subject to the orders of the Tehseeldars in their capacity of Chief Local Officer of the Police.

You will at the same time instruct the Tehseeldar to make it a condition in the engagements entered into with them by all Landholders and Village Farmers in their respective divisions that they are held responsible, subordinately to the Tehseeldars, for the preservation of the Peace, and for the apprehending all disturbers thereof throughout their respective Estates and Farms, and likewise that they are not to harbour

thieves or robbers, but to secure their persons and deliver them up for trial as well as to use their utmost endeavour to recover all property plundered or stolen within their respective limits.

I am further directed to acquaint you, for your information and guidance, that it is to be a condition in the engagements entered into by the Tehseeldars, as well as in those to be executed by the Landholders and Village Farmers, paying their Revenue immediately to a Tehseeldar, that they are to be considered responsible for all robberies committed in their respective Divisions, Estates or Farms, the Tehseeldar in the first instance, and the Landholders and Farmers, to the Tehseeldar, it being understood however, that for night robberies on the open roads and woods they are not to be made responsible unless it shall be proved that they had such knowledge of the circumstances as might have enabled them to have prevented the Robbery or that the Robbery was committed with their connivance, but that they are to be considered responsible for robberies committed in inhabited places, provided the Magistrate, under the circumstances of the case, shall be of opinion that the robbery was committed with their knowledge or connivance, or that the perpetration of it was ascribable to their want of care or vigilance.

The Tehseeldars being thus immediately responsible to the Government for the preservation of the Peace of their respective Divisions, it is presumed that a due regard to their own interests will induce them to entertain such Police Establishments as may be adequate to co-operate with those of the Zemindars and village farmers in maintaining the Peace of the Country and in apprehending and bringing to Justice all persons committing offences of a criminal nature. Under these circumstances, the Board are of opinion that it would be inexpedient to prescribe to the

Tehseeldars in the first instance the extent and arrangement of their several Police establishments, and accordingly desire that you will leave the Tehseeldars at full liberty in these respects, reporting, however, to the Board every instance that may occur in which it shall appear satisfactorily to you that a Tehseeldar has been guilty of wilful neglect or misconduct in providing for the good order and security of the Division committed to his charge.

It has been already prescribed that Landholders paying their revenue immediately into the Treasury of a Collector shall be held responsible for the police of their respective Estates. It being however the intention of the Board, that Landholders of this description shall be considered actually responsible, with Tehseeldars and subordinate Landholders, for robberies committed on their respective Estates, you will be careful to insert conditions in their engagements of a purport and tendency similar to those specified in the third and fourth paragraphs of this letter.

You will be hereafter furnished with a Regulation for the management of the police of the Division under your superintendence."

This letter was followed by another, dated Bareilly, 9th September, 1802, which runs:—

"I am directed by the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor and Board of Commissioners to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a proposed Regulation* for the establishment of an Efficient Police in the Ceded Provinces and to desire that you will be guided by the Rules and orders contained therein until you shall receive further instructions to the contrary.

As some time must necessarily elapse before you can be furnished with a complete translation of the Regulations now forwarded to you I am further

* This Regulation eventually appeared as Reg. XXXV of 1803.

CEDED PROVINCES UNDER WELLESLEY. 87

directed to desire that you will lose no time in communicating with the several local chief officers of Police under your authority the general purport of such parts of the Regulation as immediately relate to them, and that you will also issue a publication throughout your jurisdiction in the Persian language and in the Hindustany language and Nagree character containing the purport of such parts of the Regulation in question as it may be necessary to promulgate for general information.

The Board having reason to believe that under the late Government little or no attention was paid to the Police of the Country and that in consequence the Village or Zemindary Police was almost totally neglected, I am also directed to desire that you will urge on the several Landholders and petty Farmers under your authority the necessity as well as expediency of their entertaining a sufficient number of Village Watchmen in their respective Estates and farms for the purpose of co-operating with the Police Establishments of Government in maintaining the Peace and in ensuring a due degree of protection to persons and property; at the same time pointing out to them the important benefits that must naturally result to themselves in particular and to the Country in general from the adoption of such a measure. Although the Board desire that you will not impose any positive condition on Landholders or Farmers in this respect, it will afford them much satisfaction to learn that your endeavours to prevail upon them to adopt the measure communicated in this Paragraph have not been ineffectual."

On September 18th, yet another circular letter on the subject of police was sent to all Collectors in the Ceded Provinces which runs:—

"It having occurred to the Lieutenant-Governor and the Board of Commissioners that the Land-

88 *CEDED PROVINCES UNDER WELLESLEY.*

holders under the terms of their engagements with Government may think themselves restricted from granting land in Jagheer for any purpose whatever, I am directed to desire that you will acquaint them, with a view to inducing them to entertain efficient Mofussil Police, that they are at liberty to give small portions of land for the support of their several Village Watchmen free of rent in every instance in which they may prefer doing so, to paying the watchman a pecuniary allowance. Such grants however to be resumable on the death or removal of the person to whom they may be made.

The Board direct that you will require the Landholders to furnish you with detailed statements of all grants made by them for the above purpose, and that you take particular care that the lands so granted be appropriated to the purposes specified."

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LAW AND JUSTICE.

We have seen that on January 7th, 1802, Wellesley outlined a plan for the administration of the Ceded Districts, and from this we have quoted extracts relating to the land-revenue and police. As regards the judicial administration Wellesley wrote:—

"I am doubtful whether the same division of authority (i.e. as that which prevailed in Lower Bengal and Benares), and distinct appointments between a judge and collector would be as suitable to the present condition of the Ceded Countries as it was found to be in 1790 to the condition of Bengal. The natives of Oude have been accustomed to look up to individual and despotic power in the person of an Aumildar, and, though this would be no argument for allowing them to remain in the same state of slavery, it may, on consideration, appear an advisable measure to place them at the outset under a well-regulated individual authority. The Government of a district

CEDED PROVINCES UNDER WELLESLEY. 89

as well as of a nation is certainly stronger and susceptible of more efficient administration when placed in one than in many hands, provided the choice of that one be judiciously made, and it may be hoped that this trust may, at least for a time, be safely delegated under proper restrictions and control. As in framing rules for the government of a country it is of importance to consult the genius and character of the people for whom these rules are framed, I think it will be advisable, at first and perhaps for some years, to unite the whole authority in all points relative to the Revenue and Police of each district in one person, rather than divide it between two as in the Company's provinces. Whatever be the arguments abstractively to be advanced against such a plan, I consider an attention to the above circumstances of much more weight, and, as far as I have been enabled to form a judgement, I have reason to believe that there are few, or none, who have had experience of the tempers and usages of the natives of the Upper Provinces who will not subscribe to this opinion, and likewise to the apprehension that an introduction of the Regulations in their present form in the Ceded Countries would have a tendency to obstruct the speedy attainment of the regularity, order, industry, mutual honesty and good faith which it is the object of their introduction to establish.

For the administration of Civil Justice between individuals, and in cases wholly unconnected with the affairs of Government, separate tribunals might be provisionally established in the Provinces, but the officers presiding should be subordinate in rank and placed under the general control of those in charge of the Revenue and the Police. The judges in civil causes, according to this plan, should be viewed as assistants in the general government of each district, rather than as rivals contending for superior or separate authority.

90 *CEDED PROVINCES UNDER WELLESLEY.*

They might be appointed under the name of Registers of Civil Causes, and an appeal, under certain restrictions might be admitted from their decision to the Board of Commissioners, and, while the general control over both Departments is vested in the Board of Commissioners, I can foresee no bad consequences which can arise from such an arrangement."

Without waiting for a reply to this letter the Lieutenant-Governor made appointments to the various districts of the Ceded Provinces. The writer has not come across the copy of the order issued, but the following officers appear to have been appointed to the combined post of Collector, Settlement Officer, Judge and Magistrate of the district against their names:—

W. Leycester	..	..	Moradabad.
R. Cunynghame	..	..	Etawah.
Richard Ahmuty	..	..	Allahabad.
J. Richardson	..	..	Cawnpore.
T. Thornhill	..	..	Bareilly.
J. Routledge	..	..	Gorakhpur.

It will be noticed that no officer was appointed to Farrukhabad, the reason of this was that that district remained under the administration of the Nawab of Farrukhabad who paid a subsidy of four and a half lakhs to the Company.

Messrs. Leslie, Seton and Fombelle were appointed Judges of the Court of Circuit and Appeal for the Division of Bareilly.

The following were the instructions first issued to local officers regarding their judicial and magisterial duties:—

"In all civil cases which may be brought before you, you will, after the fullest investigation, decide according to your judgement of the merits of the case.

You will keep a separate and regular diary in the Persian language of your proceedings, in the same manner as you have already been directed to do in

CEDED PROVINCES UNDER WELLESLEY. 91

matters relative to the revenue, an appeal being open from your decision to the Board of Commissioners under the same restrictions as those observed in the Court of Dewanny Adawlut in the Lower Provinces.

Your authority as Magistrate will be the same as that vested in the Magistrates in the Lower Provinces; you are, however, authorised to deviate from the prescribed rules in the Lower Provinces in every point which may appear to you to render deviation necessary.

In all cases requiring your interference you will adapt your conduct as much as possible to local circumstances and to the manners, habits and prejudices of the inhabitants of the district under your charge."

The Governor-General concurred in the necessity of making one person the principal authority in all matters relating to the judicial and revenue administration and issued the following instructions:—

"I order and direct you to frame.....instructions for the introduction of Civil and Criminal Courts into the Ceded Provinces in the form of an order for that purpose, and to publish the order in English, and also in the Native language, throughout the Provinces subject to your authority, under the following title 'An Order for the Provincial Administration of Civil and Criminal Justice within the Ceded Provinces of (enumerating the Ceded Districts) forming the Division of Bareilly, Issued by the Lieutenant-Governor and Commissioner for the Settlement and Management of the said Provinces, by the special Authority of the Governor-General in Council.'

The first section of the order should constitute the limits of the several jurisdictions in the following terms:—

1. The Ceded Provinces are hereby divided into six Zillahs (enumerating each collectorship).
2. Each of the six Zillahs above mentioned is

placed under the jurisdiction of a Collector, aided by a Register and an Assistant.

3. The six Zillahs above mentioned compose a division denominated the Division of Bareilly.
4. In each Zillah is constituted one Court for the trial of Civil Causes, in which Court the Collector, or, in his absence, the Register presides.
5. A Court of Appeal is instituted at Bareilly for the trial of appeals in Civil Causes, from the decisions of Civil Courts.
6. In each Zillah the Collector acts as Magistrate.
7. A Court of Circuit is constituted at Bareilly for trial of offenders in the Division of Bareilly."

The writer has not been able to find among the records to which he has had access a copy of the Order which must have been issued by Wellesley in pursuance of these instructions, Gorakhpur being the only district of those which composed the Ceded Provinces in which records as early as this persist. In the record room of that collectorate there is a copy of the following rules drawn up on March 10th, 1802:—

"1st. Each Collector is invested with the office of Magistrate within his district and empowered to take cognizance of all murders, robberies, rapes, severe wounding, maiming, and all other flagrant violations of the police, also of the crimes of forgery and coining where the causes of action shall not have taken place previously to the 10th November, 1801.

2nd. At the station of each Magistrate is established a Criminal Court to be composed of a Moofly and of a certain number of native officers to write down the proceedings and to take charge of the records.

3rd. When a complaint shall be preferred to a Magistrate of a description cognizable by his authority, under the first section of these rules, he shall cause

CEDED PROVINCES UNDER WELLESLEY. 93

the person accused to be brought before him in open court, fully investigate the charge and defence, hearing and recording the evidence of each party and the depositions of the respective witnesses. All depositions and examinations of prosecutors and witnesses to be taken on oath.

4th. If the charge shall appear to the Magistrate to be groundless or not to have been sufficiently proved, he shall release the person; but if the case shall appear to be doubtful, or if the alleged crime shall be fully proved against the prisoner, the Magistrate shall commit the latter for trial to the Criminal Court, at which the Moofly shall preside, and the Magistrate shall also cause the prosecutor, the witnesses and the whole of the proceedings held by him to be removed to that Court.

5th. The Magistrate is empowered to confine the party accused or to hold him to bail according to the circumstances of the case, the function of the Moofly solely relating to the trial of the prisoner, but not to the charge of his person which is in every case to rest with the Magistrate.

6th. When a person shall be committed for trial before the Criminal Court, the Moofly shall consider the whole case *de novo*, taking the depositions of the witnesses already examined before the Magistrate on oath, and, after having heard the defence of the prisoner, carefully compared the evidence, and stated in the proceedings of the Court any material contradiction which shall appear in the defence or depositions, the Moofly shall write his Futwa at the conclusion of the proceedings, and, having affixed his seal thereto, shall return the whole, together with the Magistrate's proceedings, to the Magistrate.

7th. In trials for murder the Moofly is to ground his Futwa upon the doctrine of Yusuf and Mohammed, without paying attention to the distinction of Aboo

Huneefa with respect to the manner of committing the crime ; and, in fixing the punishment, the mode of committing the murder and the nature of the weapon or instrument which may have been made use of are not to be solely attended to, but are only to be so considered as may tend to show by inference the actual intention of the Prisoner in perpetrating the act laid to his charge.

8th. If the Futwa of the Moofity shall acquit the prisoner, the latter shall be forthwith released, unless the Magistrate shall be of opinion that such acquittal is contrary to justice, in which case the Magistrate shall refer his own proceedings, together with the proceedings of the Moofity, to the Court of Circuit and Appeal at Bareilly.

9th. If the Futwa shall declare the prisoner to be guilty and shall sentence him to punishment, the Magistrate shall in like manner refer the whole of the proceedings and trial to the Court of Circuit and Appeal at Bareilly.

10th. The Magistrate is empowered by his own authority and without reference to the Moofity to inflict punishment for petty offences under the Regulations established for the conduct of the Magistrates in the Lower Provinces subject to the Presidency of Bengal.

11th. The Magistrates are to allow a daily subsistence not exceeding one anna to every person confined by them on a charge of a criminal nature and to transmit to the Court of Circuit and Appeal on the fifth day of each month an account of their expenditure on this head in the preceding month, together with a statement of such other contingent charges as may have occurred during the period.

12th. Each Magistrate is to use a circular seal, two inches in diameter, with the words 'Mohr Adawlut Foujdareey Zillah (here the name of the Zillah is to be

inserted)' engraved upon it in Persian and Nagree characters.

13th. Each Magistrate is to transmit to the Court of Circuit and Appeal, on the fifth day of every month, a return in English and Persian of such of the persons apprehended by him as may have been punished, released or committed for trial during the preceding month. Such return is to be drawn up in the following manner:—

Names of Prisoners.	When apprehended.	Charge.	Manner of punishment if punished.	Date of discharge, if discharged.	Date of commitment if committed.
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14th. Each Magistrate is also to submit to the Court of Circuit and Appeal on the fifth day of every month a return in English and Persian of all the persons apprehended by him who on the last day of the preceding month were neither punished nor committed for trial before the Criminal Court; such return to be drawn up in the following manner:—

Names of Prisoners.	Date of apprehension.	Charge.	On bail.	In Jail.
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15th. With a view to the preservation of good order in the interior parts of the Zillah until an efficient police can be introduced the Magistrates are to direct all farmers, Tehseeldars and other native officers of every description employed in the collection and management of public revenues within the limits of their jurisdictions to apprehend all persons in their respective districts who may be accused of any of the crimes specified in the first section of these Regulations, or who may be otherwise guilty of breaches of the peace, and send them, together with their accusers, to the Magistrate of the Zillah.

16th. In all matters of a criminal nature or of official duty, not expressly provided for in these Regulations, the Magistrates are to be guided by the principles of equity and good conscience; they are also to consider themselves as having the same relation to the Court of Circuit and Appeal which the Magistrates of the Lower Provinces bear to the Courts of Circuit for the Divisions to which they respectively belong."

The following table shows the judicial establishments sanctioned for the Zillah of Gorakhpur in 1802:—

JUDGE'S ESTABLISHMENT.

Name of official.	Monthly Salary.	Name of official.	Monthly Salary.
	Rs.		Rs.
English writer ¹ ..	50	Nazir	20
Pundit	60	30 Peons at 3/- each.	90
Sarishtadar	100	1 Jamadar and 30 horse-	
Munshi	50	men	500
5 Persian Muharrirs		Mirdah or Jailer	25
at 20/- each	100	Duffery	5
3 Nagree do. at 15/- each	45	Keeper of the Records	30
Mullah Korani	5	Tazeanabardar	4
Brahmin	5	Jallad	4
Doctor	10	Gaukaud (? Gorkan)	4
Nazir	30	Bhisty	4
Naib Nazir	15	Sweeper	3
20 Peons at 3/	60		
Jailer	25		
Farash	4		
Khazanchi	25		
Bhisti	4		
Mehter	3		
Paper, pens, ink, etc. ..	30		
		Total ..	1,034
Total ..	621		

MUFTY'S ESTABLISHMENT.

Name of official.	Monthly Salary.	Name of official.	Monthly Salary.
	Rs.		Rs.
		Mufti	100
		Head Munshi	30
		Naib Munshi	20
		Nagri writer	20
		Mullah Korani	4
		Ganga Jali	4
		4 peons at 3/- each	12
		Farash	4
		Sweeper	5
		Rent of Cutchery	20
		Paper, pens, etc.	12
		Total ..	229

MAGISTRATE'S ESTABLISHMENT.

Name of official.	Monthly Salary.
	Rs.
English writer	75
Sarishtadar	50
Muharrirs and Akhrajat	200
Doctor	10
Brahmin	5
Mullah Korani	5

¹ A Moulvi was not deemed necessary because all questions on points of Civil Law were referred to the Mufty presiding at the Criminal Court.

TRADE AND CUSTOMS REVENUE.

The Circular letter dated December 12th, 1801, from which several quotations have been already made, asked the various collectors to forward the following information :—

1. The state of the Police in the District.
2. The number of troops actually in the District, whether employed by the Amils or stationed by the Nawab Vizier, and the expense attending them.
3. The extent to which reduction might be made in these troops without risk to the peace of the Country or the Collection of the revenue, and the period at which these reductions could be so effected, with a statement of the number of Company's troops which may be required in lieu of the troops so reduced.
4. The establishment required by each Collector.
5. The situation proper to be fixed as the Sudder Cutcherry of the district "considered as well with a view to its being central as to the safety of your Treasury and the facility with which remittances may be made to other Treasuries."
6. "A general view of the Trade and Manufactures of your District with its Exports and Imports and the means to be used for the improvement of the Revenue consistent with the comfort and prosperity of the Inhabitants, and a statement of the highest Jumma which the District may be supposed capable of yielding, consistent with those indispensable considerations, under full cultivation, as well as the highest Jumma at the former period."
7. "Any other observations or occurrences in your District which you may deem necessary for the information of the Board, or their immediate

interference, without delaying such report for the General Report above mentioned."

In the course of his reply Routledge, the Collector of Gorakhpur, writing on July 25th, 1802, said:—

"The exports from Azeemghur Maholi, Nawaubgunge Rheilly are cotton cloths of all sorts, sugars, tobacco and saltpetre. The imports are salt, and, in small quantities, iron, copper and spices. The exports of Gooruckpore are timbers, cattle and a few coarse cloths, from Bootwal brass, iron, sheet copper, dammer, borax, long pepper, cowtails, assaphoetida, cassia or coarse cinnamon, large cardamoms, ivory, booj putter, cut beeswax, honey and a few other trifling articles. The imports are salt, sugar, saltpetre and soap. Notwithstanding every article of commerce may be produced in the greatest abundance in all these districts, trade of every sort is in a very languid state owing to the numerous impositions to which, not only manufactures, but every common necessary of life is subject. These impositions have indeed operated as an almost total annihilation of trade in Goruckpore, the sale of cloths, etc., being in general confined to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood in which they are manufactured.

It is impossible from the materials I have received either to form an estimate of the trade or to calculate the percentage that may be levied on any sort of goods.....their imports of every sort, whether merchandize or common necessities, pay already syer duty on their first arrival in any part of the country, and a rhadarry duty on passing from one pergunnah to another.

Manufactures and the products of cultivation are taxed on being exported from pergunnahs of which they are the growth, and a vexatious rhadarry duty is levied on them on passing through every other pergunnah, which greatly enhances the price,

and, although the rates are fixed, the mode in which the duties are levied renders them liable to great abuse, and they are also so extremely numerous that it is impossible for a byoparry to know what he has to pay at any of the chokies unless he should be furnished with a written account of them. The number of these chokis in Gooruckpore, is 173, in Azeemghur 106, in Nawabgunge Rheilly 36, and in Mahole 19....these duties appear to me to have been the principal cause of the decline of trade, and, from the representations made to me, both of undue exactions and the hardship of paying duties according to the present rates, I am of opinion that nothing would tend so much to the revival of trade and the rapid prosperity of the country by opening free intercourse, than the total abolition of these.....

I would recommend that a fixed syer duty be collected under proper rates at the principal markets in each pergunnah, but so moderate as to be, for some time, only sufficient for the payments of a hyal or public weighman, a cutwaul, and a chowkeedaree establishment, and which I am convinced would be cheerfully paid by merchants and byoparries in consideration of the protection and advantages they would derive from such an establishment and which would also be a great addition to the general police of the country."

As the results of the reports of the various collectors, Regulation XXXVIII of 1803 was passed, which, while maintaining the old bazaar and ganj duties, abolished the sayer and rahdari duties, substituting for these an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent on imports and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on all exports.

THE COINAGE.

As soon as the more pressing matters had been dealt with the Board of Commissioners turned its attention to the question of currency.

Mr. J. Fombelle, one of the members, issued the following circular letter to all Collectors in the Ceded Provinces :—

“The Board being desirous of adopting the earliest measures for ensuring the circulation of a sufficient quantity of specie in the District under your charge, and understanding that the several mints heretofore established in the Ceded Districts and in the Dooaub have been shut up, and all coinage consequently stopped, I am directed to call on you to furnish the Board with the fullest information on the following points with the least possible delay :—

1st. To report to the Board the names of the different places within your jurisdiction at which mints were established under the late Government, and the time of their having been originally established.

2ndly. To distinguish the weight and standard of the specie coined at each mint, and its intrinsic and current value, when compared with the Lucknow sicca Rupee.

3rdly. To state to the Board the names of the places at which you are of opinion that it is indispensably necessary that mints should be either authorised or re-established for the purpose of coining money of the usual weight and standard, until other measures can be adopted for regulating the coinage of the Country.

4thly. To report whether the mints under the former Government were under the immediate management of officers of Government or were let in farm ; in either case to specify the charges made to persons bringing money or bullion for coinage and the clear profit to Government or to the farmer per cent arising, as well from the charges of coinage as from the quantity of alloy mixed with every hundred rupees.

5thly. As it will be requisite that such mints as

CEDED PROVINCES UNDER WELLESLEY. 101

may be eventually authorised shall be placed under the immediate control of the Executive Officer of the District, to submit to the Board a detailed statement of such establishments as you may consider absolutely necessary for managing the respective mints, unless it should have been customary for the different workmen in the mints to receive a certain percentage or *Russoom* on the quantity coined in lieu of salaries and you should prefer that mode of paying them; at all events you will state the amount of the salary which you would propose should be allowed to the *Darogah* or Superintendent of each mint.

6thly. The Board desire that you will keep in mind, in reporting upon the several points contained in the above instructions, that it is their wish to give a preference to the coinage of those sorts of rupees that bear the highest relative value to the Lucknow *Sicca* and can be paid away or negotiated with the least probable loss to persons in possession of them."

The answers to this circular letter seem to have all been destroyed. The enquiry appears to have elicited the fact that two mints existed in the Ceded Provinces, one at Bareilly and the other at Farrukhabad, each of which coined a special rupee, one hundred of the latter rupees were worth Rs. 97-10-3 Lucknow *sicca* rupees, while one hundred Bareilly rupees were of the same value as Rs. 97-6-0 Lucknow *sicca* rupees. There had been mints at Allahabad and at Etawah but these were no longer working when the Company took over the provinces.

The records in the office of the Collector of Gorakhpur contain the following letter, dated Bareilly, 15th May, 1802, from the Board of Commissioners to the Collector:—

"I am directed by the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor and Board of Commissioners to inform you

in reply to your letter of the 13th April that the Board does not for the present deem it expedient to call in the several sorts of old coin current in the Districts under your charge for the purpose of being recoined into Rupees of the Lucknow standard.

The Board is at the same time of opinion that the general currency of the Lucknow and Benares rupees might be gradually introduced by taking engagements for the payment of the Revenue in all possible instances in whichever of those sorts of Rupees circumstances may render expedient, and by encouraging all persons obliged to pay Revenue to make their payments in one or the other of these coins, at the same time not declining to receive any sort of Rupee whatever that may have been current in the Districts under your charge at the exchange of the day.

The Board direct that you will report to them your opinion whether it may be practicable and expedient, and to what extent, to take engagements in the two kinds of Rupees above mentioned and to specify the probable gross amount of each, also to state your opinion as to the probable reductions it may be necessary to make on account of batta in the event of the Settlement being concluded in the two sorts of rupees in question."

Wellesley resigned his post before any regulation regarding the currency could be introduced, but Regulation XLV of 1803 was passed as the result of the enquiries instituted by him. The Regulation closed the mint at Bareilly and directed that the mint at Farrukhabad should coin a new coin to be of the same weight and standard as the Rupee then being coined in the Vizier's mint at Lucknow, and that this new coin should be denominated "the Lucknow sicca Rupee of the forty-fifth sun." This was to be the "established and legal coin" in the Ceded Provinces.

THE DISTRICT OF FARRUKHABAD.

As we have seen, when the Company took over the administration of the Ceded Provinces the Nawab of Farrukhabad retained the control of the internal affairs of that district, paying an annual subsidy of four and a half lakhs to the Company.

This arrangement did not persist for long. On the 4th of June, 1802, the Company assumed the complete control of the district. Viscount Valentia, who visited Farrukhabad in 1802, gives the following account of the transfer and of the events that led up to it :—

“The state of the country was most wretched, murders were so frequent at Farrukhabad, that people dare not venture there after sunset, and the workmen, who came out to the cantonments, always retired to their own houses during daylight. This was represented to the Nawab by Mr. Wellesley in the strongest manner, and he was recommended to cede his country to the British, they covenanting to treat him with all possible respect, and to pay him the whole sum which they should receive after the expenses were defrayed. The real motive was to root out the multitude of robbers, who, from this rendezvous, plundered the whole country. He made slight objections and seemed to fear that the residue would be so small that he should not be able to sustain his dignity. At length he proposed that we should completely take the country, and all responsibility, allowing him 9,000 rupees per month, giving pensions to several of his people, and leaving him also some villages and lands. This, on the face of it, would be a loss to the Company of at least a lac of rupees per annum: but Mr. Wellesley, with justice, considered the security of the trade of the river and neighbouring provinces so important that he complied

with every request and the treaty was signed on the 4th of June 1802.¹

The most active measures have since been taken to render the country secure. On Mr. Grant's² arrival, near one hundred Patans waited on him and requested to know whether he really meant to have a police. He assured them most seriously that he did, in consequence of which they told him it would not suit them; and all immediately departed for the Mahratta country. Seventy persons are now in prison, to be tried for murder at the next circuit; but not one offence of that sort has been committed since our police have been established. I could with ease prove that every part of India has reason to rejoice in coming under the British control, but I think the blessings to this province are incalculable. Nor have we been losers, as, on an accurate investigation, it was found that many places had been omitted in former returns and had consequently paid no revenue. The idea of security also, under our Government, operated in raising the value of the lands, so that on letting them for three years we have a profit of nearly three lacs, instead of a loss of one, which the first proposal to the Nawaub proves we really expected would be the case."

FAMINE.

The failure of the monsoon to bring adequate rain is a calamity which very frequently overtakes the United Provinces. In the very first year of the British administration of the Ceded Provinces the rainfall was scanty, and in consequence the Board of Commissioners sent to

¹ By this treaty, which was signed at Bareilly, the Nawab, Imdad Hussain Khan, agreed to hand over his dominions to the Company in perpetual sovereignty in return for a stipend of Rs. 1,08,000 a year, payable to himself, his heirs and successors.

² Mr. Grant was appointed Collector, Judge and Magistrate.

CEDED PROVINCES UNDER WELLESLEY. 105

all the Collectors a circular letter dated August 28th, 1802.

SIR,—The scarcity of rain which has been experienced for some time past in several parts of Rohilcund, and which may have been equally felt in other parts of the Ceded Provinces having excited some degree of apprehension that the ensuing harvests may be considerably affected in consequence, and that the possibility of the continuance of such a calamity may discourage landholders from offering adequate terms for the rental of their respective estates for the next three years at a fixed equal annual jumma, it has occurred to the Board that under the circumstances above mentioned, it might be satisfactory to the landholders, while it would at the same time be greatly to the advantage of Government, if the settlement for the first year were concluded with them at a lower rate than would have been otherwise the case, but under the express condition that the difference shall be recovered by a fair and equitable increase on each of the two remaining years of their lease.

I am accordingly directed by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor and the Board of Commissioners to acquaint you, in the event of any parts of the district under your charge having suffered materially from the want of rain, and of the proprietors thereof being unwilling to enter into engagements on such terms as you might deem warranted by the prospect of advantage held out to them, that in such cases a discretionary power is vested in you so far to deviate from the letter of your instructions as to conclude the settlement with them for the ensuing three years on the terms mentioned in the preceding paragraph in lieu of those already prescribed."

In the following year the rainfall was again scanty and the price of grain became so high in parts of the Ceded

Provinces that a bounty was granted on all grain imported into those districts, but this was after Wellesley had resigned the Lieutenant-Governorship, and does not come within the scope of this article.

ROADS.

One of the last acts done by Wellesley before resigning was the issue from Allahabad, on January 9th, 1803, a circular letter to all Collectors which ran :—

“Sir,—Suggestions having been made to me by several of the Collectors in the Ceded Provinces of the practicability of establishing a fund for the construction and repairs of roads, bridges and serays for the convenience of travellers in their several districts by a voluntary subscription of the Malguzars of one per cent upon the jumma now settled for three years, I deem it necessary to inform you of the importance I attach to the measure, and the satisfaction I should derive from its being effected by the voluntary consent of the Malguzars.

2. Should you be of opinion that this measure may be safely proposed to the Malguzars of your district without implicating the good faith of Government in the engagements already entered into with them for three years, I hereby authorize you to propose it accordingly, and, should it be generally assented to, you will consider the fund arising from it as solely applicable to the above purpose, and to be regularly disbursed on such works of the above description within your district as you may deem most useful to the inhabitants at large, and best calculated to promote the easy communication and commerce of your district.”

In some of the districts, at any rate, this fund was established, but under the subsequent *regime* the scheme was not pursued; possibly because it was not made clear

CEDED PROVINCES UNDER WELLESLEY. 107

whether the works in question were to be under the management of the Collector or of the Judge and Magistrate. We find the Board of Commissioners in 1810 reporting to the Governor-General in Council the existence of Rs. 19,000 in the Collector's Treasury at Cawnpore, being the unappropriated balance of a cess levied in the year 1803 under the orders of the late Lieutenant-Governor and Board of Commissioners for the repairs of the public roads and bridges.

After Wellesley's resignation the roads became neglected so that in 1808 the Board of Revenue suggested the passing of a Regulation fixing a road cess of one per cent on the *jama* of assessed lands and of three per cent on that of rent-free lands. This proposal was, however, negatived.

WELLESLEY RESIGNS.

Unfortunately for the welfare of the Ceded Provinces the Court of Directors in England declined to sanction the appointment of Henry Wellesley because they considered that it contravened the Statute regulating the governance of the Company's dominions in India. Accordingly Wellesley resigned, and, after his departure, the system of administration that prevailed in Lower Bengal and in the province of Benares was introduced into the Ceded Provinces. The Board of Commissioners was also dissolved and the newly-acquired territory brought under the control of the Board of Revenue at Fort William.

The Commission was dissolved on February 21st, 1803, to the great regret of the members of the covenanted Civil Service employed in the province. These drew up a memorial in which they expressed their regret at Wellesley's departure. In the course of this address they say:—

“We....beg leave to express to you our grateful sense
“of your liberal and unwearied endeavours to give general
“satisfaction in every respect, both in your public and
“private character.... Such of us who have had the good

“fortune to be employed more immediately under you,
“think it but just to declare that, by your indefatigable
“exertions in the arduous task of arranging the business
“of a newly-acquired territory where everything yet re-
“mained to be done, we have been encouraged to persevere
“with cheerfulness in the discharge of these laborious and
“important duties which you, Hon’ble Sir, so cheerfully
“shared with us.”

This document bears the following signatures :—

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FRAY SEB. MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION
OF AGRA.

(24 Dec., 1640—Jan., 1641.)

BY THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

PADRE Maestro Fray Sebastian Manrique, the Augustinian, is no longer a stranger to students of history. The portions of his book referring to the Panjab were published by Sir E. D. Maclagan in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, Vol. I (1911), pp. 83-106; 151-166. Since then, I have published the first 73 pages in *Bengal: Past and Present*, and the translation now extends up to p. 222, or the end of the author's career in Arakan.

We now offer a further instalment, Manrique's Description of Agra, and we hope to be able to follow it up with Manrique's four chapters on the greatness of the Great Moghul (chapters 74-77).

* * *

CHAPTER LVIII.

IN WHICH THE AUTHOR GIVES AN ACCOUNT OF THE CITY OF AGRA, THE METROPOLIS OF THE WHOLE MOGOL EMPIRE, AND THE USUAL RESIDENCE OF THE GREAT MOGOL.

P. 343, Col. 1. On the eve of the very happy day, when the Most
High Father of Mercies became incarnate, and inaugurated/
P. 343, Col. 2. the redemption of mankind, the twenty-fourth of Decem-
ber of the current year 1640, we arrived at the great City
P. 344, Col. 1. of Agrà.// It is situated in a large and beautiful plain, on
the bank of the delightful Gemanà,¹ a River which, as it
descends from the most ancient Ganges, enjoys the like
honour of being considered sacred by that vain Gentility.
The City of Agrà extends in the shape of a half-moon

[Dec. 24,
1640.]

110 *MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA.*

along the bank of this river; it is situated in twenty-eight degrees and thirty-nine minutes to the north of the equinoctial line.² Before Emperor Achabar, this City was a poorly populated place; but when, in the year 1566,³ Achabar transferred to it the seat of his Empire, he enlarged and embellished it to such a degree, that it is to-day one of the famous towns of the East. It is two big leagues long, and encompasses in its limits, according to the more common opinion, six hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants, the foreigners, of whom there are a great many, not included. Ninety Caramossoràs⁴ and other private houses scattered through the town are always full of these; hence, the concourse of people is at times so great that it is difficult to make one's way through the chief streets.⁵

So, on entering the City, I went to alight at the Caramossorà of the Armenians, to get information about a rich merchant to whom I had been directed. When I learned that he was away in the City of Bianà, a three days' journey from the City of Agrà, and that, as it was the time when they buy up Indian indigo,⁶ I should be kept back longer than was necessary, I took care to order/
 P. 344, Col. 2. a cart to go in search of him the week after. Meanwhile, turning my attention to the spiritual affairs of my soul, I determined to go and spend that most holy night in a chapel which the Fathers of the Society keep there in their residence.⁷ There I found Fathers Antonio de Olivera, and Matheo de la Cruz.⁸ As, in spite of my Mogol costume, they knew who I was, they received me with much charity, and with the same they offered their [?] house for my acceptance. Father Prior Fray Antonio de Christo was not at home; but, though he was then a prisoner for our Most Holy Faith in the public jail, yet he kept in it some poor Christians,⁹ who took care of the house and kept neat and clean the Oratory, where the Father celebrated [Mass] when free.¹⁰

When the appointed day arrived, I left for the City

of Bianà. We passed always through a populous and fertile country. The fields were then covered with a variety of crops (*grano*), their waving whitening ears curling under the gentle breath of the playful Zephyr, and giving then already an earnest of the harvest season: sweet distraction for the wayfarer amidst his anxieties, those inner, secret companions of the soul. Not less was I diverted by the variety of gardens and country-seats of some of the Lords of that Court, the artificial making up for what nature was lacking, and the blending of the two resulting // in contrasts of scenery.

P. 345, Col. 1.

By this same road we came upon the City of Fateapùr, once the second seat of the Monarchs of the Mogol Monarchy. To conceal the ravages wrought by time on its former greatness, it was surrounded with big green, but unfruitful trees. Without stopping here, but continuing our journey,¹¹ we arrived at Bianà. Here I met the merchant whom I had come in search of. To my satisfaction, he expedited my affairs so as to let me off the next day. He sent with me one of his relatives, whose experience was to help me through the affairs with which I should be confronted, especially in the case of Father Fray Antonio de Christo.

When this man had removed several difficulties which prevented my getting into the Bundicanas, or Royal prisons,¹² I went at once to see him [the Father]. I came dressed in the Mogol style; and, as he did not recognise me, he received me with the ceremonies used towards Mogores. "Who are you?" he asked me in the Industan language. Whereupon, I answered him in Latin: "*Tanto tempore vobiscum fui, & non cognovistis me?*" [So long a time have I been with you, and have you not known me?] "*[John 14. 9 adapted.]*" I leave it now to the prudent reader to imagine what was the jubilee of that servant of God, after he had recognised me, because I intend treating in a separate chapter of this valiant Confessor of Christ, and of his companion, Father Fray Francisco de la Encarnacion.^{13/}

112 *MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA.*

P. 345, Col. 2. As, on this occasion, the Padchà¹⁴ was away from the Court, in the City of Laòr,¹⁵ the Nababo Subdalchàn, the Governor of the City,¹⁶ did not wish to conclude the affair of his liberation. He said he had written to the Emperor about the matter, and was expecting orders. The orders never came, for he had received on that occasion an express injunction from the same Emperor, calling him to the City of Laòr. Leaving this matter alone for the moment, I resolved, at the Father's suggestion, to wait a few more days and accompany the Nababo on his journey, to force him thus to be mindful of the affair. I was therefore obliged to remain in that Court longer than I would have wished. With this, I had the leisure to see and study all the great and good things it contained, nor did I miss the opportunity of learning something about its government and management, especially in matters of war,¹⁷ since the preservation of Empires and Monarchies depends on the proper conducting of war.

And so, to begin by dealing with the magnificence of the Mogol Court, I say that what I admired most were its great riches, the chief and greatest part of them consisting in the great Nacassares, or Treasuries,¹⁸ which the Emperor has in various parts. The second part consists in the great revenues of the Princes and Lords of that Empire ;
P. 346, Col. 1. and the third and last in the enormous wealth // and the rich capitals of the merchants, of those chiefly who add to the general designation of *Sodagor*¹⁹ (which means Merchant in our language) the particular name of *Katarì*,²⁰ the highest title among those who in those parts follow the mercantile profession, since it means a very rich merchant, one with great credit. In the houses of some of them I saw such big sums of silver piled up together that, had they been covered, I should have fancied and speculated that I stood before mountains of common grain rather than before mountains of some thing so much out of the com-
P. 346, Col. 2. mon. I was not a little/astonished, too, when I saw the great plenty of foodstuffs and delicacies of all sorts dis-

played in its various Bazares, or markets. Whole streets, too, were to be seen entirely occupied by clever sweetmeat-sellers, the variety of their curious fragrant dainties testifying to their skill, and stimulating to gluttony even a bottomless appetite, so much so that, had Petrarch, the Tuscan Versifier, been there, he would have sung again and repeated on his sweet plectrum his subtle and witty saying: Gluttony, and sleep, and a soft and slothful Couch have banished all virtue from the world.

* * *

CHAPTER LIX.

IN WHICH THE ACCOUNT OF THE COURT OF AGRA
IS CONTINUED.

P. 346, Col. 1, *infra*. Among the grand and sumptuous buildings of that Court, the chief ones are the Imperial Palaces, and the two Mochorobàs,¹ or Mausoleums: one being that of Emperor Achabàr; the other, the modern achievement of this Emperor Coròombo, who dedicated it to the corpse and memory of Begoma,² his beloved and lawful wife, the daughter of Prince Asofakan,³ with whose rare beauty and grace he had been enamoured.

P. 346, Col. 2, *infra*. But I omit for the moment the subject of these repositories of death, and pass on to describe first the Imperial Palaces, repositories of life, or rather a Rock of strength and Castle of defence. With its size and its edifices, the Fort is a small Town in itself. It is surrounded by a superb wall of red stone, twenty-five cubits in height:⁴ a stupendous work, which, inspiring to the eye, when seen at rest, // strikes one with fear and awe, when it mirrors itself in the rippling depths of a ditch brimful with sombre, sable waters, their dismal sight suggesting the Poetic fiction that they have been drawn from the Stygian Lake of Acheron. The stones of the wall are so closely fitted and bound together that it requires a keen eye to notice the joints;⁵ and, that nothing might be wanting to the perfection and beauty of that most magnificent piece of work, instead of an em-

114 MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA.

battled crown (*en lugar de almenada corona*), the rounded summit of the wall is adorned by a broad thick border of the same stone, whence issue at equal intervals certain spherical towers; and, when the guns on them belch forth their lightning and their thunder, and stop the bellicose audacious Soldier, they make it still stronger, nay impregnable.⁶

To enter this Imperial Palace, one passes through four grandiose and majestic gates. Their drawbridges are raised at night by means of thick iron chains, and by day they hang from the same.⁷ The first of these gates, the one to the North, is supplied with very big pieces of artillery. The second, which is to the West, and is called *Cicheri*,⁸ is in front of a fine Bazar, or public market (*plaza publica*). In the façade, and inner entrance, of this gate, rises a handsome arch, on the sides of which are two great pedestals carrying two well-executed/elephants of the most shining black marble.⁹ Riding on them are the Meliche King Mirin, and two Chief Lords of the great Dekani (*DeKani*)¹⁰ Kingdom, whom the tyrannous and perjured Achabar treacherously and falsely took, and with them all the rest of the Kingdom of the Dekan (*DeKan*), his treachery having won for him the great and impregnable fortress of Seyr.¹¹ On the side of this gate is the tribunal, or chautorà,¹² of the Chadi,¹³ where he is wont to give audience to all litigants presenting themselves. Near this tribunal are three very fine pieces of bronze artillery, of extraordinary size and perfection. Opposite this tribunal, rises a beautiful Palace, where resides the Chief Nababo,¹⁴ who promulgates all the favours, decrees and privileges given by that Majesty, and copies of them are kept in an archivium, which is here. After entering this gate, one comes at once to a court, which must be a quarter of a league [long], and is surrounded on all sides by sundry mosques and tombs.

After passing through this court, one comes to a third gate, which is to the South, and is called *Drounagè Acha-*

bar.¹⁶ The entrance of it is always closed with thick iron chains against anyone who might wish to enter on horse-back, the only exception being for the Emperor and his sons. Near this gate is a . . . College for infamy, the professors of it being four hundred// Prostitutes, who . . . serve also as singers and danceresses to amuse and stimulate these barbarians.^a This infamous community is kept up at the Padchà's expense, and they are always at the beck and call either of him, or of his sons and concubines.

P. 348, Col. 1.

The fourth gate, called *Dersanè*,¹⁶ faces the River, and is on a famous and beautiful court, which reaches the fresh and smiling Gemanà, and forms a pleasant strand. Every day, at the hour when the resplendent Phœbus says farewell to the western parts and wishes to illumine and delight with his rays those of the East, the Padchà goes out to this *Dersanè* gate; where, in the court near it, the cavaliers (*cavalleros*) of that Court are already waiting to salute him and wish him a happy day with the accustomed *Tassalima*.¹⁷ In this piazza are daily given sundry *Tamaxas*,¹⁵ or shows of different things, chiefly fights of Lions, Elephants, Tigers, and other ferocious animals. In this piazza too are executed on Thursdays the sentences of those who are condemned to various kinds of tortures. Of this I shall give an account further.

To return now to the third gate, the *Drouuagè Achabar*. This leads us to a most beautiful terrace, surrounded and adorned on every side/by famous open porticoes, where, on certain days of the week, some Captains and other military officials sleep. As such, the natives call them *Atescannàs*.¹⁸ A little further onward from these, one comes by a cancelled grating into the inner piazza, but it is forbidden to enter save to the Princes, the nobility, and other persons constituted in certain dignities. The doorkeepers lead one

P. 348, Col. 2.

^a "Junto a esta porta està vn Maumetanico, y lupanario colegio, e por ca-
thedratikas del quatrociētas Meretrices, que poniendo en platika las torpezas, que
enseña su obsceno Alcoràn, siruen tambien de cantoras, y saltatrices para recrea-
cion, y estimulo de aquella Maumetana barbaridad."

116 MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA.

through these cancellated gratings to the Derbar,²⁰ or the Padchà's imperial throne. In front of it, is a small square surrounded on all sides by a beautiful railing, and covered above, against the dazzling, piercing glare of the refulgent Planet, with very rich canopies embroidered with various figures in gold, silver and silk. At the end of this small square, rises a majestic portico where stands the imperial throne. No one may come there, unless he is called; this general rule does not apply, however, to the Emperor's sons, the chief Nababo (or Visir, as they call him in Turkey), and to two Punkarràs,²¹ that is those who in such places are always holding over the Emperor two very rich fly-flaps, instruments necessary to protect his Imperial Majesty against the bold importunities of the flies. Within the compartments and divisions made by the railings, no one is easily admitted, except the four hundred Captains of cavalry, who are sometimes in attendance at the entrance

P. 349, Col. 1. of two high and lofty//Towers, which are also in the interior of that Imperial Palace, or fortress. Their beauty makes them certainly worth admiring by any foreigner coming from afar: their inner faces are all covered with very rich laminæ of the purest gold, and on them the Master Goldsmith has given proofs of the skill of his art, not only in the artful subtlety of the tracery work (*entretallados labores*) of intertwining flowers and grotesques, but also in the choice mingling and delicate matching of a variety of coloured enamels. One of these towers is above the Padchà's private apartment (*retraiemento*); the other, above the treasury of his jewels, a most rich treasury of inestimable value. A little further on from this place, one comes to a most lovely garden, delightful and pleasant beyond words. Here I saw some trees laden with divers flowers and emitting the sweetest odour, their fragrance/

P. 349, Col. 2. being most pleasing and comforting to the olfactory sense of any one who came to enjoy their natural properties. The guardians of these scentful gardens told me with regard to these plants that, even when they are without

MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA. 117

flowers, they are always emitting the same sweet odour, and that the parent stems came originally from very distant countries. The ground of this flower-garden was enamelled with so many varieties of flowers, roses, and aromatic herbs, that neither do I make bold to describe them, nor would the reader be able to recognise them.²² This delightful and pleasant Garden terminates in a lovely and famous avenue of green, leafy, copped trees, which on reaching the gentle current of the smooth and serene Gemanà offers a shed and cover to some curious gilded brigantines, which, covered with rich awnings, ply to another garden opposite.²³

* * *

CHAPTER LX.

IN WHICH AN ACCOUNT IS GIVEN OF THE TWO MACOROBÀS, OR MAUSOLEUMS, OF THE EMPERORS ACHABÀR AND CORROMBO.

P. 349, Col. 1, *infra.* Among the grandiose edifices of the City of Agrà these two Mausoleums hold the chief place; and, to comply/
P. 349, Col. 2, *infra.* with my promise, I shall begin with the tomb of Achabar, the first and older one.

P. 350, Col. 1. It is situated at the extremity of the City, and forms// an enchanting approach to the traveller coming from Laòr and other parts by that Royal road. On entering the City from that side, he comes presently upon this sumptuous edifice, the repository and treasury of the . . . corpse once tenanted by the . . . soul of Monarch Achabar (*deposito, y erario del vil cadaver, que sirvió de velo a la prescita alma del Achabar Monarca*).¹ At the entrance to this building is a square court, on the sides of which run low houses, utilised as lodgings by the credulous pilgrims who come hither to visit those . . . relics (*aquellas condenadas reliquias*). At the end of this Square, or terrace, rises a grand and far-famed portico of Paros marble, and Corinthian architecture, with sculptures of various grotesques and foliage, with Doric lines and reliefs. The inside of this Portico, from the top of the cupola to the lowest shelf, is entirely covered with sundry curious paintings. Outglittering them all, there is

118 MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA.

painted there a devout image of the most holy Empress of Heaven. They call her *Bibi Mariam*, which is the same as *Lady Mary*. They hold her for the mother, not of God-made Man, but of a great Prophet, and venerate her, ignorant of her higher greatness; which ought to confound sufficiently the opinionated heretic.² The entire ground of this Portico is flagged with shining marble of the purest white; and a large and spacious road, made of the same material, leads to a great square pavement of beautifully and exquisitely hewn stone.

P. 350, Col 2.

[This platform] rises eight or nine palms above the ground, and from the centre and middle of it springs a moderately large, round Tower, the top and cover of which consists of a sumptuous cupola. This Royal Chapel (let us call it so) is surrounded by other smaller ones; and, round them all, are large spacious galleries, adorned every one of them with parallel arches: a majestic sight from near; a lovely and delightful perspective, when seen from a distance. Above these corridors run famous galleries divided into apartments, themselves containing rich chambers and closets serving as rooms to persons of the Royal family, when they come to visit these memorials of their ancestors, or to divert themselves in the gardens here. Other apartments, lower down, serve also as rooms for two hundred persons whose office it is to pray, and who are all the time in attendance on the unworthy worship of the bones buried in those sepulchres. The apartments serving as rooms, both to their present and past Majesties and Highnesses, are, all of them, from the very ground to the topmost part of the roofs (*tectos*=ceilings?), gilt and painted with leaves and flowers: a very pleasing and agreeable sight, these permanent tapestries taking the place of our troublesome movable ones (*portateis y trabajosas*), which they do not use. And, lest he who is accustomed to see stuffs (*telas*=lace?) and damasks might think that these ornaments are less expensive, // I shall show him richer and more costly ones, when speaking of the City of Laòr.

P. 351, Col. 1.

MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA. 119

In the middle of the chief place, the chapel, where Emperor Achabâr lies buried, rises, two palms above the ground, a tomb covered with a very white and delicate sheet, which is itself covered with a very rich cloth of gold brocade, so that the eye cannot see and speculate of what material it [the tomb] is made; for, not only do they not allow those of another law to touch their tombs, for the sake of greater reverence, but the whole pavement, in this and the other chapels, is hidden under very rich carpets.³

This grandiose Mausoleum is situated in the middle of a great, pleasant and beautiful plain, entirely surrounded by a high wall, and planted with various trees. Some of these bear no fruit, but form by themselves clusters and groves; others, fruit-trees, make beautiful and delightful gardens, and, in their season, they display hanging aloft ripe fruits, the variety of whose native colours vies with the flowers in the beds below, and tries through their fragrance to persuade to the sense of smell that they are superior, while, granting they are in that respect, the sense of taste will not allow, after trying them, that the luscious fruits are second to them. To help in fecundating these

P. 351, Col. 2.

leafy, shady bowers, / these agreeable pleasure-gardens, these green and pleasant meadows, a copious supply of water is brought to sundry Tanks (*Tanques*) through different secret ducts from the neighbouring auriferous Gemanà.

The other Mausoleum, the work, as I have said, of Emperor Corrombo, is dedicated to the unhappy memory of his chief and cherished wife Begoma,⁴ and is situated at the other extremity of the town.

This edifice not being finished yet at the time, and a great portion being still wanting, judging from the plan which it bore and which was contemplated,⁵ I shall speak only of the portion which was finished. It consisted of a fine, very large, quadrangular and proportionately high wall of magnificent red hewn stone; at the top, in lieu of battlements, it is adorned and embellished by thick strong spikes (? *espigones*) of the same stone. At the four corners

120 *MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA.*

of this great wall rose as many other Palaces built of large slabs of beautiful and whitest marble, which from more than forty leagues are brought there for those buildings. Some, which I met on the road, on my journey to the City of Bianà, were of such extraordinary length and breadth that they set all in a perspiration many yoke of strong sluggish Oxen, and of ferocious-looking, heavy-horned Buffaloes, which in files of twenty and thirty pair were dragging strong, unshapely carts.

P. 352, Col. 1. This great wall encircled a very large, quadrangular space, in the centre of which stood // a large, high, circular Tower, from the centre of which [tower] the famous Geometer [Geronimo Veroneo], drawing equal lines, made his perfect circumference with less trouble than Archimedes, the Syracusan. This Tower too is of shining white marble.⁶ On this, and on the other works, were generally employed a thousand men, overseers, tradesmen, and workmen.⁷ A great number of them were likewise employed, some in laying out curious gardens, others in planting shady groves and orderly avenues; others, finally, in making roads and reservoirs for the crystalline liquids, without which it was impossible to go on with the works.

The Architect of these structures was a Venetian, named Geronimo [Jerome] Veroneo, who went to those parts in the ships from Portugal, and died in the City of Laòr, shortly before my arrival. Emperor Corrombo gave him large salaries; but it is thought that he profited so badly by them that, when he died, Father Joseph de Castro, of the Society, a Lombard by birth, found on him much less than was imagined. Of him Fame, fleet messenger of all good and evil tidings, had reported that the Padchà, having sent for him and manifested his desire of raising a grandiose and sumptuous monument to his defunct consort, and that for this he should make some designs which he should show him, Veroneo, the Architect, P. 352, Col. 2. obeyed / this order, and within a few days submitted to him in various models of the finest architecture all the per-

MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA. 121

fection of the art which he knew ; but that, having satisfied his Majesty in this matter, he displeased him—such being his barbarous and arrogant pride—by the low estimates which he made ; they say also that, growing angry, he bade him spend three *couràs* of rupees (*rupiàs*), that is three hundred leckas, and that, when they were spent, he should let him know—a sum so great that one is surprised. But, if the sepulchral apartments were, as they said, to be covered with laminæ of gold, as was the urn in which were already deposited the bones of the Agarene [Muhammadan] Empress, such large sums will not be matter for surprise,—though he, in particular, will wonder, who habitually spends his limited crowns (*escudos*) after first passing many hours in sundry considerations, seeing that, in as little time as it takes to open and close one's mouth, fifteen millions of Spanish pesos were ordered to be spent, a sum amounting to the three *couràs* above-said ; and, for the better understanding of the curious reader, let it be known that a *courà* is a hundred leckas, and a lecka a hundred thousand rupees, and a rupee half a Spanish peso.³

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N.B.—The authors with * are generally quoted through editions utilised by Sir R. C. Temple in his *Peter Mundy*, Vol. II.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER LVIII, (pp. 109-113).

¹ Jamna.

² de Laet (p. 39) places Agra in 38° 45' lat. north of the Equator. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* gives 27° 10' N. and 78° 3' E.

³ de Laet (p. 40) has the same date for Akbar's fixing his capital at Agra. Sir R. C. Temple gives 1564 as the year when the Fort was begun. (Cf. his *Peter Mundy*, II. 209 n. 1).

124 MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA.

⁴ *Kārwan-sarā* or *kārwan-sarā'e* = caravanserai ; a public building for the reception of caravans.

⁵ I do not find in de Laet the details about the length of the town or the number of caravanserais. Catrou (p. 111) speaks of the crescent shape of the town, of its length (9 Italian miles), of the number of the inhabitants (666,000). Finch makes the town 5 kos long. The population was 188,022 in 1901. The remark about the densely crowded streets is in Finch, de Laet and Catrou.

⁶ de Laet (p. 45) has : " Bayana or Byana, famous for the very finest indigo." At p. 47 : " Byana was formerly a large and beautiful town ; now it is almost fallen to ruin, except two Sarays and a long street or Bazar (that is, a Market) with a few huts ; the finer houses have already fallen down or are threatening to do so, and have only a few occupants. From this town, however, the finest Indigo or *Nil* which India sends us takes its name. It is prepared (my Dutch authorities inform me) in a tract of country about twenty or thirty coss in length, wherein there are five principal towns, each having more villages in its district." Cf. Lethbridge's translation, pp. 71, 73.

⁷ This chapel is now the Native Chapel in the compound of the Catholic Cathedral, Agra. A fine church had been pulled down under Shāh Jahān, but the Fathers were allowed in 1636 to rebuild two or three rooms, which they used as chapel.

⁸ Very little is known thus far about these two Jesuit Fathers. Fr. " John " de Oliveira is mentioned in the Catalogue of the Goa Jesuits of 1640 ; Fr. Matthew da Cruz is not mentioned in the Goa Catalogues. Cf. my *List of Jesuit Missionaries in Mogor*, in *J.A.S.B.* 1910, p. 532.

⁹ The Spanish is not clear to me : " me recibieron con mucha charidad, y con la misma me ofrecieron la casa, que recibiera, no teniendo el Padre Prior Fray Antonio de Christo casa, que aunque estava entonces preso en la carcel publica por la Santissima Fè, con todo tenia en ella algunos pobres Christianos. . . "

¹⁰ Fr. Antonio de Christo was an Augustinian. He had been Prior of Hugli and had been dragged into captivity to Agra in 1632-33, with Father Fray Francisco de la Encarnacion, two secular priests and 4,000 Christians. The two secular priests, Fathers Manoel d'Anhaya and Manoel Garcia (a native of Sripur, a harbour on the Meghna, opposite Sandwip Island) died in prison at Agra and are buried in Martyrose's or Martyr's Chapel in Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra. Father Fray Francisco de la Encarnacion had gone to Goa to negotiate his ransom and that of his confrère.

¹¹ Had Manrique visited Fatehpur Sikri, he could probably not have resisted the temptation of giving an elaborate description of it

MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA. 125

and of moralising on the transitoriness of human greatness. We have a short description in de Laet (1628-30), pp. 43-45 (Lethbridge's transl., pp. 71-72), and *Peter Mundy*, II. 227-231, where Sir R. C. Temple points out other accounts: Finch (in Purchas), ed. Macle hose, IV. 41-43; Herbert, p. 61; Tieffentaller, I. 179.

¹ *Band-khāna* (Pers.): a prison.

¹³ Cf. Chapters 80, 81.

¹⁴ *Pādishāh*.

¹⁵ Lahore.

¹⁶ Nawāb Subdal Khān. Sir Edward Maclagan identifies him with Subdal Khān (cf. *Journ. Punjab Hist. Soc.*, Vol. I, p. 85), but I have discovered nothing about him after some search. Safdar Khān, Khwāja Kāsim, was made Governor of Agra in the 4th year of Shāh Jahān (1630-31). Cf. *Peter Mundy*, II. 189 n. 3. Is he the same?

¹⁷ See Chapters 74-77.

¹⁸ This word is perhaps a compound of *nikās* and *shālā* (house). Compare with *nikās* (Sanskṛt): adjustment of accounts; *nikāsi*: taxes collected as goods passing out of a town, export duties; *nikāsi-nawīs*: an officer in the *zamīndārī kachahrī*, who takes and examines the accounts of the collections in the mofussil. There are also such words as *nāke-bandī* (Hind.): collecting of transit duties, and *nākedār*: the receiver of customs on transit duties.

Mr. Vincent A. Smith, coming across the word in Manrique, asks whether 'nacassares' (a plural of 'nacassar') can be derived from *naksha* = register. Cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1915 (April), p. 236 n.

¹⁹ *Saudāgar* (Pers.): a merchant.

²⁰ *Khatri*. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *khuttry*, where the word is derived from *kshatriya*, the second, or military, caste in the theoretical or fourfold division of the Hindus.

* * *

NOTES TO CHAPTER LIX (pp. 113-117).

¹ *Maqbara* (Arab.): a burying-place, a tomb.

Prince Khurram took the name of Shāh Jahān on his accession in 1628.

² Not a proper name, but a title. *Begam* (Turk.): lady, queen. Her name was Arjumand Bānū Begam; another title was Muntāz Mahal.

³ Āsaf Khān (Mīrzā Abul Hasan). Cf. on him *Āīn* (Blochmann), I. 510, 512.

⁴ Manrique's description of the Agra Fort has hardly anything in common with de Laet. The latter, however, has 25 cubits for the

126 MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA.

height of the walls of the Fort (p. 45). Catrou (p. 112, *op. cit.*) has 25 ft. I find that the similarities between the descriptions of the Fort by Finch and Manrique are so great that Manrique must have had Finch in some form before him. See last note to this chapter.

⁵ Father Anthony Monserrate, S.J., made the same remark in 1580-83 about the marvellous joining of the stones.

⁶ Peter Mundy (II. 209) writes: "In the corners on the outside [of the outer wall] great round Towers with galleries above; on the Top sundry Turrets, Copulaes, etts., which much beautify it." Sir R. C. Temple (*Peter Mundy*, II. 209 n. 1) gives the following references to other early descriptions: *Ā'in* (Jarrett II. 180); Finch (in *Purchas*), ed. Macle hose, IV. 72-74; Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 163; Herbert, p. 62; Pelsart, pp. 1-2; Mandelslo, pp. 44-47; Thévenot, Pt. III. p. 33; Tavernier, ed. Ball, I. 105-109. Add Peter Mundy, II. 209-210.

⁷ Peter Mundy (II. 209) and Herbert (p. 59) speak also of four gates. In reality, the second gate of Manrique is followed by an inner gate, the *hālhi pol*, or Elephant Gate, thus called probably from the two elephant statues which stood there.

⁸ Finch also calls the Delhi Gate the 'Cicheri' Gate. If the *c* is soft, 'Cicheri' might stand for [Fatehpur] Sikrī; but it is more likely from Finch that it stands for 'kachahri' = [gate of] the hall of justice.

⁹ I must refer the reader to a long article on *The Elephant Statues of Agra and Delhi*, which I sent for publication to Sir John Marshall, the Director-General of Archaeology. The following summary of that paper may be useful meanwhile.

Two life-sized elephant statues with their riders were set up by Akbar before one of the gates of the Agra Fort before 1580 (*Mon-serrate*); they were of black marble, slate? (*Manrique*), and stood at the western or Delhi Gate of the Fort (Abul Fazl, *Ā'in*, before 1596; *Finch*, 1611; *Peter Mundy*, 1632; *Manrique*, 1641).

The human figures are differently explained. They represented: 1. Two petty Kings whom Akbar killed with his own gun (*Mon-serrate*, in whose Rānā Partāb Singh we may recognise Jaimal, general to Udai Singh, Partāb Singh's father, who was shot by Akbar at Chitor in 1568); 2. Two Rājās (*Finch*), two brothers Rājputs (*Purchas*), *Finch*, or at any rate *Purchas*, alluding apparently to the sons of Akhayrāj, killed in 1605 under Jahāngīr; 3. Jaimal [and] Patta of Chittor and one of his generals (*de Laet*, 1620-29; *Herbert*, 1627-29); 4. Malik Mirān (*i.e.*, Bahādur Khān Farūqī), and two Princes of the Deccan (one of them being apparently Bahāhur Nizām Shāh), *Manrique*. *de Laet*'s explanation agreeing with *Mon-serrate*'s must be the correct one.

MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA. 127

Jahāngir may have tried to wrest from the group its original meaning by adding a third human figure, but the two black marble statues of Amr Singh and Karan, killed in 1616 (see *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, transl.), were not placed on the elephants.

After 1641, the Agra statues are no longer mentioned. On the other hand, no elephant statues appear at Delhi before 1648. After that, we hear of two life-sized statues of elephants at Delhi (*Bernier*, 1663; *Thévenot*, 1666; *Manucci*); the riders represented Jaimal and Patta (*Bernier*, *Manucci*), the former of whom Akbar killed with his own gun (*Manucci*). Damaged about 1658 (*Manucci*), the statues were removed by Aurangzeb in 1668. In 1863, two elephants in black stone of a slaty texture were re-discovered in the Fort, Delhi, and Cunningham, before he knew of *Bernier's* account, explained two of the human torsos as representing Rājput chiefs, another as one of the mahauts.

It was commonly held that the Delhi statues were those which had stood at Agra, the reason being that the same story was connected with the statues of Agra (*de Laet*) and Delhi (*Bernier*). Certain technical objections lately raised showed that this theory was highly improbable, not to say untenable. Two facts never mentioned before in the discussion are: (1) that in 1871-72 an elephant statue was seen sticking out of a heap of rubbish near the artillery barracks in the Agra Fort; (2) that, shortly afterwards, two elephant statues were in the Archaeological Museum of the Agra Fort. They must have disappeared since.

The original position of the two elephants recovered at Delhi in 1863 was neither the Lahore Gate, nor the Naqqar-khāna, but the Delhi Gate of the Fort. One author places, besides, at the Lahore Gate another group, of which no vestige has been found. Probably the Delhi statues formed part of the plan of the new Fort built in 1638-48, and were executed on the spot. The story of Patta's mother, or Jaimal's wife, as found in *Bernier*, *Manucci* and *Col. Tod*, is a reminiscence of Padmāvati of Chitor, involving an anachronism of 250 years. The present new statues at Delhi are meaningless without Jaimal and Patta to ride them. They ought to carry us back, through the destroyed Agra statues, to the capture of Chitor in 1568.

¹⁰ From *dakhanī*, *dakhnī* = southern; whence "Deccan."

¹¹ The allusion must be to Asir or Asirgarh, which Akbar took from Bahādur Khān Farūqī of Khandesh. Cf. *Beale, Orient. Bibl. Dict.*, s. v., and von Noer, *The Emperor Akbar*, III. 353-365. It resisted eleven months, and fell in 1601. The treasures garnered in it for 200 years fell to the Moghul, and Bahādur Khān Farūqī was sent a prisoner to Gwalior. Several of the Farūqī dynasty of Khandesh

128 MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA.

had borne the title of Malik and Mirān. Cf. Beale, *op. cit.*, s. v., Mirān 'Adil Khān Farūqī up to Mirān Muḥammad Khān Farūqī II. In the same campaign, Ahmadnagar was taken from Bahādūr Nizām Shāh who was also sent a captive to Gwaliōr. Cf. Beale, *op. cit.*, s. v.

For an account of the taking of Asīrgarh, Sir R. C. Temple (*Peter Mundy*, II 52 n. 1) refers us to Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, p. 518; Jourdain, ed. Foster, p. 146 n. 4, where Finch's version is quoted; and *The Nimar Distr. Gazr.*, pp. 19-31, 202-203.

¹² From *chautara*, *chautarā* (also *chabūtara*, *chabūtrā*). Hind.: a tribunal or court of justice. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. 'chabootra.'

¹³ From *qādī* (Arab.): judge. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. 'cazee,' and see supplt.

¹⁴ Nawāb (Hind.): properly the Arabic plural of *nāyab* = deputy. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Nabób.

¹⁵ 'Drouuagè Achabar' = 'Drowage Achabar' (with metathesis of *darwāza* to *drawāza*) = Akbar's Gate. Finch has 'Acabar Drowage.'

¹⁶ From *darshan* (Sanskṛt): appearance, sight.

¹⁷ *Tasīm* (Arab.): a more respectful mode of salutation than the *kornish*, consisting in lowering the right hand until the knuckles nearly touch the ground, then gradually raising the body and lifting the hand to the crown of the head. (*Forbes*).

¹⁸ *Tamāsha* (Arab.): entertainment, show.

¹⁹ 'Aṭash-khāna = the place of thirst.

²⁰ *Darbār* (Pers.): court, hall of audience.

²¹ Evidently derived from *pankhā* (Sanskṛt): a fan. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. 'punkah.'

²² Peter Mundy (II. 214) mentions in the finest gardens of Agra (1632) cypresses, orange-trees, apple-trees (scarce), mulberry-trees, mango-trees, cocoanut-trees, fig-trees, plantain-trees. Among flowers: roses, marigolds (scarce; only in the Mothī Bāgh), French marigolds (in abundance), red, carnation and white poppies, and white flowers on trees, not known in Europe. "During Akbar's reign trees and flowers of various kinds were imported and planted at Fatehpur Sīkrī and Agra. Apples were brought from Samarkand." Cf. Sir R. C. Temple, *ibid.*, II. 214 n. 3. Neither Manrique nor Mundy mentions vines in the *angūrī bāgh* of the Fort.

²³ Manrique's similarity with Finch is striking. (Cf. Macle hose ed. of *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV. 72-75). "Near the north gate," says Finch, "lay great pieces of artillery; the west gate, to the Bazar, was called the 'Cichery' gate, within which, over against the great gate [the inner gate], is the Cāsi his seat of Chief-Justice in matters of law, and by it two or three murtherers [mortars] very great (one three foot

MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA. 129

in the bore, and fifteen long) of cast brasse. Over against this seat is the Cichery [kachahri?] or Court of Rolls, where the King's Viseer [*Manrique compares the Chief Nawāb to the Visir in Turkey*] sits every morning some three houres, by whose hands passe all matters of Rents, Grants, Lands, Firmans, Debts, &c.

"Beyond these two gates you passe a second gate [the inner gate of the Delhi gate] over which are two Rajaws in stone, who were slaine in the Kings Derbar before the Kings eyes, for being over-bold in speech, they selling their lives bravely, in remembrance of which they are here placed. Passing this gate, you enter into a fair streete, with houses and munition all alongst on both sides. At the end of this street being a quarter of a mile [*Manrique speaks of a court (plaza) of a quarter of a league*], you come to the third gate, which leads to the Kings Derbar, alwayes chained, all men, but the King and his children, there alighting. This gate is to the south called Acabar Drowage close within which is the Whores child [*Manrique's Muham-madan college of infamy*], many hundreds of which attend there day and night, according as their several turnes come every seventh day, that they may be ready when the King or his women shall please to call any of them to sing or dance in his Moholl, he giving to every one of them stipends according to their unworthy worth.

"The fourth Gate is to the River, called the Dersane, leading into a faire Court extending alongst the River, in which the King lookes forth every morning at Sunrising, which hee salutes, and then his Nobles resort to their Tessilam. Right under the place where he lookes out, is a kind of scaffold whereon his Nobles stand, but the Addees with others awayt below in the Court. Here also every noone he looketh forth to behold Tamashan, or fighting of Elephants, Lyons, Buffles, killing of Deare with leopards; which is a custom on every day of the weeke, Sunday excepted, on which is no fighting; but Tuesday [*Manrique says Thursday*] on the contrary is a day of blood, the King judging and seeing execution. To returne to the third Gate, within it you enter into a spacious court with Atescanna's round about like shops or open stalls, wherein his Capitaines, according to their degrees, keep their seventh day Chockees. A little further you enter within a rayle into a more inward Court, within which none but the King's Adees, and men of sort are admitted, under paine of swacking by the Porters cudgells, which lay on load without respect of persons.

"Being entred, you approach the Kings Derbar or Seat, before which is also a small Court inclosed with railes, covered over head with rich Semianes to keepe away the sunne; where aloft in a Gallery, the King sits in his chaire of State, accompanied with his Children and

130 MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA.

Chiefe Vizier (who goeth up by a short ladder forth of the Court) no other without calling daring to goe up to him, save onely two Punkaw's to gather wind. And right before him below on a scaffold is a third, who with a horse taile makes havocke of poore flies. On the right hand of the King, on the wall behind him, is the picture of our Savior; on the left, of the Virgin. Within these railes none under the degree of four hundred horse are permitted to enter [*Manrique may have misunderstood this, when he says that only the 400 Captains of Cavalry (los quatrocientos Capitanes de cavallo) are admitted within the rails*]. On the further side of this Court of presence, are hanged golden bells, that if any be oppressed and can get no justice by the Kings Officers, by ringing these bells when the King sits, he is called. and the matter discussed before the King. But let them be sure their cause be good, least he be punished for presumption to trouble the King. Here every day between three and foure a clocke, the King comes forth (and many thousands resort to do their duties, each taking place according to his degree) where hee remains hearing of matters, receiving of newes by letters read by his Vizier, graunting of suites, &c., till shutting in of the evening, the drumme meane while beating, and Instruments playing from a high Gallery on the next building opposite: his Elephants and Horses passing by in brave fashion, doing their Tessillam, and being perused by Officers to see if they prosper. In the Castle are two high Turrets, over-laid with massie gold, *which may be seen from farre, one over the Moholl, the other over his Treasury*. After his going in from the Derbar in the Evening, some two houres after he comes out againe, sitting forth in a small more inward Court, behind the other, close to his Moholl, into which none but the Grandes, and they also with tickets to be renewed with every Moone, are permitted to enter, where he drinckes by number and measure, sometimes one and thirtie, and running over, mixing also among, severe judicatures. From this Court is *his privy passage into a curious garden, and to his Barge, by which he often passeth the River to another Garden opposite*. It is remarkable, that both in Court, and here in these Gardens, no Courtiers or Gardeners are tied to attendance, but by their seventh dayes turne."

* * *

NOTES TO CHAPTER LX (pp. 117-121).

- ¹ Manrique is particularly hard on Akbar. One does not see why. Other early descriptions of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra are pointed out by Sir R. C. Temple in *Peter Mundy*, II. 211, n. 2, viz.: Hawkins and Finch (who saw it before completion), in Purchas, ed. Maclehose,

MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA. 131

III. 51; IV. 75-76; Herbert, p. 63; Terry, pp. 291-292; Thévenot, Pt. III. p. 34; Heber, *Journey from Calcutta to Bombay*, London, 1828, I. 386-387; Latif, *Agra*, pp. 167-182. Add: *Peter Mundy*, II. 210-213.

² About the Christian pictures at Sikandra, see Finch in Kerr, VIII. 305.

Tavernier calls the tomb erroneously Jahāngīr's tomb, and notes that, "over the gate of this garden you see a painting which represents his [Akbar's] tomb covered by a great black pall, with many torches of white wax, and two Jesuit Fathers at the ends. One is much astonished at seeing that Shāh Jahān, contrary to the practice of the Muhammadans, who hold images in abhorrence, has allowed this painting to remain, and it can only be in consequence of the fact that the King his father and he himself had learnt from the Jesuits some principles of mathematics and astrology." (Ball's ed., I. 111).

Manucci writes (*Storia do Mogor*, by W. Irvine, I. 141): "There were drawings of human figures. Over these King Aurangzeb ordered a coat of whitewash to be applied, so that the drawings might not be seen. . . . I obtained entrance to this garden several times to inspect the mausoleum, being anxious to see the above-named figures before Aurangzeb should order them to be covered over.

"The figures in the principal gateway of the garden were a crucifix, the Virgin Mary, and Saint Ignatius. . . . As I have already said, there was a holy crucifix delineated on the wall, on the right hand of the crucifix the image of Our Lady with the Infant Jesus in her arms, while on the left was St. Ignatius, the whole delineated. In the ceiling of the dome were great angels and cherubim and many other painted figures. There were also many censers which were lighted every day." All these paintings must have been executed under Jahāngīr, whose fondness for Christian paintings by the best European masters is yet inadequately known.

³ Catrou has badly interpreted Manucci here: "Orang-zeb order'd the walls of the Mosque [Akbar's tomb] to be hung with a Gold-brocade. His Design was to conceal from the Eyes of the Mahometans a large Crucifix, which M. Manouchi [Manucci] perceived in lifting up the Hangings. He also saw there a fine statue of the Blessed Virgin, and another of St. Ignatius." Catrou, *op. cit.*, p. 169, and see W. Irvine's remarks in *Storia do Mogor*, I. 141, n. 1; IV. 409-420.

⁴ Did Manrique see the false cenotaph on the topmost terrace, or the tomb in the vault? One would best understand the presence of carpets in the underground vault. Several points in this description are not noticed in other travellers; but sundry particulars seem to have been different at different times. After comparing Manrique with Finch, I believe the carpets were on the topmost terrace. "At my last

132 MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA.

sight thereof," says Finch, "there was only overhead a rich tent, with a Semaine [shāmiyānā] over the Tombe." And he says of the people that they strewed flowers on the carpets or on the tomb.

⁵ It is still the practice in India of hanging up the plan of large edifices while under construction. Such a plan is on view in the Victoria Memorial now building in Calcutta, and a miniature wooden facsimile of the monument is to be seen in the lodge at the gate. This explains the several models of the finest architecture which Jerome Veroneo presented to Shāh Jahān for approval. I find in a MS. letter of a Jesuit who visited Agra in 1631-32, that in 1631 Shāh Jahān had given orders to some Europeans in his suite to make a throne of gold (the Peacock Throne), and that they presented him first a model in gold.

⁶ This tower must have been removed later. It seems to have preceded the four towers round the tomb proper, for Manrique does not speak of them. What this single tower in the centre of the area was meant for, we cannot say. It is hardly likely that it served only for taking measurements; but, if Manrique says that there was such a tower in the centre of the area, any amount of cavilling will not prove that it was not there, so long as we have no other contemporary account contradicting it. It may have been found later that its central position obstructed the view of the monument; and so, after Veroneo's death, it would have been removed, and (let us say) rebuilt on one of the four corners near the tomb. Does Manrique perhaps speak of the dome over the tomb? It is not likely.

⁷ There seems to have been a lull in the construction in 1640-41, or we may conclude that the work had nearly reached completion. A thousand workmen at a time was a small number, compared to the figures given by others at other times.

⁸ I have discussed in *J.A.S.B.*, 1910, No. 6, the claims of Veroneo to being considered as the architect of the Tāj, and I have in MS. a more elaborate paper on this subject. Public opinion is gradually veering round from the auto-suggestions of dreamy art-critics to the sober statements of a contemporary traveller. Ordinary folk must refuse to understand how, if a Turk or a Persian could have built the Tāj, a Venetian goldsmith could not have planned it.

Veroneo is mentioned in Manucci's *Storia do Mogor* (I. 183), where he is put down for influence or wealth with Mīrzā Zū-l Qarnain, the two helping to ransom some of the 4,000 Christians, brought from Hugli to Agra in 1633. "There were also a few others—laymen, who held fast to the faith, but were released through the petitions of some persons at Court, chiefly of an Armenian, who was a great favourite [Mīrzā Zū-l Qarnain], or through the money paid by a Venetian, my compatriot, called Hieronimo Veroneo, a man ransomed by the Portuguese."

MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA. 133

Veroneo must have been a married man, for Maria Veronea, mentioned by Manucci (III. 227), may have been his daughter or granddaughter. It was a common practice among the Portuguese, at least in India, to make family names in *o* end in *a* (a feminine ending), when applied to women. Of this I have found many instances. In 1657, while at Delhi, Maria used spells to gain Manucci's hand. She was then 18 years old, and the daughter of a European. If her father was an Italian, a Venetian, her desire to marry a Venetian countryman of hers would have been perfectly natural. Manucci was then her own age. She would have been born, therefore, shortly before Jeronimo Veroneo's death. His tomb in the Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra, bears the following inscription: AQVI · IAZ · IER/ONIMO · VERO/NEO · FALECEO · /EM LAHOR · 2/D · AGOSTO DE/ · 1640 · / [= Here lies Jeronimo Veroneo (who) died at Lahor on the 2nd of August 1640]. His body must therefore have been brought to Agra, a not uncommon practice in those days among the Catholics of Mogor, for the Agra cemetery was apparently the only Christian one in Mogor about 1640. Fr. de Castro, who died at Lahor in 1646, was buried in Padres Santos' Cemetery, Agra, and Catholics of a later date who died at Delhi were brought to Agra, even when Delhi had already a cemetery of its own.

The suggestion that Maria Veronea was Jerome's daughter was made to me independently some years ago by Father H. Colli, of the Hyderabad diocese, Deccan.

Peter Mundy received a visit from Jerome Veroneo at the English house, Agra, between January 3rd and 6th of 1630/31 (cf. II. 65). He mentions him as a Venetian and a goldsmith in Shāh Jahān's pay, together with Signior Francesco, a French embroiderer, and Signor Angelo (Gradenigo), a Physician, in 1632-33 (II. 208). On Febr. 25, 1632 (1633), he and two Dutchmen and an Englishman accompanied Mundy some way on the road to Fatehpur Sikrī, bade him farewell and returned to Agra (II. 225).

Veroneo is mentioned again in 1637. John Drake was mortally wounded at a village 4 kos from Dholpur, and there he died on March 5, 1637. The news was first communicated to the English factory at Surat by the Dutch 'Commadore,' after which it was confirmed "by letters from the Rector of the Jesuits in Agra [Fr. J. de Castro], (who sealed his papers), from Jeronimo Veronio, an Italian jeweller, and" Cf. W. Foster, *English Factories in India* (1637-41), p. 13.

The most striking evidence in Veroneo's favour thus far is in a MS. letter of Fr. Francis Corsi, S.J., reviewing events that had occurred between the end of 1627 and the 13th of June, 1628. We learn that three Venetians employed at the Court of Agra, and the most powerful and influential, took sides against the Superior of the Jesuit

134 MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA.

Mission in Mogor, Fr. Francis Leam, about a certain inheritance. The first was Bernardino Maffei, a relative of Fr. Peter Maffei (the Jesuit writer), and the King's physician († at Agra, Aug. 11, 1628); another was Angelo Gradenigo, about whom see Sir R. C. Temple (*Peter Mundy*, II. 208 n.); the third was Jeronimo Veroneo, "*que tem bellas mãos e boas abilitades pa fazer pezas curiozas de oro esmaltadas com pedraria*" (who has fine hands and great skill for making curious pieces in gold set with precious stones); hence, he was so highly valued by Āsaf Khān and the new King, Shāh Jahān, "*e por isso he tam muito estimado do Asafxan e do novo Rey*," that he received Rs. 10 a day. We expect him to have been employed on the Peacock Throne, and when Āsaf Khān's daughter, Shāh Jahān's beloved wife, died, would he not have been the very first man consulted by Shāh Jahān and Āsaf Khān for the building of the Tāj? What will Mr. Havell and his pupils say? Their one ambition is to discover for the Tāj any other architect but a European.

It is also a fact that Agra seems to have kept a tradition about Shāh Jahān's having employed on the Tāj an Italian architect, but this tradition was crushed almost out of existence by the stories told about Austin of Bordeaux. It materialized rarely in print, much less at all events than the stories about Austin of Bordeaux. However, it found expression in 1843, 1853, 1869, *i.e.* before Keene discovered in Manrique the name of Veroneo (1879). Before Keene, no one could have shown that it had any historical foundation. On what then did it rest, if not on a historical foundation independent of Manrique, *viz.* the fact that Veroneo had designed the Tāj?

Bayard Taylor, an American gentleman, who visited Agra in 1853, wrote: "From the resemblance of this screen [in the Tāj] and the workmanship of the tomb to Florentine mosaic, it has been supposed that it was executed by an Italian architect, and I have even heard it stated that the Tāj was designed by an Italian artist." (Italics mine). Bayard Taylor did not credit the rumour, neither did J. T. N., in his *Guide to the Taj at Agra*, Lahore, 1869, p. 22, where he quotes Bayard Taylor. It matters not. It is sufficient that Bayard Taylor heard at Agra the story of an Italian architect of the Tāj, and that Manrique's book lay forgotten till Keene found it 26 years later. J. T. N. added on his own account: "As to the style of architecture [of the Tāj], I should be diffident in giving an opinion; some say it is Florentine; some declare it is perfectly Oriental; certain it is I have never seen any style like it, either in Italy, Turkey or Spain, and only one kind like it in India; it may be Florentine engrafted on the Indian. The natives, of course, ignore its European origin, and declare it was designed and built by one Isā Mahomed Effendi, who was sent by the Sultan of Room

MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA. 135

(Turkey) to the Emperor Shahjehan for this very purpose. Other accounts, just as reliable as the above, state it was designed by a French architect, whose name was Austin de Bordeaux [*sic*], and who lived at the Emperor's court. *The tomb of this foreigner was still extant a few years ago in the graveyard of the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Agra, but still this does not prove he built the Taj.*"

Shake the wheat out of the chaff, and Austin of Bordeaux falls with the chaff. J. T. N. copies Sleeman about Austin of Bordeaux' being the reputed architect of the Taj. His mistaken spelling 'Bordeux' for 'Bordeaux' is a sufficient guarantee for this. Now, Austin's tomb is not at Agra, but only that of a daughter of his. To suppose that the tombstone of Austin (it would have been a headstone like that of his daughter) had disappeared a few years before 1869, is too easy and too simple. From Tavernier we know that he was poisoned on his way back from Cochin (cf. Sir E. D. Maclagan, *Four Letters by Austin of Bordeaux*, in *Journ. of the Panjab Histor. Soc.*, Vol. IV, pp. 3-17). Do we expect him to have been buried at Agra after that? If then it was said in 1869 that the tomb of the foreigner was in the cemetery of the R. C. Cathedral (understand Padres Santos' Cemetery), the information might have been wrong about the name of the architect, but it was correct in the rest. In spite of Sleeman, the story in 1853 was that the architect was an Italian. Now Padres Santos' Cemetery contains the tomb of the Italian architect Veroneo, the man of Manrique. Naturally, this tomb was overlooked when, about 1869, people, with Sleeman's notions in their head, sought for Austin's tomb, and since Austin's tomb could not be found, as was to be expected, it was said that the tomb of the foreigner had disappeared, "though it was still there a few years before."

But, Bayard Taylor is not our earliest witness to the tradition. We hear it ten years earlier, before Sleeman came out with the story of Austin of Bordeaux. Capt. Leopold von Orlich (*Travels in India*, London, 1845, II. 47) writes: "We do not know who was the architect of this building of magic beauty [the Taj], but there is much reason to suppose that an Italian was placed by Shah Jehan at the head of the undertaking, and was loaded by him with great honours. Perhaps, he was one of those who are buried in the Catholic Cemetery, and who, according to the date on the tombstone, lived there at that time. Eleven years were employed in building it, and many more were required for finishing the ornamental parts." This occurs in a letter from Agra, 21st February, 1843. Von Orlich visited the Catholic Cemetery (II. 49-50), and describes the tomb of William Hessing. He seems then to have been shown Veroneo's tomb, for Veroneo is the only Italian buried there who appears to be contemporary with the Taj, and have

136 MANRIQUE'S DESCRIPTION OF AGRA.

any claims to architectural abilities. (See also J. H. Stocqueler, *Hand-Book of British India*, 3rd edn., London, 1854, p. 230. I have not seen the edn. of 1844, nor the 2nd which came shortly after 1844.)

Veroneo's tomb is a fine specimen of the best and most expensive Christian tombs of that period. "It is situated between Colonel Hessing's monument and the Martyrs' Chapel. It consists of a plinth of masonry 9 by 5 feet and one foot high. A common stone, about 8 inches thick, is embedded in its centre, and serves as a base to a sarcophagus in red stone, similar in size and style to those we commonly see on Mahomedan graves, and bearing the cross and Veroneo's inscription both engraved in relief on its surface." Cf. E. A. H. Blunt, *Christian Tombs and Monuments in the United Provinces*, pp. 58-59.

Close by, under exactly similar monuments, lie the other two Venetians; Bernardino Maffei, the surgeon, on the right († Aug. 11, 1628), and Hortensio Bronzoni, the lapidary, on the left († Aug. 15, 1677).

I answer an objection made by Sir R. C. Temple in *Peter Mundy*, II. lvi: "It is noteworthy.....that, though this building [the Tāj] was in course of construction while Mundy was in residence at Agra, and though Veroneo was personally known to him, yet he says nothing of the Italian's connection with the work. Had Veroneo really been the architect, it is unlikely that so accurate a chronicler as Mundy would have failed to mention the fact. He saw the work going on 'with excessive labour and cost and prosecuted with extraordinary diligence.' The solid gold railing around the tomb (afterwards replaced by a network of marble) was already complete by 1632, and Shāh Jahān had founded a suburb to provide a revenue for the upkeep of the Mausoleum, and had caused 'hills to be made levell because they might not hinder the prospect of it.' (p. 213)." What Mundy saw must have been the work of levelling the hills, the raising of the terrace on which the Tāj was built, and perhaps the outer wall all around the garden; as for the gold railing, it was at the temporary tomb. Veroneo had not yet begun, perhaps, the tomb proper. At any rate, all of us who have some experience of historical research will be ready to admit that the silence of a score of writers does not weigh up against one clear, circumstantial, uncontradicted testimony, such as Manrique's is.

The latest literature on the subject is pointed out by Sir R. C. Temple in *Peter Mundy*, II. 208 n., viz.: Blunt, *Christian Tombs in the United Provinces*; Havell, *Agra and the Tāj*, pp. 137-141; Vincent A. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India*, s. v. Veroneo; Sarkar, *Who built the Tāj Mahal?* (*Anecdotes of Aurangzib*), pp. 145-150.

A FIND OF CLAY MOULDS FOR FORGING
COINS AT MATHURA.

BY PANNA LALL, I.C.S.

NO district in these Provinces has, perhaps, greater fascination for historical research than Mathura, and it

Great Antiquity of
the Site.

must be said that it has received its due share of attention from scholars.

Thanks to the patient labours of Cunningham and others, its past history has been reconstructed in great detail. Going backwards from now we pass through the period of Mughal supremacy and the later Brahmanical times when Mahmūd of Ghazni sacked the town to the early centuries of the Christian era, when it was under the rule of the Gupta Emperors. The celebrated Chinese travellers Hiuen Tsang and Fa Hian visited Mathura in 634 and 400 A.D. respectively, and their accounts show that Buddhism was predominant there then.

Further back we find from the evidence of statues, *stupas*, railings and coins that have been dug up that Mathura was under the Kushān Kings of Peshawar. Only recently a magnificent life-sized statue of one of these Kings (Kanishka) who ruled about 120 A.D. was unearthed there. Before the Kushāns the Indo-Greek King of Kabul Menander (2nd century B.C.) and the Satraps held Mathura under their sway.

The town Kalesobora mentioned by Arrian has been identified by Cunningham (Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XX, p. 45) with the Mohalla Keshopura in the Katra at Mathura, and thus he takes the worship of *Kesho* or *Keshav* (a name of Krishṇa) to the fourth century B.C. Krishṇa is also known as *Madhusūdana*, i.e. slayer of

138 *A FIND OF CLAY MOULDS AT MATHURA.*

Madhu, who probably was an aboriginal king slain by the Aryans under Krishna. The site of the city of this Madhu is also indicated in the neighbourhood (A.S.I., Vol. XX, p. 31).

The Katra site mentioned above has yielded many valuable remains. Not the least of them are the clay moulds for forging coins of which an account is given below. They were dug up recently by Rai Bahadur P. Radhā Krishna and sent by him to Mr. R. Burn, I.C.S., to whose courtesy I am indebted for this opportunity to describe them. Similar moulds were dug up on a previous occasion by Sir John Marshall during his excavations at Taxila (A.S.I. 1912-13, pages 34-35), but the impress of the coins in them showed them to belong to the period of Azes II, about 15 B.C. Our moulds, as will be shown below, are many centuries earlier.

Description of the Moulds.	The find consists of nine flat circular discs of baked clay, 2.35 inches in diameter and varying in thickness from .15 to .3 inches.
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Three such discs laid on each other formed one double mould in which two sets of coins could be made at once. One complete mould was found and fragments of others. The illustrations A, B, C, and D, in Pl. IV.... show the four operating surfaces of the three discs which make up the one complete mould. A and D are the outside pieces which have impresses only on one side. B and C are the two sides of the middle disc; these two surfaces have two raised pegs which fit into holes on the outside pieces and keep them from sliding. They can be just seen in the illustration B. When the middle disc (B-C) is put between the two outer discs (A and D), the grooves in the discs come opposite each other, and through the channel thus formed molten silver is poured in. There being five impressions on each surface ten coins can be manufactured at each operation.

The coins which these moulds were used to forge are the punch-marked or *shroff*-marked coins, so called

A FIND OF CLAY MOULDS AT MATHURA. 139

because instead of bearing the name or image of a king, they only have symbols stamped on them with a die or punch, representing possibly the mark of some chief or banker. Their proper name is *kārshāpaṇa*. These coins are flat pieces of silver cut into square or oblong shape by a chisel, and occasionally have one of their corners clipped to make them of the proper weight. It is interesting to see that the forger has copied some of these truncated types also.

The symbols on these coins are various, and their exact meaning, if they ever had one, is uncertain. Cunningham in his *Coins of Ancient India* (pp. 56-57) explains some of them.

Some of these coins have these marks only on one side, the other being smooth. They are probably the oldest. The specimens here described have several marks on one side, and only one on the other. They are probably earlier than those which have several stamps on each side.

It is obvious that the moulds must belong to a period when punch-marked coins were current and held in esteem. Their exact age is not known. But they undoubtedly are the oldest coins of India. Even Manu and Pāṇini speak of them as *purāṇa* (=old), probably to distinguish them from the then current Greek coins.

The frontispiece of Cunningham's C.A.I. gives two illustrations of a well-known Buddhist legend regarding the purchase of the Jetavana garden at Srāvastī. The vendor asked the whole surface of the garden to be covered with coins touching each other. It will be seen that the coins are punch-marked Purāṇas. This sculpture dates from about 250 B.C. Even in the time of the Buddha (6th century B.C.) they were known as *Purāṇa*. This is shown by the story, extracted by Burnouf from the Sūtras, of the courtesan Vāsavadattā who demanded 500 purāṇas as the price of her favours (C.C.A.I., page 20). Cunningham

140 *A FIND OF CLAY MOULDS AT MATHURA.*

indeed thinks that these punch-marked coins might even belong to 1000 B.C. In any case, it is unlikely that they would be forged after they had come to be relegated to the category of old coins. These moulds, therefore, must be earlier than the 6th century B.C.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT MUTTRA

(Based on some rough notes by the late Dr. A. VENIS, C.I.E.)

THE following is a brief preliminary notice of the excavations at two sites, conducted by Rai Bahadur Pandit Radhakrishna, Honorary Curator of the Muttra Museum, during part of the year 1917, and paid for entirely out of his own pocket from a sum of Rs. 2,000 which he has most generously set apart for the purposes of archaeology in the district of Muttra. The finds, 39 in number, have been deposited in the local Museum. Unhappily, the funds of the Historical Society at the present time do not allow of any extensive use being made of the photographic materials which the Rai Bahadur Sahib has very kindly placed at our service.

The two sites chosen were those of Girdharpura-tilā and Gayatri-tilā. The former is one of a group of mounds called Chaubāra-tilās about three miles S.W. of Muttra. Here thirty sculptured fragments were unearthed. At the Gayatri-tilā, which is situated about a mile and a half from Muttra City on the road leading to the G.I.P. Railway Station, and which takes its name from the goddess whose temple stands in the immediate neighbourhood, the spade yielded nine fragments of which two are figured in Plate V. No. 1 is the cross-bar of a railing, 1' 5" ht., on both sides of which a full-blown lotus-flower shows in relief an elephant moving. The carving is well done and may belong to the Mauryan Period as suggested by the elaborate head-dress of the two men seated on the elephant. No. 2 is a slab, 1' 8" ht., showing Buddha in dhyāna-mudrā within a cave-like niche. The āsana of the Buddha figure rests on a bird which may be a peacock. Each of the upper ends of the sculpture carries a Nāga with its head canopied by a

142 *RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT MUTTRA.*

hood of seven serpent-heads. Eight human figures and various animals are to be discerned within the field. The carving is too damaged to admit of the scene being identified with certainty. It may possibly commemorate the visit of Indra to Buddha when the latter was meditating on the Indrasaila mountain, though Indra and his attendant musician are not easy to find in the grouping of the figures. The work as a whole would appear to belong to the Kuṣāṇa Period. Plate VI is a reproduction of a standing figure, 6' 7" ht., which, if we may judge from the mode of dress and the oil-flask held in the left hand, was seemingly intended, in the first instance, as a statue of the Bodhisattva Maitreya, and was afterwards converted into an object of Vaiṣṇava reverence, when the sectarian tilaka and the sacred thread were added. The statue is said to have been brought from the Gayatri-tilā about 200 years ago and set up in an adjoining garden where it was worshipped under the name of Dānī Rai. Its poor workmanship would suggest that it is a later imitation of the Maitreya statues of the Kuṣāṇa found in the Muttra District. The owner has at last consented to the statue being given a suitable place in the Museum—thanks to the rare tact of the Rai Bahadur Sahib.

The six epigraphs reproduced in Plates VII and VIII are fragmentary and do not admit of a complete translation. Nos. 1-4 are in the Brāhmī script of the Kuṣāṇa Period; and the first three are dated in an unspecified era. No. 5 is in the Kharoṣṭhī script, but its five legible characters yield no clear meaning. The script of No. 6 has so far proved illegible. The notes hereto appended have not been submitted to professional epigraphists and can therefore claim no more than the merit of early publication. It is to be hoped that scholars will favour the U.P. Historical Society with technical notes on these facsimiles for publication in the next issue of the Journal.

Epigraph No. 1 is found on a fragment, 4" ht., of a stone water-course, nālī. As is evident from the inscrip-

RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT MUTTRA. 143

tion, the stone was originally the pedestal of a Buddha or Bodhisattva statue and was afterwards converted to a baser use. The statue, or whatever else the religious object may have been, was set up in the Mango-Monastery by one Dharmabala (?), who belonged to the Mahā-sāṃghika Sect. Line 1 (numbered from the bottom upwards) reads [va] rṣāṇā 90, 1, karanika. Apparently the gift was made in the year 91. May we suppose that the Śaka era is here meant? As to the word *karanika* = Sk. *karaṇika*, it may be noted that it has not been found in the Brāhmī inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa Period, as listed in Epig. Indica, Vol. X.

No. 2 is inscribed on the back of a statuette, 3' ht., of a standing Maitreya. The top line, which is the only one legible, reads—maharajasa sa 40.

No. 3 occurs on a fragment of a rounded stone and records the gift of some object of worship by Balanādiya (?) of the Gotama family and the wife of the brother of the Commander of the Forces. The top line seems to read:—mahārājasya sā 70 va pa 5 [varṣa instead of va pa is possible]. The two concluding lines would seem to read:—sava [bu] dhā [naṃ] puc'aye (=pūjaye) sapabhumi-dana [ṃ].

No. 4 occurs on a fragment of a Antel, 5½" ht., and records a gift made by one Buddhayaśa. It reads:—Go (⁺) śvastasya. Buddhayaśasya vāy.... The engraving is beautifully executed, but the first and last words are unintelligible.

No. 5 is borne on the left top corner of a slab, 8" ht., on which an elephant decorated and moving is shown on relief. The five Kharoṣṭhī letters yield no good sense.

No. 6 was found at the Katra mound. Its script (as already remarked) has baffled us.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

(I)

ŚRUGHNA AND THE HOME OF VALLABHA: A QUERY.

There is an interesting passage in the *Nyāyalilāvātī* by Vallabh-āchārya which, if rightly interpreted, might throw some light on the native place of the author. But the passage involves certain topographical difficulties and does not admit of an easy explanation. Thus, while explaining परत्व and अपरत्व Vallabha explains them by an illustration. He says: भवति हि चतुर्योजनान्तरिता मत्तो वाराणसी द्वियोजनान्तरितं च श्रुत्वापुरमित्यनुसन्धाय वाराणसीपरा अपरं च श्रुत्वापुरमिति व्यवहारः (*Nyāyalilāvātī*, Ben. Ed., p. 46; Bomb. Ed., p. 39). This means, assuming that it lends itself to a definite meaning at all, that the place where the treatise was composed was situated at a distance of 2 yojans from Śrughnapura and of 4 from Vārāṇasī (Benares). Where could such a place have been?

In the first place it seems evident that the two places mentioned in the text were the names of two cities rather than of two kingdoms. That Śrughnapura should be taken in the sense of a city is sufficiently clear from its termination (पुर); and the word Vārāṇasī, too, cannot be understood in any other sense than as the name of a city—the capital of the kingdom of Kāśī. Vārāṇasī as the name of a kingdom does not seem to occur in literature at all, nor will the etymology of the word bear such a meaning.

This being so, there can be only one possible conclusion following from the text: viz. the maximum distance between Benares and Śrughna, wherever the latter may have been situated, was only 6 yojans, while the minimum distance could have been no less than 2 *in any direction*. In other words, if we are to construct a topographical chart on the basis of these data we shall have to locate Śrughna at some point on the circumference of (i) any circle drawn with the place of Vallabha as centre and a line of 2 yojans as radius, or of (ii) a circle with Benares as centre and 6 yojans as radius, or (iii) of one with Benares as centre and 2 yojans as radius. In any case the city of Śrughna must fall on the fringe of the outermost circle or somewhere within its limits, and can never lie beyond this zone.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

145

In these circumstances it becomes rather hard to discover the identity of the site with any degree of precision.

In the history of Sanskrit literature the name of Śrughna is familiar enough. (a) In the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali it is often referred to as a palatial city enclosed by high ramparts.¹ (b) Under the Sūtra of Pāṇini—अभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारम् 4. 3. 86—the Kāśikākāra gives the word Śraughna as an example: अत्रमभिनिष्क्रामति कान्यकुब्ज द्वारं औघ्रम् । This means that Śraughna was the name of one of the gates of the city of Kanauj, so-called because of its opening out into a public road leading to Śrughna, and it also shows that it was still a great and flourishing city in the days of Jayāditya in the 7th century A.D.² (c) Hiouen Tsang visited this place (Su-lu-kin-na) in the same century and describes it as a town of 20 li circuit and a famous centre of education, both Brahmanical and Buddhistic. (d) Śrughna and Pāṭaliputra occur together in Sāṅkhyā Sūtra 1. 28 as the names of two familiar but distant countries (cf. Vijñāna Bhikṣu: अत्रपटलीपुत्रौ विप्रकृत्यौ देशविशेषौ). (e) The Divyāvadāna (Cowell's Ed., pp. 74-80) makes Srughnā the seat of an episode in the lives of the Buddha and a local Brāhmaṇa named Indra. (f) Varāha Mihira (Bṛihat Saṃhitā, XVI. 20; cf. Kāśyapa's statement quoted in Adbhuta Sāgara of Vallāla Sen, Benares Ed., p. 110) mentions it as one of the countries (all in Western India) allotted to Brihaspati.

All these literary evidences, weighed together, would seem to justify the suggestion that the city of Śrughna should be looked for in the Western regions of Northern India. Cunningham, on the basis of Hiouen Tsang's records, tried to make a more accurate determination of this spot and identified it with the modern village of Sugh near Thaneswar in the Jugadhri *tahsil* of Ambala District. (Reports, II. 226; Ancient Geography, p. 345; cf. Imp. Gaz., XXIII, 115). Watters, however, questioned the accuracy of this identification (on Yuan Chwang, I. 318), but offered no positive suggestions on the point. But it may be taken that his difference from Cunningham relates merely to the *exact* position of the city and does not materially affect the main issues here raised.

Now from the above it is clear that between Śrughna which is described by Vallabha as being 6 yojanas from Benares (I am taking the case of the greatest possible distance) and the village of Sugh near

¹ The Mahābhāṣya passages have been carefully brought together in Weber, Indische Studien, XIII, pp. 377-8.

² It should be remembered that the example of Śraughna as here given is Jayāditya's own, and not a case of the stock examples of which the grammarians and philosophers are as a rule known to have been so fond.

Thaneswar there is an interval of no less than 420 miles, assuming that a yojana is approximately an equivalent of eight British miles. How are we then to explain the passage in Nyāyalīlāvati? That there is no clerical error or corruption in the text is almost certain, for the reading is found in both the Benares and Bombay editions of the work and also in MSS. Are we then to suppose (i) that the city referred to by Vallabha under the name of Śrughna is meant for a different city from the more celebrated one of the same name further west, or (ii) that both are identical, but the exact locality is yet undetermined, or finally, (iii) that the passage, as it stands, is really beyond explanation, being a misrepresentation of the truth due to an imperfect geographical knowledge on the part of the author? Of course the identity of Śrughna being once established Vallabha's own place could easily be found out by calculation.

Can any clue be found to the solution of this question?

GOPINATH KAVIRAJ.

(2)

THE INITIAL YEAR OF LAKSHMAṆA SENA ERA: A CONFIRMATION OF KIELHORN'S THEORY.

Dr. Kielhorn, in an interesting paper, contributed to the *Indian Antiquary*, 1890 (pp. 1-7), tried to establish on the authority of a passage in the Akbarnama of Abul-Fazl, supported by an examination of 6 trustworthy dates from MSS. and Inscriptions, that the initial year of the Lakshmaṇa Sena era fell somewhere about 1118-1119 A.D. His view, which superseded the various older theories on the commencement of this era, is now widely accepted. But it was with some diffidence that the view was originally propounded; for while closing his paper Dr. Kielhorn remarked—"Time will show whether I am right or wrong." The aim of this present note is to show that he was indeed right.

During the last winter, while examining a number of old Sanskrit MSS. in possession of Babu Gopāla Dāsa of Benares, I came across a copy of Kāvya-prakāśalīlā, a commentary on Mammaṭa's famous rhetorical work, by Mahāmahopādhyāya Bhavadeva Miśra (popularly known as Abhinavāchārya), son of Maithila Krishnadeva Miśra and pupil of Mahāmahopādhyāya Bhavadeva Thakkura.¹ This MS. was not com-

¹ धीरः श्रीभवदेवठक्कुरगुरोः शिष्यो विशिष्योदित
स्तेन श्रीभवदेव पण्डितकविः श्रीकृष्णदेवात्मजः ।

पश्यन् विश्वमयं वपुर्ननुहरे गङ्गातटे पट्टने

तिस्रं सज्जनसन्नतिं विरचयन्नेतन्निबन्धं व्यधात् । (Verse 6, at the end of Chapter 10. Cf. also colophon under each chapter.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

147

plete, the 5th and 6th chapters being missing, but the importance of the work was not in any way the less for that in my eyes: Bhavadeva, as the author of a new gloss on the Bhakti Sūtras of Śāṇḍilya and of other works, was a familiar name to me, and though the fact was known that he had also commented on the Kāvya prakāśa (Aufrecht, Cat. Cat., II. 20) the work was extremely rare. In the list of commentaries on Kāvya prakāśa drawn up by Jhalkikar (2nd Edition, Introduction) Bhavadeva's name does not appear. The acquisition of this MS. therefore was in itself a fact of some interest to me. But the real historical value of the work, apart from its intrinsic merits, lay in the practical corroboration it afforded of the theory started for the first time about 27 years ago by Dr. Kielhorn on the vexed question of the first year of the Lakshmaṇa Sena Samvat.

Thus in verse 3 of the colophon at the end of chapter 10, we are plainly told that the work was composed at Patna (पट्टने) on the Ganges in La. Sam. 524 (वेदद्वीषमये), during the reign of the Emperor Shah Jehan. It is further affirmed in the same verse that this year 524 La. Sam. corresponded to 1563 of the Śaka era (शके वह्निरसेषुचन्द्रगुणिते) or 1641 A.D., thus showing that according to the computation which the author adopted the Lakshmaṇa Sena era had begun about 1039 Śaka (= 1117 A.D.).¹ The corresponding Samvat year is also given in verse 5 of the same colophon, viz. 1698: कुम्भीन्द्र (8) ग्रह (9) षट् (6) सुधांशु गुणिते संवत्सरे विक्रमचोखीन्द्रस्य ।

This proves that Dr. Kielhorn was not quite in the wrong when he hit upon 1118-9 as the probable year of the commencement of this era. The difference of one year, though calling for an explanation, is not of any material significance in a question like this on which so widely divergent opinions had been held.

GOPINATH KAVIRAJ.

(3)

BENARES AND ITS PANDITS.

I. DINAKARA AND GAṄGĀRĀMA.

The name of Dinakara Bhaṭṭa, another of the famous Muktāvali prakāśa, a commentary on the Nyāyasiddhānta Muktāvali of Viśva-

¹ शके वह्निरसेषुचन्द्र गुणिते, श्री लाक्षणे सम्मति
वेदद्वीषमये पयोदसमये गङ्गातटे पट्टने ।
श्रीमत्साहिजहान नामनि महीपाले महीं शासति
प्राप्ता पूर्त्तिमियं प्रकाशविलसल्लीला प्रसादात् प्रभोः ॥

nātha Pañchānana, is well known to the students of Sanskrit Philosophy ; and Gaṅgārāma's name too is not quite unfamiliar. They both belonged to Benares, and in their own times ranked among its leading scholars. But beyond this undoubted fact of their reputation and scholarship nothing very definite is known about their personal history ; and even the question of their ages has not yet been finally resolved. The only point of which one can be sure about the former in the study of his age is that he succeeded Viśvanātha on whose work he commented and that therefore he lived at some time after the middle of the 17th century. A vague inference this, but there was no means to ensure a greater precision in this matter.

Recently however I have discovered a manuscript (fols. 1-243) which furnishes some definite statements in regard to the dates and relations of these two authors. It is a commentary called Chashaka on Jagadīśa's Tarkāmrita, accompanied by a subcommentary (तात्पर्य) on the same, both by Gaṅgārāma Jadin, son of Nārāyaṇa.¹ The special interest of the MS. lies in the fact of its being a transcript in the author's own hand. The date of transcription appears as Saṃvat 1830 (= 1773 A.D.):

वर्षे वर्षाकाले चषकं त्रिंशद्वसु वसुधाया मिलिते ।

व्यलिखद् गङ्गारामो गङ्गारामोभयप्रीत्यै ॥

This leaves no doubt that Gaṅgārāma was living in 1773 A.D. In his Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. at Jammu (p. 69), Dr. Stein records the fact that the MS. of Naukā, a commentary on Bhānudatta's Rasatarāṅgiṇī (No. 461), by the same author, was composed in Saṃvat 1799. This gives us 1742 A.D. as the time of Gaṅgārāma. Reading together the two dates, separated by an interval of 31 years, we come to the conclusion that in 1773 A.D., when the MS. in question was copied, Gaṅgārāma was an aged man, say of 50, assuming that his literary activities had begun rather early in life.

On fol. 2a of the Chashaka tātparya the author notes that his work was directly inspired by the Muktāvalīprakāśa of his maternal grandfather (मातामह) गङ्गारामेण मया मुक्तावलीप्रकाशाद् अस्मन्मातामह यस्यात् स्फुरिते निष्पन्ने चषके सुधिया दत्तावधानया बुद्ध्या समर्पितं व्याख्यातमिति यावत् । That this refers to the famous work of Dinakara is beyond any question. And the author himself clears up the point further on towards the close of the book, where he makes explicit mention of his grandfather's name. Thus we read in Chashaka—

चषकसुवर्णस्पर्शं दिनकरकरकृतपरामर्शम् ।

जगदीशमथन कल्पं पिवन्तु तर्कामृतं कल्पम् ॥

¹ Copies of Chashaka exist elsewhere also, but the Tātparya is unique.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

149

The underlined expression plainly means that the work was revised by Dinakara and corrected with his own hand. The commentary explains—
 दिनकरेण अस्मन्मातामहेन कर्त्ता करेण लेखनसाधनत्वात् करणेन कृतः परामर्शः
 शोधनं यस्य तत् । showing that Dinakara was the name of his grandfather. Here I may add that the additions and alterations of Dinakara as referred to above occur on the margin of almost every page of this MS. These notes in Dinakara's hand testify that even so late as 1773 A.D. he was living, apparently a ripe old man of 90 or perhaps 100 years or more, with his intellectual powers still unimpaired. This estimate of Dinakara's age would not conflict with the date (Sam. 1770 = 1713 A.D.) of Ādarśa, a commentary on Vṛittaratnākara, by Divākara Bhaṭṭa, probably a brother of Dinakara (Ind. Off. Cat. p. 304) nor with any other established chronological facts. But a more exact approximation than this is possible concerning Dinakara's time. In the Collection of MSS. recently purchased for the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, there is a copy of Muktāvalīprakāśa, dated Saṃvat 1758 (= 1701 A.D.). The MS. belonged originally to Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, pupil of Rāma Govinda Tīrtha, and was presented to one Bhavadeva. Undoubtedly at this time Dinakara was a young man of some reputation.

According to Chashaka, Gaṅgārāma's teacher was one Nīlakantha¹. From the Muktāvalīprakāśa we learn that Dinakara's teacher too was of the same name.² Could they not have been identical?

I learn from an entry on a covering leaf of a MS. in the Library of Pandit Mukunda Śāstrī of Benares (from whom I obtained the copy of Chashaka) that Gaṅgārāma was the tutor to a grandson of Mahādeva Puntāmkar. And the teacher of this Mahādeva also was one Nīlakaṇṭha *alias* Śrīkaṇṭha Dīkshita. Could he too have been the same as Gaṅgārāma's teacher?

The times of the three Nīlakaṇṭhas are synchronous, and hence the query.

GOPINATH KAVIRAJ.

(4)

(1) In Blunt's "List of Inscriptions on Christian Tombs in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh" a Persian Inscription is given (*vide* page 23) which occurs on the tomb of a Captain Thomas Ross at Tappal Fort in the Aligarh District. In the text of the book the con-

¹ See the Introductory verse 1, " * * * नौलकण्ठ गुरुवे नमो नमः "

As usual in auspiciatory verses, this admits of a double sense, meaning both the Deity (Śiva) and a human being (named Nīlakaṇṭha).

² Here too a twofold meaning seems to be implied; perhaps the Divine Guru and the human Guru are both meant.

cluding words of this inscription are given as being تعمیر بست و پنج, دولت حیات سپرد, but in a separate addendum preceding the list of errata reference is made to a photograph of the inscription taken by Mr. Sanderson, which is said to show that the reading should be, instead of the first four words, تعمیر نعمت و پنج سال. The first two words as printed are meaningless. It appears to me that there can be little doubt that the first word must be really بهر, i.e. "at the age," and that the next word is more probably بدست than و شصت, as it is more likely that the age of the deceased was 25 than 65, in view of his military rank. Führer read the word بست, which would seem to be a mistake for بدست.

(2) In "Some remarks on Mughal Currency" in the first number of this Journal the reference (*vide* page 158) to the couplet inscribed on a gold muhr of Jahangir seems to overlook the fact that there are clearly two separate couplets in different metres, the first being in the Hazaj metre (Hazaj Musaddas Maqṣūr) and the second in Mutaqārib (Sālim) metre. There are two obvious misprints in the first couplet, ز being given for زر (gold) and شیده for شیده.

(3) The reference in the article on Hakim Mahdi 'Ali Khan (page 181) to the poet whose takhalluṣ was Nasikh wrongly gives his name as being Mirza Imam Bakhsh. The correct name of the poet was Shaikh Imam Bakhsh, as is clear from Beale's Dictionary of Oriental Biographies and from the account of the poet given in Ab-i-Hayat by Muhammad Husain Azad.

The chronogram by Nasikh is wrongly printed in the second line, which runs تاریخ بطرز نور کم کن (in which the word نور "light" is meaningless), the correct reading obviously being تاریخ بطرز نور کم کن.

R. P. DEWHURST, I.C.S.

PROCEEDINGS.

A MEETING of the Society was held in the Law College of the Allahabad University, on Wednesday, December 20th, 1916, at 5-45 P.M. The chair was taken by the Hon'ble Dr. Sundar Lal, C.I.E. Mahamahopadhyaya Ganga Nath Jha, Litt. D., Professor of Sanskrit, read an interesting paper on "The Evolution of Hindu Law," in which the writer traced the growth of Hindu Law from Shruti, the revealed word, through Smṛti, the work of human beings of almost divine authority, down to Āchāra, or custom. It was pointed out how these various stages were the natural results of the needs of the different ages that had produced them, and the writer traced the variations in the relative importance of the three main types.

Dr. Sundar Lal, in thanking the lecturer for his paper, pointed out the many different ways in which the growth of Mahommedan Law was parallel to that of Hindu Law.

A Meeting of the Society was held in the Science Lecture Room of the Muir College, Allahabad, on Wednesday, January 17th, 1917, at 5-45 P.M. The Hon'ble Sir George Knox, Kt., I.S.O., presided, and Mr. E. A. Molony read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on "The Taj Mahal." Sir George Knox, in thanking the lecturer, said that the paper had impressed him with its writer's attachment to the subject with which he was dealing, and would assuredly enable its hearers, when visiting the Taj Mahal again, to do so with a more intelligent interest in, and an even greater appreciation of, its many beauties.

The second Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Science Lecture Room of the Muir College, Allahabad, at 6-15 P.M., on Tuesday, March 6th, 1916.

The Honorary Secretary read a brief report of the year's work, in which he stated that the Society had held eight meetings for the purpose of hearing papers or lectures from the date of its inauguration until the end of 1916. It was hoped that the first number of the Journal, which had been sent to Press on the preceding 1st of December, would shortly be in the hands of members. He then read out the names of a number of members who had paid no subscription since the inauguration of the Society. A number of names were there and then

struck off the roll of membership. With regard to the remainder the Honorary Treasurer was requested to remind them by means of reply paid postcards, and it was resolved that if their subscriptions were not paid within a month their names should be struck off the list.

The Honorary Treasurer then read out a report showing the amount that had been collected and spent up to date. Mr. Burrell suggested that it would be more useful to have a statement of receipts and expenditure up to the end of the last calendar year, and the Honorary Treasurer was requested to prepare this. The statement in question is as follows :—

1916		Receipts.			Expenditure			
By Donations—		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs. A. P.			
Raja Lalta Prasad ..		1,000	0	0	Cheque Book ..	3	2	0
Sahu Har Prasad ..		500	0	0	Postage stamps ..	6	12	0
R. B. Lala Ram Sarup		500	0	0	Mr Buckler—petty cash	10	0	0
By Subscriptions—					Messrs. Guzder & Co. ..	9	0	0
For 1916 ..		1,135	2	0	Refund of H.H.'s subs. ..	10	0	0
„ 1917 ..		50	0	0	Bank's commission on			
Part „ 1918 ..		1	6	0	cheques ..	2	12	0
					Liddell's Bill ..	11	4	0
					Indian Press ..	73	7	6
					Lala Ram Tewari per			
					clerical work ..	10	0	0
					Naini Tal Club, hire of			
					chalet ..	11	6	0
					Mr. Bourdillon—stamps	10	0	0
					Remington Typewriter Co.	3	6	0
					Mr. Rushbrook Williams			
					for Mr. Gardner Brown's			
					lecture ..	10	8	0
					Stamps and stationery			
					(Treasurer) for ensuing			
					year ..	10	0	0
					To credit of Curator,			
					Lucknow Museum, for			
					excavation ..	2,000	0	0
						2,181	9	6
					Balance ..	1,004	14	6
						3,186	8	0

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Rafique and Mr. S. H. Fremantle were selected to audit the accounts, in accordance with Rule No. 14.

The President, Dr. Venis, then reported that handsome donations had been received from Raja Lalta Pershad, Rai Bahadur (Rs. 1,000), Sahu Ram Swarup, Rai Bahadur (Rs. 500), and Sahu Har Prasad, (Rs. 500), all of Pilibhit, and that the money was being devoted to excavations at Sankissa. At Dr. Venis' suggestion it was resolved that these three gentlemen be elected life-members of the Society, and the Secretary was directed to write them a letter of thanks for their munificent gifts, and to ask if they would consent to their names being associated with the collection of exhibits from Sankissa, which would be placed in the Lucknow Museum. Mr. Burn then gave a brief statement

PROCEEDINGS.

153

as to the result, up to date, of the excavations, which were being carried out under the supervision of Pundit Hira Nand Shastri, Curator of the Lucknow Museum, and stated that Government had made a grant of Rs. 1,000 to assist in the work.

The Society then proceeded to the election of officers and members of council for the year. It was resolved that the same council remain in office, Mr. C. J. Brown taking the place of Pundit Hira Nand Shastri, whose transfer from the provinces was understood to be imminent. Dr. Ganga Nath Jha expressing a desire to resign from the Honorary Treasurership, Mr. S. B. Smith, was elected in his place. It was resolved that the other office-bearers should continue to hold office.

Mr. Burn then read extracts from a note by Mr. Gardner Brown, suggesting measures that might be taken for the compilation of a bibliography of the U.P. The Honorary Secretary was instructed to circulate the full note to members of council.

Mr. Towle then brought forward a proposal for holding conferences to teachers of History, and a second proposal for the translation by the Society of articles germane to its objects into the vernacular, and their subsequent circulation. He was asked to put his proposals into writing and send them to the Honorary Secretary, who would circulate them to members of council.

RULES AND CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIETY, WITH LIST OF MEMBERS, 1918.

Patron :

HIS HONOUR THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

Vice-Patrons :

H.H. THE MAHARAJAH BAHADUR OF BENARES, G.C.I.E.

H.H. THE NAWAB OF RAMPUR, G.C.V.O., G.C.I.E.

President :

DR. A. VENIS, C.I.E.

Vice-Presidents :

THE HON'BLE SIR P. C. BANERJI, Kt.

NAWAB MUHAMMAD ISHAQ KHAN.

Honorary Secretary :

MR. T. B. HORWOOD.

Honorary Treasurer :

MR. S. B. SMITH.

Committee :

The Lord Bishop of Lucknow.

Prof. L. F. Rushbrook Williams.

Dr. Ganga Nath Jha.

The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Mr. M. Nizam-ud-din.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Muhammad Rafique.

The Hon'ble Sir George E. Knox, Kt., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. R. Burn, I.C.S.

Mr. C. J. Brown.

Lala Sita Ram.

RULES.

1. The object of the United Provinces Historical Society is to promote the study of the history of the United Provinces and adjacent territories, by holding meetings for the reading and discussion of papers and by the publication of documents, studies and notes, relating to the history, languages, literature and economics of the Province.

RULES AND CONSTITUTION.

155

2. The Society shall consist of the Patron, of not more than three Vice-Patrons, of fifteen members of the Council, of not more than ten Honorary Members, and any number of ordinary members.

3. Candidates for membership of the Society shall be proposed by two ordinary members, or one member of the Council. The names of candidates approved by the Council shall be announced at the next meeting of the Society as having been admitted as members of the Society.

4. Honorary Membership shall be restricted to persons who, in the opinion of the Council, have rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society; and ordinarily, to persons who are not residents in the United Provinces. Honorary Members shall be nominated by the Council, and their admission announced at a meeting of the Society. From that date they shall be entitled, without payment, to all the privileges of Ordinary Members.

5. The Council shall consist of the Officers of the Society, *viz.* (1) The President, (2) Two Vice-Presidents, (3) The Honorary Secretary, (4) The Honorary Treasurer, and ten others. The Officers and other members of the Council shall be nominated for each year by the Council of the previous year, and their names submitted for approval at the Annual Meeting.

Vacancies occurring during the year shall be filled by the Council.

6. The Patron and Vice-Patrons shall be nominated by the Council, and shall enjoy the same privileges as an Honorary Member.

7. The annual subscription of ordinary members shall be Rs. 10, provided that members elected after the 1st September in any year shall only be liable for half the subscription for that year, and members elected after the 1st December in any year shall not be liable for any subscription for that year.

8. All subscriptions are due on election, and thereafter on the 1st of January of each year.

9. A member may, at any time, resign his membership by notice in writing; such resignation shall take effect from the date on which it reaches the Secretary.

10. Any member whose subscription remains unpaid on the 1st July of the year in which it is due, shall be reminded of his default by the Treasurer, and if his subscription is still unpaid on the date of the next Annual Meeting shall, if the Council so determine, cease to be a member of the Society.

11. The administration of the Society's affairs shall be vested in the Council, and the Council shall have power to decide all matters not provided for by the rules.

12. In addition to ordinary meetings arranged by the Council at

Lucknow or Allahabad or elsewhere, an Annual Meeting shall be held at or about the end of each calendar year (*a*) for receiving and considering the Annual Reports of the Secretary and Treasurer, (*b*) for the appointment of members of the Council and officers for the ensuing year, and (*c*) hearing and discussing any address or paper that the Council may arrange for.

13. Members shall be entitled to receive all the publications of the Society.

14. The accounts of the Society shall be audited annually by two Auditors, to be appointed by the Council.

15. No amendment of these rules shall take effect, unless it has been approved by the Council and by a majority of members present at a meeting of the Society specially convened for the purpose.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

[Any errors in this list, and any change of address, should be intimated to the Honorary Secretary.]

Honorary Members.

THE PATRON (*ex officio*).

THE VICE-PATRONS (*ex officio*).

SIR JOHN MARSHALL, M.A., Litt.D., C.I.E., Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India.

SIR RAM GOPAL KRISHNA BHANDARKAR, Litt.D., K.C.I.E., Poona.

VINCENT SMITH, A., Esq., M.A., I.C.S. (retd.), Oxford.

Ordinary Members.

ABDULLAH, S., Esq., Vakil of the High Court, Allahabad.

ABDUS SALAM KHAN BAHADUR, MAULVI, Rampur State, U.P.

AHMAD ALI KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR, MAULVI, The State Library, Rampur State, U.P.

ALAKH DHARI, Esq., Manager, Oudh Commercial Bank, Fyzabad, U.P.

ASKARI, S. HASSAN, Deputy Collector, Mirzapur, U.P.

BANERJI, THE HON'BLE JUSTICE SIR P. C., Church Road, Allahabad.

BANERJI, R. D., Esq., I.C.S., Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

BANERJI, MR. SUKUMAR, M.A., Canning College, Lucknow.

BARKER, D. A., Esq., I.C.S., Lansdowne, Garhwal, U.P.

BENARES, THE MAHARAJ KUMAR BAHADUR OF. Fort Ramnagar, Benares State.

BENNETT, REV. NORMAN, Chaplain, Jhansi.

BHARAT SINGH, KUNWAR, C.S. (retd.), Shankargarh, Allahabad District, U.P.

BHATTACHARYA, BRINDAVAN, C., B.A., I, Agast Kunda, Benares City.

BISHOP, T. B. W., Esq., I.C.S., Allahabad.

BLUNT, E. A., Esq., I.C.S., Basti.

BOMFORD, H. E., Esq., I.C.S., Moradabad.

BOURDILLON, B. H., Esq., I.C.S.

BRIJ CHANDRA SHARMA, PANDIT, Deputy Collector, Gorakhpur.

BROWN, C. J., Esq., Professor of English, Canning College, Lucknow.

BURN, THE HON'BLE MR. R., C.I.E., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to Government, U.P.

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- BUTCHER, MISS FLORA, M.D., Janakpur, R. and K. Railway, Naini Tal District.
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- CHATTERJEE, AGHOR NATH, Rai Sahib, Headmaster, Government High School, Gorakhpur, U.P.
- CHINTAMANI, THE HON'BLE MR. C. Y., Editor of the *The Leader*, Allahabad.
- COLE, B. L., CAPT., Mayo College, Ajmere, Rajputana.
- COLLETT, A. P., Esq., I.C.S.
- DANIELS, S. R., Esq., I.C.S., Allahabad.
- DARBARI, BUDH SEN, BABU, M.A., Deputy Collector, Muzaffarnagar, U.P.
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- DEWHURST, R. P., Esq., I.C.S., Gonda.
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- GOKAL PRASAD, Esq., Advocate of the High Court, Allahabad.
- GOPAL HARI, PUNDIT, B.A., Headmaster, Coronation High School.
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- HARRIS, E. F., Esq., The College, Ajmere.
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- JHA, MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA GANGA NATH, D.Litt., Professor of Sanskrit, Muir Central College, Allahabad.
- JOPLING, C. M., Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

159

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 KNOX, K. N., Esq., I.C.S., Settlement Officer, Gorakhpur, U.P.
 LACY, THE REV. CANON, Allahabad.
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 MOHAMMED ISHAQ KHAN, Nawab, Meerut.
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PLATE I.

Fig. I.

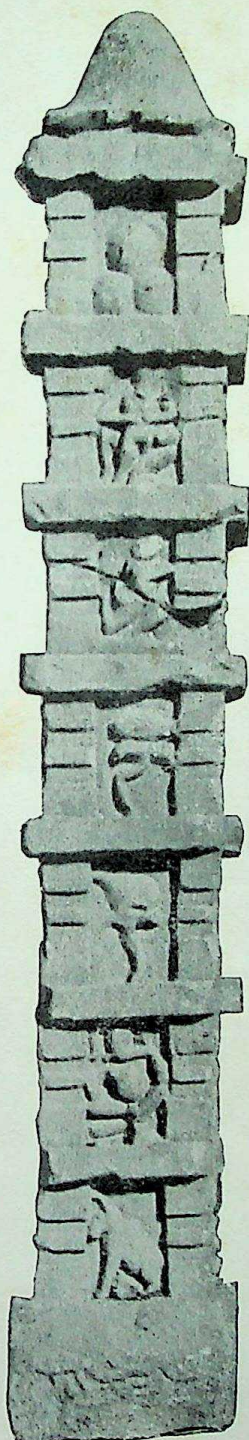


Fig. II.



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PLATE II.

Fig. I.



Fig. II.



Fig. III.

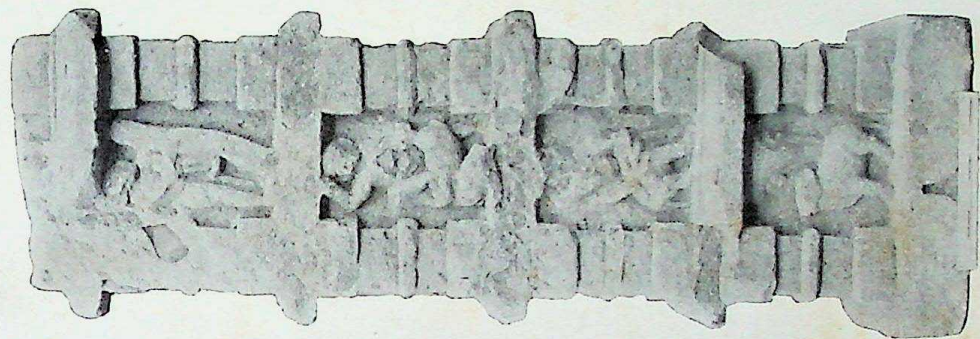


Fig. IV.



Monolith No. G 34 of the Sarnath Museum Catalogue.

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PLATE III.

Fig. I.

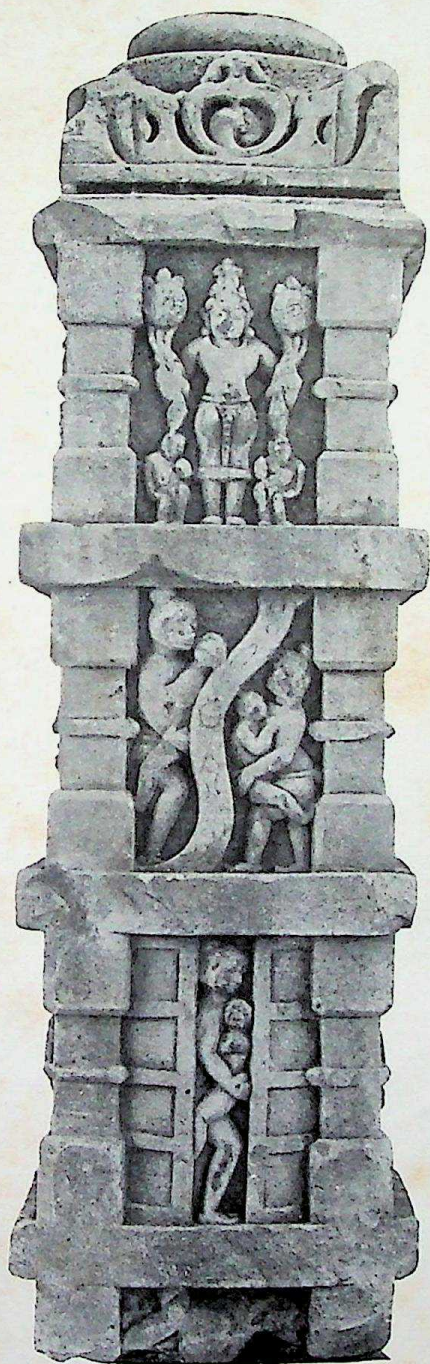


Fig. II.

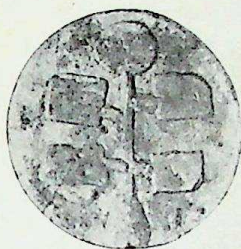


Monolith, near Central Jail, Benares.

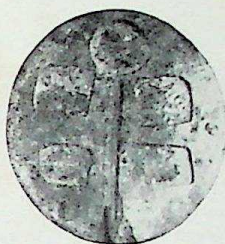
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PLATE IV.

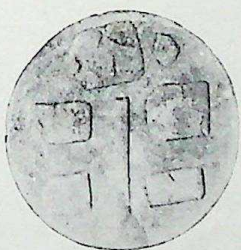
A.



B.



D.



C.

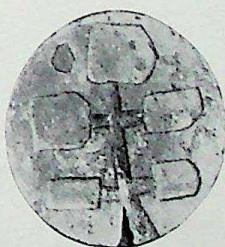


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PLATE V.

Fig. I.



Fig. II.



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PLATE VI.



Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1918.

PLATE VII

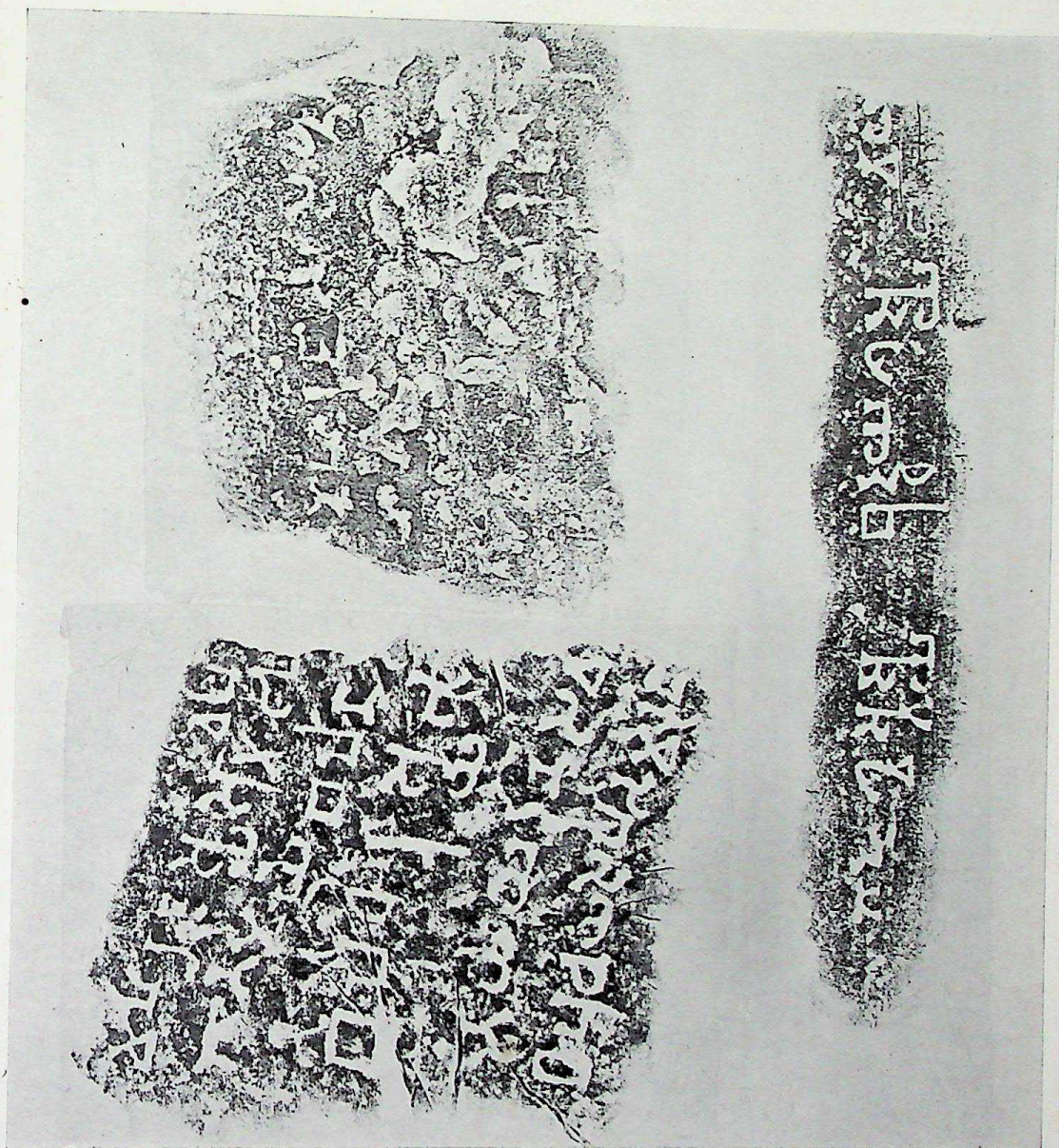


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CONTENTS

<i>Lectures and Articles—</i>	PAGE
The Agricultural Statistics of Akbar's Empire. By W. H. Moreland	1
The Armenian Inscription of the Central Jail Compound, Agra. By the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.	40
Armenian Inscription from the Native Chapel Catholic Cathedral Compound, Agra. By the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., and Mesroob J. Seth	51
The Zafarnama-i-Kangra, or an account of the Conquest of Kangra during the reign of Jahangir. By Raza Husain, M.A. ..	56
Kasia Relics. By R. G. Misra	63
<i>Notes and Queries</i>	75
<i>Proceedings</i>	77
<i>Report</i>	78
<i>List of Members</i>	80

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THE AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF
AKBAR'S EMPIRE.

BY W. H. MORELAND.

IN this paper I attempt to provide a method of interpreting the statistics included in Abul Fazl's *Account of the XII Sūbas*, so as to render this large body of figures available for the social and economic historian. So far as I know, this task has not previously been performed, or at least no general results have been published. Various writers have indeed extracted and discussed the figures relating to particular tracts of country, but this process must, I fear, be condemned as illegitimate: errors have unfortunately been introduced in the process of transcription, and anyone who takes a few figures without subjecting them to close criticism is as likely as not to hit on some of these errors, which are by no means always obvious on the face of the record. Before any of the figures can be used, it is necessary to take a large number of them into consideration, and to devise methods by which material errors can be eliminated; but if such methods can be found, they will be of general applicability, and will thus serve as a key to unlock what from the outside looks like a treasure-house, though until the key has been found speculation as to the value of the treasure is obviously out of place. The steps in this investigation are as follows:—

- i. Determination of the precise significance of the figures.
- ii. Selection of methods for eliminating errors.

When these tasks have been accomplished, the enquirer has then

THE AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS

- iii. to work out the comparative geography of the tract in which he is interested;
- iv. to compare the figures with those of the corresponding modern administrative areas; and
- v. to draw his conclusions from the figures so obtained.

I. *The Significance of the Statistics.*

The statistics are given in the following manner. At the end of the description of each Sūba or province, a paragraph states the number of sarkārs and parganas (or mahals), the area (for regulation provinces only), the revenue, the assignments, and the strength of the local forces. This paragraph is followed by similar details for each pargana, arranged and totalled by sarkārs, the totals being placed at the head of the tables, not as we should place them at the foot. There is no formal statement to show what the figures for area and revenue represent, and we have to deduce this information from the language used in this and other parts of Abul Fazl's work. Much of this language has been examined in the paper by Mr. Yusuf Ali and myself in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society for January, 1918, and the present investigation starts from the conclusions there reached. It has been shown that area-figures are given only for those parts of the Empire where the *zabti* or regulation-system of assessment had been introduced. This system was based on returns prepared locally for each harvest, showing for each village the area then under crops, and the revenue due from that area at the prescribed assessment-rates. Seeing that we know these returns to have been prepared, and that the detailed account of the system shows no other returns of areas which could be utilized for such statistics, the presumption is that the statistics are based on the returns in question, just as the agricultural statistics now furnished to Parliament are based on the returns submitted by District Officers in India. Akbar's Revenue Department had these figures: we do not know that it had

any other figures of the kind : and it is *a priori* probable that it used the figures which we know were in its possession. This presumption is supported by the precise language in which the statistics themselves are recorded as is shown in the following paragraphs.

Area.—Areas are recorded, as stated above, only for the *zabti* Sūbas. In each Sūba where areas are recorded, the heading describes the figures as *zamīn-i paimūdah*. The process of preparing the returns of areas under crop was known by the technical term *paimāish*, as has been explained in the paper already quoted : either therefore the areas in the statistics came from the assessment returns, or there were two different processes known in the revenue department as *paimāish*. The former view is much more probable than the latter.

The headings for the Sūbas of Bihar and Allahabad, which were only partially *zabti*, bear out the same view. The material portion of the heading for Bihar runs as follows: "Seven sarkārs and 199 parganas. Revenue (*jama*) 22,19,19,404½ dāms. Included in this, *zabti*, 138 [parganas]: *zamīn-i paimūdah*, 24,44,120 bighas; *zar-i-ān* [its revenue], 17,26,81,774 dāms. 61 parganas, 4,22,37,630½ dāms." Part of the Sūba was *zabti*, and both area and revenue are given for that part: no area is given for the parganas which were not *zabti*. The heading for Allahabad draws precisely the same distinction, and gives areas for the *zabti* parganas, but not for the rest of the Sūba.

So far then as areas are concerned, we have to choose between two hypotheses: (a) that the areas given were drawn from the assessment returns, or (b) that apart from these returns, there was some other way of getting area figures, which was employed in all the *zabti* tracts, but in no other part of the Empire, and which is nowhere referred to in the detailed account of the system. It appears to me to be reasonable to act on the former hypothesis until some evidence is produced in favour of the latter.

Revenue.—As regards the figures for revenue, the following questions arise:—

- (a) Do the statistics show total revenue or only revenue from the land?
- (b) Does the land revenue include or exclude the assignments?
- (c) Does it represent the demand or the collections?
- (d) Does it represent a theoretical or an actual demand?

(a). The revenue is denoted in the headings of all the *zabti* Sūbas by the word *jama*, which in the description of the revenue-system, is used consistently to denote land-revenue, sometimes the demand on the individual cultivator, and sometimes the demand on the village or some larger area. The use of this word therefore indicates that the figures denote the land-revenue.

Miscellaneous revenue is referred to in two places in the statistics of *zabti* tracts. (1) In the heading of Sūba Gujarat, port-dues are stated separately from the *jama*: the dues are detailed (in *mahmūdis*, not *dāms*) in a separate table of the statistics. (2) In Sūba Lahore, the large revenue paid by Atak Benares in Sind-Sagar is stated in a note to consist of ferry receipts. Assuming a uniform system of compilation—and the statistics bear strong evidence of uniformity on their face—we should expect that if other items of miscellaneous revenue had been included, they would have been specified in the same way.¹

If miscellaneous revenue were generally included, we should expect it to be most important of the various administrative centres, which would then show a larger revenue than the area would warrant. This can be tested by striking the revenue-rates per bigha: if the proportion of miscellaneous revenue were greater at the headquarters of a *sarkār* than in the outlying *parganas*, the revenue-rate

¹ Miscellaneous revenue is specified in several *mahals* in Sūba Bengal, but the Bengal revenue-system was entirely different from that of the regulation-tracts, and no inference can be drawn from one to the other.

for the headquarters pargana would come out greater than the average rate for the sarkār. I have applied this test for 29 sarkārs from Bihar to Delhi: in 13 the headquarters rate is higher, in 13 it is lower, and in 3 it is identical, just such proportions as would be expected if no such disturbing cause were at work. If therefore miscellaneous revenue is included in the figures, its proportion to land revenue is at any rate not sufficient to affect the revenue rates.

These considerations—the language used, the specific mention of port and ferry dues, and the absence of any traceable effect on the revenue rates of sarkār-headquarters—appear to me to support strongly the presumption that the statistics were prepared from the assessment returns, and show the land revenue, not the total revenue from all sources.

(b). Oldham in his *Memoir of the Ghazipur District* (p. 82) adds the sums entered as assignments of revenue (*suyurghāl*) to the *jama* in order to obtain the full demand on the parganas. The heading for Sūba Bihar, the first of the *zabti* Sūbas, after giving the *jama*, goes on "*Az ān miyān 22,72,147 dām suyurghāl*," and the same phrase, or the variant *az ān jumla*, is used in the headings of all the other *zabti* Sūbas. These phrases can only mean "included in the total," and I think therefore that Oldham was certainly mistaken, and that the full demand is uniformly shown as *jama*, the assignments made out of it being then specified separately.

(c). The figures might in theory represent either demand or collections. The word *jama*, by which they are described, means in other passages demand. If the figures represented collections, we should have to believe that in a sarkār such as Garha (in Malwa), or Ratanbhor (in Ajmer), many parganas had paid up in even thousands or even lakhs of dāms, a very unlikely thing; or that while sarkār Bikaner in Ajmer had paid the full revenue, no details of the pargana figures could be given. In sarkār Kumaun (Delhi), it is stated that five mahals are unassessed

(that is, the demand had not been fixed), and that the remaining 16 pay so much. These indications appear to me to be in accordance with the presumption that the statistics are based on the assessment-returns, which certainly showed demand and not collections.

(d). The question whether the demand was theoretical or actual is raised in Irvine's note on a passage of Manucci (Vol. II, p. 413), where he remarks that "we do not know what these figures represent: whether (1) a standard assessment (*jama-i kāmīl*), (2) the demand of some particular year (*jama-i wājib*), or (3) the actual collection (*jama-i wusūl*).” I have just indicated the reasons for ruling out the third alternative: I do not think the question between the first and second really arises, because under the *zabti* system there was no such thing as a standard assessment. There were standard rates, which were applied to the varying areas of each successive season, but there is no trace in Abul Fazl of anything like a standard demand, which would indeed be entirely incompatible with the system as described by him. The distinction seems to me to be relevant only to a later phase of revenue administration, and I think Mr. Irvine's question would have surprised the revenue authorities in the time of Akbar.

It appears then to be reasonable to take the figures of revenue as indicating the amount which the administration hoped to collect, that is the demand for the year as ascertained by the system of assessment in force.

Period.—The considerations which have been put forward appear to me to afford substantial support to the hypothesis, in itself probable, that Abul Fazl's statistics were drawn from the seasonal assessment returns: it remains to determine the period to which they relate, a point on which Abul Fazl makes no formal statement. I wish there were grounds for thinking that the returns had been averaged for a series of years, as this would give a really satisfactory basis for comparison with figures for later periods, but I

can find no hint anywhere of averages having been struck for this purpose. Abul Fazl set out to give an up-to-date description of the Empire, and I think it is more reasonable to suppose that he gave the latest figures available; the idea of using averages for such a purpose¹ would require a greater advance in statistical methods than we have any reason to think had been made by Akbar's administration. The opening words of the 'Account of the XII Sūbas' are "In the fortieth Ilāhi year, 2,737 qasbas included in 105 sarkārs were recorded." These words appear to me to indicate that the Account was prepared on the basis of the statistics for that year. Blochmann tells us in the life of Abul Fazl prefixed to his translation (p. xxx) that the Āin was completed in the 42nd Ilāhi, though some additions were made subsequently to include later acquisitions; it is scarcely conceivable that complete returns for the 41st year could have been ready in time for utilisation in writing this long Account, and the probabilities point to the conclusion that the materials relate to the year which is mentioned in the opening words. So far as I can find, the chroniclers do not tell us anything indicating that the 40th Ilāhi was seriously abnormal from the agricultural point of view. The *Zubdatu-t Tawārikh* (Elliot's *History*, vi. 193) states that "during 1004 H. there was a scarcity of rain throughout the whole of Hindustan," while the *Akbarnama* (*idem*, p. 94) says there was little rain in 41 Ilāhi. These statements must refer to the same period, that is to the months common to the two years named. The year 1004 H. ran from August 1595 to August 1596, while 41 Ilāhi began in March 1596 and thus the disastrous failure was that of the rains of 1596, and could not have affected the statistics of 40 Ilāhi.

I suggest therefore that the statistics of area and

¹ It is true that averages were struck in order to determine the final assessment-rates, but we must distinguish between their use for such a definite purpose, and for the more general object of indicating the fiscal condition of the Empire.

revenue under discussion were most probably based on the assessment returns of a single year very shortly before the Āin was completed, and show the area cropped in that year and the demand on that area, calculated on the *zabti* or regulation system of assessment. The year is probably the 40th Ilāhi, running from March 1595, and there is no reason to think that it was highly abnormal. The figures would thus relate to a year which was neither so good nor so bad as to attract the attention of the chroniclers. I may have overestimated the speed at which the revenue department worked, but in any case I think the figures must be later than 1590, and I can find no mention of abnormal seasons between 1590 and 1596. We do not know enough about the figures to justify any precise or detailed comparison, but we can use them as representing roughly something about the standard of cultivation reached in the latter part of Akbar's reign, and before the occurrence of the famine which the chroniclers have recorded.

II. Elimination of Errors.

I now turn to the second stage of the investigation, the measures to be taken to detect and eliminate the errors which have crept into the statistics. One way of approaching this task would be to prepare the much-wanted standard text of the Āin, but that would need resources and skill which I do not command, and my purpose is to make the best of the figures which we possess as the result of Blochmann's work. I have not therefore examined the available MSS. in detail. To do so, when their relative authority has not been determined by experts, would simply mean picking out the readings which seem reasonable, and at the present stage this would involve arguing in a circle. The success of my suggestions must for the present be judged from their application.

The complete history of the text is, I think, not fully known—at any rate I do not know it. In the MSS. which I have seen, the statistics are expressed in words (not

figures), crowded into the inadequate spaces given by cross-ruling of lines and columns; to my mind this arrangement offers very great opportunities of error to the inexperienced or careless transcriber. In the printed text the words have been converted into Arabic figures, and the Indian printer has had opportunities of his own: while it may be added that the English figures in the Calcutta translation contain some serious discrepancies when compared with the printed Persian version. It is impossible therefore to accept the printed statistics as uniformly accurate: it is certain that some of the figures must differ from the sixteenth-century originals, and it is possible that several forms of error may have to be reckoned with. So far as I can judge, the chief dangers are (*a*) alteration of individual digits, (*b*) mis-alignment, bringing the figures opposite to a pargana to which they do not relate, and (*c*) the insertion of an extra digit or the omission of one which should appear.

(*a*). Change of a digit of course varies in importance with its position. Parganas were of all sizes, but as a rule there are five or six digits for area, and six or seven for revenue. In dealing with areas consisting of a fairly large number of parganas, it is entirely legitimate to smooth these figures to the nearest thousand in the case of areas, and the nearest ten-thousand in the case of revenue, and we thus get rid of more than half the potential errors of this class. When the error is in one of the left-hand digits, it will be detected, if really important, by the test to be described below: if of smaller magnitude, it will not materially affect the aggregate of a large group of parganas. To take an instance, suppose a pargana is entered as containing 10,000 instead of 20,000 bighas: the error is so large as to vitiate any argument about that particular pargana, but when we include that pargana in a tract of a million bighas, we thereby introduce into the total an error of only one per cent, and since these errors are fortuitous, some of them will probably cancel. The first

condition then to be observed in dealing with these figures is to handle them in relatively large masses, and not pargana by pargana: the larger the masses, the smaller will be the proportion of error, and if we deal with present-day districts as units it is improbable that the error from this source will ever rise to a really dangerous proportion.

(b). Mis-alignment is a cause of so much trouble in vernacular statistical work at the present day that I fear it must be reckoned with in the case of the figures under consideration. The possibility makes it very dangerous to draw conclusions regarding a single pargana, because the figures standing opposite to it may belong to the pargana next below it or above it in the list. When however we deal with a large area like a district, we find that as a rule the majority of the parganas of a particular sarkār are included in it, and in that case mis-alignment is almost immaterial: we have got most of the right figures to give the required total though they stand opposite the wrong parganas. The effect of mis-alignment is in that case occasional: when one or two parganas pass into a separate group from their neighbours, they may carry some of their neighbours' figures instead of their own, and the importance of the error so introduced varies inversely with the size of the group they enter. Here again, therefore it is desirable to handle the material in as large masses as possible, because the larger the mass the smaller will be the proportionate error arising from the cause.

(c). Dropping or adding a digit is a fairly common feature of the copying of Persian statistics, and the dot which stands for a cypher is, in my experience, the greatest danger of all, the right-hand cypher being frequently dropped, and a run of cyphers being either increased or decreased by one.¹ The magnitude of the errors due to

¹ This remark applies directly only to statistics expressed in figures, but Persian methods of stating numbers in words may lead to the same results. In one case I found the entry *haftād hazār yak bīgha* so written that I was doubtful if it really meant 7,001, or 70,001, or 700,001.

this cause, which may increase or decrease a particular entry ten-fold, is much greater than that caused by changing a digit, or by mis-alignment of figures, and it is fortunate that its occurrence can be detected almost with certainty by the simple process of striking the average revenue rate per bigha. We know the rates charged on each crop in each pargana, and consequently we know that the average rate on the pargana must fall within certain limits set by the crop-rates. If then the average rate of a pargana calculated from the statistics falls outside the limits set by the crop-rates, it is certain (not merely probable), that either there is a large error in the figures or that the assessment on this particular pargana was made otherwise than on the prescribed rates. The latter alternative is quite possible as has been shown in the previous paper (*Journal R.A.S.* for January 1918, pp. 33-36), but it is often ruled out by the magnitude of the error, which indeed serves to indicate its origin. The working of this test can best be shown by an example, and for this purpose I take the sarkār of Ghazipur in Sūba Allahabad: it is a simple case and brings out the point clearly. The text says that the sarkār contained 288,770-7 bighas, and paid 13,431,308 dāms, giving an average rate of 47 dāms per bigha. The pargana figures give, when added together, totals of 288,207-10 bighas and 19,709,622 dāms: the area figures are therefore probably affected only by minor errors, while there is a serious discrepancy of about 6 million dāms in the revenue.

The average rate of 47 dāms is reasonable. There was one dastūr for the entire sarkār, and the crop rates varied from 14 dāms for melons to 268 dāms for pān: the staple crops of the tract were probably barley (47 dāms), gram (41), rice (49), and small millets (averaging about 26), with some sugarcane (123), wheat (65), and perhaps poppy (115). It is certain that the rate for a pargana could not fall below 15 (if entirely cropped with melons) or rise above 268 (if entirely cropped with pān), and for

practical purposes we may take 30 and 80 as the limits within which the rate for a pargana in this sarkār might be expected to fall. The actual statistics, smoothed as suggested,¹ and the rates yielded by them, are shown in the following table.

Pargana.	Area.	Revenue.	Rate.
<i>Bighas : 000 omitted. Dāms : 000 omitted. Dāms per bigha.</i>			
Balia ..	28	1,250	45
Pachotar ..	13·7	6,980	509
Bilhabas ..	12·3	650	53
Bahriabad ..	7	350	50
Bhalaech ..	2·3	110	48
Chausa ..	15·6	790	51
Dehba ..	2·8	130	46
Saiyyidpur Namdi ..	26	1,250	48
Zahurabad ..	13·8	660	48
Ghazipur ..	12·3	570	46
Kariyat Pali ..	1·4	75	53
Kopachhit ..	19	940	49
Gandha ..	10	500	50
Karenda ..	6·2	290	47
Lakhner ..	2·9	130	45
Madan Benares ..	67	2,760	41
Muhammadabad, etc.	49	2,260	46

It will be seen that in all cases except Pachotar (the second in the list), the rates are reasonable, ranging from 41 to 53 dāms a bigha, which is what the sarkār would be expected to yield. Pachotar is shown as paying ten times the average rate, or over twelve rupees a bigha, which is of course impossible. The fact that the error is approximately tenfold at once suggests that either there is a digit too few in the area or there is a digit too many in the revenue, and the great discrepancy in the sarkār revenue suggests that the latter is the case. The revenue of Pachotar is entered as 6,982,040, much greater than that of any other pargana in the sarkār: if we cut out one of the digits, a cypher for preference, and take it as 698,204,

¹ It happens that several of the parganas in this sarkār are exceptionally small, and in such cases I have given an additional digit as a precaution.

or as 698,240 (a fair figure for the sarkār), the rate works out at 51, and the total revenue of the sarkār comes to about 13,418,800, as compared with the text total of 13,431,308. In this case the correction is probable to the verge of practical certainty: by making it we get a close approximation to the true area and revenue of the sarkār as a whole, and while the risk of mis-alignment warns us against arguing about the condition of individual parganas, we can take a group of them for comparison with reasonable confidence that we are not carrying over errors of really serious magnitude.

This is as I have said a simple case: matters are not always so clear, but the number of instances in which there is an apparent ten-fold error in the rate is sufficient to show the value of the test. It would fail only if a copyist had made the same mistake in the area and the revenue of a single pargana; if, for instance, he added a digit to both entries, the rate would come out right though the figures were wrong. This contingency is, however, very remote: in Ghazipur we have found one such error in 34 entries, and the proportion is not very different throughout; it would be a very rare accident indeed if two such errors were made in a single line, and the possibility may, I think, be regarded as negligible in practice.

The same test will, as has been mentioned above, reveal large mistakes in left-hand digits: if, for instance, 10,000 was written for 80,000, the result would be immediately apparent when rates had been struck; but as a matter of fact I have found scarcely any instances of this sort, and I have no doubt as the result of working over all the figures in question that an alteration in the number of digits has been more frequent than a material alteration in the digits themselves.

The conclusion I offer is then that by the systematic application of this rate-test¹ we can detect nearly all the

¹ I drew attention to the potential value of this test in an article on p. 44 of the *Indian Journal of Economics* for January 1916. At that time I was under the

really great errors which have crept into the statistics: that we can often arrive by the same means at the approximately correct figure; and that we can thus determine roughly the area cropped and the revenue paid in large parts of India in some not very abnormal year—probably the 40th Ilāhi—just before the end of the sixteenth century. The risk of mis-alignment prevents definite conclusions being drawn from the figures for single parganas, and to diminish the effect of errors due to this and other causes it is desirable to deal with the largest possible areas—the modern district, or a group of districts being, so far as my experience goes, a satisfactory unit for this purpose.

III. *The Comparative Geography.*

I proceed to illustrate the methods I have indicated by examining the figures for the two extremities of the United Provinces. In this case the comparative geography has been worked out by Elliot (*Races of the N.W.P.* ii., 83), while subsequent changes in the parganas are indicated in the *District Gazetteers*: we know therefore where Akbar's parganas lay, and the problem is to find modern administrative areas made up of complete parganas of the earlier period, so that Abul Fazl's figures can be compared with the statistics of the present time. In this operation, the large rivers can be taken as guiding lines, because they usually served as boundaries in Akbar's time as well as at the present day, and the most serious difficulties occur in the rare cases where a pargana lay on both sides of a river, so that portions of it belong to two or more districts; the way in which they can be used can best be explained by an example. On the north-west of the Provinces, I start with the district of Saharanpur,

impression that it had not been suggested before, but I have since noticed that it had been occasionally used by Mr. H. R. Nevill, M.R.A.S., in the *District Gazetteers* of the United Provinces, and I take this opportunity of acknowledging his claims to its first publication.

lying between the Ganges and the Jumna, and abutting to the north on the unculturable Siwalik Hills, so that three out of the four boundaries are permanent features not crossed by any of Akbar's parganas. The fourth or southern boundary of this district is unfortunately so crossed, and I cannot say what portions of Akbar's parganas should be assigned to it: I therefore take Saharanpur and the adjoining district of Muzaffarnagar as a single block, bounded on three sides as described above, while on the south the line between this block and Meerut coincides with boundaries established in Akbar's time, which are clear, subject to a possible error of about 20,000 bighas in a total of about 3,400,000 bighas, or less than one per cent.

The southern boundary of the Meerut district is also easily traced, so that this district forms a separate block. A question arises regarding the course of the Ganges in this district; if I have made a mistake in regard to it, there may be two errors in the total, as the one mentioned under Muzaffarnagar affects Meerut also. The two taken together may affect the Meerut area by not more than four per cent, and it is equally possible that they cancel.

The southern boundary of Bulandshahr, the next district, stands out clearly, and I can trace no source of material error in working out its statistics. Beyond it we come to Aligarh, where the rivers begin to fail us: a clear-cut block is however formed by taking three tahsils of Muttra and one of Etah as well as all of Aligarh, and there is no reason to suspect any serious error in regard to its boundaries.

After Aligarh we get into difficulties. The old pargana of Agra crossed the Jumna: the Ganges has changed its course seriously in Etah, and a little further down the large pargana of Shamsabad crossed it and intruded far into what is now Rohilkhand, while the pargana-system of the Agra and Etawah districts has been wholly obliterated in modern times. It is possible however to trace the

remainder of the Etah district, after which I break off, and start elsewhere.

The same procedure has been followed in regard to the remaining areas dealt with in this paper, the start being in each case made from a well-ascertained base and the rivers used as guiding lines. In the result I am able to present definite figures for (1) the north-western plains nearly down to a line joining Agra and Bareilly; and (2) the east of the provinces, north of the Ganges, nearly as far as a line joining Allahabad and Fyzabad. The first tract is the most prosperous and productive part of the province; most of the second is now a typically congested area, while the remainder is known to have been transformed during the nineteenth century. There are thus clearly marked features for comparison with the conditions prevailing under Akbar.

IV. *Comparison of Areas.*

A few details have still to be considered before the actual figures are presented. Abul Fazl's statistics show the 'gross cropped area' of the year, that is to say, the totals returned as cropped in the kharif and rabi seasons. The lists of crops given by him show that what are now classed as hot-weather, or extra, crops, were returned and assessed along with the rabi, so that his figures cover all the three seasons known to modern statistics; they have therefore to be compared with the gross cropped area of the present day, not with the net cropped, or cultivated area, which is a modern statistical refinement. The "normal" gross cropped areas have not, I think, been published for the United Provinces, but they can be deduced with a trifling error from the figures given in the annual *Season and Crop Reports*: they have then to be converted from acres into Akbar's bighas so as to compare directly with the earliest figures.

The discussion of the size of Akbar's bigha seems to have rested where it was left by Prinsep (*Useful Tables*, I.

88), and Elliot (*Races of the N.W.P.*, ii., 36, 177). In that discussion I think there was a certain failure to distinguish between Akbar's intentions and the results achieved in practice. No one who reads Abul Fazl's precise statements on the subject can doubt that the *gaz* was meant to be 41 'fingers,' or 30.75 inches, and that consequently the *bigha* of 3,600 square *gaz* was meant to be an area approximately equal to 0.54 of an acre. On the other hand, no one who has had to rely on country-made measuring instruments in large numbers will doubt that those used by Akbar's revenue staff, as a matter of fact, varied considerably in length. This variation may not have been entirely due to accident, for Abul Fazl mentions that the measuring rope used before Akbar's reforms lent itself to fraud, and surveyors who had benefited by this would naturally arrange to continue their profits when Akbar substituted a rod for a rope. Accident alone might however produce a considerable error in the size of a *bigha*. We are not told the precise length of the rod used: if we suppose it was meant to be 3 *gaz* or 92.25 inches—a fairly convenient size, giving 20 rods as the side of a *bigha*—an error of six inches in its length would bring the *bigha* almost to the size at which it was eventually fixed by the British Government, and such an error would be detected only by careful inspection of the rods used. I suggest as the most probable explanation of the observed facts, that under Akbar the *bigha* averaged something near the standard fixed by him, though it doubtless varied from place to place with the idiosyncrasies of the rod-makers and of the men employed on measurement, and that as the administration decayed in efficiency the *bigha* tended to increase in size, not uniformly, but in accordance with the extent to which the surveyors employed in different localities found it profitable to stand in with the cultivators. In this way would be produced the diversities found to exist early in the nineteenth century, when the *bigha* might measure anything from 2,500 to over 3,000 square

yards. Any factor used for conversion must in such a case be approximate, but as we are dealing with a period before administrative decay had set in, I assume that the average bigha had not "grown" much beyond its original size, and I take it at 0.55 of the acre, a figure which simplifies the arithmetic. The probable error so introduced is small compared with the actual differences which we are about to consider.

The detailed calculations involved in the comparison are given in the Appendix. The broad results are summarised in the following table :—

<i>Tract.</i>	<i>Approximate area</i>		<i>Area normally</i>
	<i>cropped under</i>	<i>cropped at</i>	
	<i>Akbar.</i>	<i>present.</i>	
	<i>Bighas</i>	<i>Bighas</i>	
	(000 omitted).	(000 omitted).	
<i>A. Western :</i>			
1. Upper duāb ..	10,231,	12,246,	Increase below 25 per cent.
2. Rohilkhand ..	4,668,	6,775,	Increase below 50 per cent.
<i>B. Eastern :</i>			
3. Ganges-Gogra duāb ..	1,401,	7,510,	Increase more than five-fold.
4. North of Gogra ; probable.	208,	8,000,	Increase nearly 40-fold.
ditto ; alternative.	462,	8,000,	Increase 17-fold.

It is at once obvious that the figures indicate a much greater change in the East than in the West ; this observation becomes more significant when the statistics are examined in somewhat greater detail, but it is desirable to state it at the outset, because it is based on large compact areas in which errors due to mistaken boundaries become negligible, and we must either accept the broad conclusion or deny that the area figures possess any value for comparative purposes.

Turning to details, the figures for the Upper duāb stand as follows :—

OF AKBAR'S EMPIRE.

19

(000 omitted)

Akbar's Area. Present Area.

Saharanpur and) Muzaffarnagar }	.. 3,428,	3,640,	Increase slight.
Meerut ..	.. 2,310,	2,600,	Increase slight.
Bulandshahr ..	.. 1,271,	2,100,	Increase nearly two-thirds.
Aligarh, etc. ..	.. 2,311,	2,970,	Increase over one-fourth.
Etah (part) ..	.. 911,	936,	Increase slight.

It will be seen that with the exception of Bulandshahr and to a less extent of Aligarh the position in the districts is regular. In each case cultivation has extended, but not by an area so large as to make a material difference in the aspect of the country; the familiar description of parganas as "clearings in the jungle" was on this showing inapplicable to this tract, because the whole culturable area was under cultivation. The increase in Bulandshahr is great relatively to its neighbours, but trifling when compared with the country in the East of the province, and the figures suggest that the Upper duāb was in general fully cultivated, large tracts of waste being rare except in parts of the area now included in the districts of Bulandshahr and Aligarh.¹

The Rohilkhand figures are:—

Akbar's Area. Present Area.

Bijnor (part) ..	582,	1,085,	Nearly doubled.
Moradabad (part) ..	1,649,	1,670,	Slight increase.
Budaun, etc. ..	1,776,	2,700,	Increased by one-half.
Bareilly ..	661,	1,320,	Doubled.

The interpretation of these figures is complicated by the position of the submontane forest. In order to find coincident boundaries, it has been necessary to vary the width of the strip of country under examination, and some of the tracts approach quite close to the probable position of the forest line, while others leave a large interval

¹ One of these tracts was perhaps the forest of Sikandra in the north west of Bulandshahr. When Thomas Twining travelled through the desolate duāb in 1794, most of the land was simply desert, indicating that the desolation was recent; but he marched for ten miles through this forest, and commented on the "noble trees" which it contained, so it may well have been in existence 200 years earlier (*Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago*, p. 267).

of cultivated country. The truth is, I think, that along the left bank of the Ganges there was a relatively narrow strip of fully occupied country, comparable in point of density to the *duāb*, while beyond it the *parganas* approached much more nearly to the condition described as "clearings in the jungle", until cultivation finally disappeared. Elliot (*Races of the N.W.P.* ii., 149) fixed the forest-line of the period as lying from near Amroha to the north of Aonla, and the figures are in general accordance with this statement. In most of *Bijnor* the area considered goes close up to the hills, and a large increase is shown; in *Moradabad* a large extent of occupied country is excluded because coincident boundaries are not available, and here we have practically no change: the *Budaun* block keeps within Elliot's line and shows a moderate increase, while most of the *Bareilly* block lies close to it, and the increase is greater. Taking the figures as a whole, they indicate that the density of cultivation found in the Upper *duāb* extended across the Ganges, but by no means so far as it extends at present, and that as the line of the forest was approached, the density rapidly declined until cultivation became what may be described as an affair of outposts.

At this end of the province then the density of cultivation, though less than now, was of about the same order of magnitude: the country was cleared and occupied throughout the *duāb*, and also across the Ganges, but the forest-line came further into the plains, and the settled country was narrower than now. At the other end of the provinces, we find that the change has been much greater. The probable district figures stand as follows:—

	<i>Akbar's Area.</i>	<i>Present Area.</i>	
	<i>Bighas</i>	<i>Bighas</i>	
	(000 omitted).	(000 omitted).	
Ghazipur and Ballia ..	318,	2,125,	Increase nearly 7-fold.
Azamgarh ..	250,	1,950,	Increase nearly 8-fold.
Jaunpur ..	360,	1,515,	Increase 4-fold.

OF AKBAR'S EMPIRE.

21

Benares and Mirzapur

(portions)

..	257,	1,085,	Increase 4-fold.
Allahabad (north) ..	216,	835,	Increase nearly 4-fold.

Along the Ganges from Allahabad to Benares, and also in Jaunpur, the increase is about four-fold, while towards the Gogra it is seven-fold or eight-fold. When we cross the Gogra the change is still more pronounced. We have figures for the two districts of Gorakhpur and Basti, which are most conveniently treated as a single block; as explained in the appendix the exact area assessed is doubtful, but cultivation has increased at any rate 17-fold, and more probably 40-fold—a figure which would indicate almost continuous jungle with outposts of cultivation at rare intervals, and at most a very narrow strip of settled country along the northern bank of the Gogra.

In regard to the extent of cultivation there is thus a marked contrast between East and West. A similar contrast is found in the incidence of the revenue, the average rates per bigha calculated from the adjusted statistics ranging from 20 to 30 dāms in the West, and from 45 to 60 dāms in the East. In part this difference is due to the fact that the crop-rates were higher in the East, the excess shown by the dastūrs being roughly about 25 per cent: the remainder of the difference must be attributed to the class of cropping, and both these causes really come to the same thing. In the West cultivation had extended to the inferior soils, so that the common low-grade crops must have predominated, while the average yield (the basis of the assessment-rates) must have been comparatively low: in the East, the area cultivated was so small that we may safely infer the poorer soils to have been left untilled; a larger proportion of superior crops would therefore be grown, while the higher average of productivity would be reflected in the severer assessment-rates. Cultivators in the East could pick and choose their soil and their crops, and they could get on the average something like twice as many dāms from a bigha as the peasants in the West, who

had to cultivate land of all grades, and to adjust their cropping to the capacities of the land within their reach. It is a common-place of modern assessment theory that the incidence tends to vary inversely with the extent of cultivation, and we have here an instance of this relation prevailing in the time of Akbar.

One point regarding the incidence of the revenue requires mention in this place. In the Western tracts, but not in the East, we find a considerable number of parganas with incidence-rates which are either actually or practically impossible when judged by the dastūrs, but for which no convincing emendation of the figures can be suggested. Such cases are noticeably frequent in the neighbourhood of Sambhal, where the strength of the zamindārs was notorious, and the most probable explanation of them seems to be that the assessments were made on favourable terms: submissive parganas paid the full dastūr, but men who could make themselves seriously troublesome might be allowed to hold their parganas on terms which would leave them a comfortable income. I have assumed this to be the case, as is indicated in the appendix, but have eliminated these figures in striking the incidence for the various districts, so that the rates given represent the yield per bigha after excluding apparently favourable assessments.

V. *Conclusions.*

Abul Fazl's statistics disclose, when treated by the methods I have suggested, a definite picture of the economic condition of the country. It remains to enquire whether that picture is true, or probable, when examined in the light of other knowledge: can we infer from contemporary or subsequent descriptions that the western divisions were on the whole fully cultivated with a low average of productivity, while the eastern districts contained large areas of waste, with cultivation confined to the superior soils and yielding a correspondingly larger income per unit of area?

So far as the tract north of the Gogra is concerned, I think that this inference may be fairly drawn. Abul Fazl in his Account of the Sūba of Oudh has nothing to say about this part of the country, and if regard is had to the details he gives of other localities, we may conclude that the central administration had very scanty knowledge of the conditions of life in Gorakhpur. European travellers of the period did not, so far as I know, penetrate into these parts, but the knowledge available in regard to later times shows that the development of the tract is quite recent: according to the often-quoted account, at the beginning of the nineteenth century fires were lighted at night to keep the tigers out of the town of Gorakhpur, and it is a matter of common knowledge that the present extension of cultivation has occurred mainly under British rule. No surprise therefore need be excited by the inference drawn from the statistics.

As regards the Ganges-Gogra duāb, there is a little more direct evidence. Abul Fazl notices the two chief cities, Benares and Jaunpur, and a few places of minor importance as centres of industry, but has little to say about the country. In the *Akbarnama* it is stated that on the march of an army along the south bank of the Gogra in what is now the Azamgarh district, "forests were traversed, and various wild beasts, both land and aquatic, showed themselves" (*Akbarnama*, translated by Beveridge, ii., 396), a description which is entirely inapplicable at the present day. Finch was told that the journey from Jaunpur to Allahabad was thirty *kos*, "all which are thorow a continuall Forrest" (*Purchas* I. iv. 437): this statement, which is calculated to surprise readers familiar with the country, is quite compatible with the statistics before us, and I know of no contemporary record which contradicts the view presented by these passages. It may be added that according to the *Imperial Gazetteer* (article *Ballia*), much of the Ballia district was waste up to the time of the permanent settlement.

The inference drawn from the statistics that the West of the Provinces was much more fully cultivated than the East is not in itself one to excite surprise: the neighbourhood of the Imperial capital, and the existence of other cities like Budaun, lend probability to this view, which is to my mind supported by the greater detail in which Abul Fazl notices the agricultural features of this part of the country. I know however of no first-hand descriptions by contemporary travellers: those who passed beyond Agra went either eastwards to Bengal or north-westwards to Delhi and Lahore, and both routes lay on the right bank of the Jumna. The descriptions left by Finch and other travellers indicate that the country to Lahore was fairly well settled, and it is not improbable that the same statement should apply to the districts across the Jumna, but direct evidence on this point is wanting. It is at first sight difficult to reconcile the conclusions reached with our knowledge of this tract at the present day; we know the upper duāb as one of the most productive and prosperous parts of Northern India, and we instinctively hesitate to believe that it can once have been covered with inferior crops to an extent which almost justify us in describing it as a congested area. I think however that this instinctive hesitation can be shown to have no justification: the breach in continuity has been so great in this tract that it is in fact impossible to argue from 1900 to 1600 except by way of contrast. In the first place we have to recognise that most of the upper duāb was completely desolated during the latter part of the eighteenth century. In the work already quoted, Twining gives a vivid account of the conditions prevailing in Bulandshahr, Aligarh and Etah in the year 1794: most of the country was entirely uninhabited, the land was waste, and cultivation was confined to a few fields round each surviving village, where the inhabitants worked with their arms laid ready to hand in case of an incursion of marauders,—Gujars or Mewatis, Pindaris or Rohillas as the case might be. Congestion therefore, if

it previously existed, had been effectively removed as the result of political disorganisation. In the second place, if we neglect this catastrophic period and try to reconstruct the agricultural conditions of an earlier time, we find that they must have differed entirely from those which now prevail. The wealth of the upper duāb is now drawn from three main sources, wheat, sugarcane and cotton, while maize is the chief subsidiary crop, and it appears to me to be practically certain that not one of these crops can have been widely grown in the time of Akbar. Maize had not then reached Northern India, at least not on a scale to attract the notice of the revenue officers, since there is no trace of its having been brought under assessment. Sugarcane and wheat, on the existing scale of cultivation, are definitely the products of the canals constructed during the nineteenth century: it is physically impossible that they can have been widely grown with the scanty and unsatisfactory sources of irrigation available in Akbar's time, and before the advent of the canals the country must have resembled the plains of Central India, with great expanses of dry cropping broken by oases of garden cultivation in places where efficient wells were possible, or a stream lent itself to utilisation by the indigenous methods.¹ The case of cotton is somewhat different. My reason for thinking that it cannot have been important as a commercial crop is that I cannot see how large quantities could have been marketed. Raw cotton is too bulky to have been handled in quantity by the means of transport in existence about the year 1600, while I can trace no large outflow of piece-goods from the upper duāb such as is known to have existed in some other parts of the country. Cotton was doubtless grown, but mainly I think on the

¹ This is probably the explanation of the fact recorded by travellers (among them Sir Thomas Roe, at p. 218 of Mr. Foster's edition of the *Embassy*), that Jahangir's Court obtained wheat from Bengal. It is scarcely conceivable that wheat should have been carried so far unless the country close to Agra was unable to supply all that was needed.

26 AGRIC. STATISTICS OF AKBAR'S EMPIRE.

scale indicated by the local consumption, the area being determined by the needs of the population, and not as now by the demand of a large part of Asia. If then we abstract maize, wheat, sugar and cotton from the staple products of the upper duāb, there is little left of value. Some inferior indigo was produced near Aligarh (Finch in *Purchas*, I. iv. 437), but this crop cannot have covered a material portion of the country; tobacco and potatoes had not been introduced, and the bulk of the land must have yielded the ordinary low-grade crops, millets and pulses, oilseeds, and some barley. Working backwards then, we arrive at the inferior cropping indicated by the revenue statistics, and thus find a confirmation of the methods of treatment which I have indicated in this paper.

The same methods are applicable to the statistics for other parts of Northern India, and I hope that investigators with the requisite local knowledge may see their way to extend the enquiry. Two tracts in particular appear to be suitable for this purpose. The first is the country from Delhi to Lahore, the statistics for which are practically complete, but the comparative geography of which has still to be worked out. The second is Bihar (excluding sarkār Monghyr), where also the statistics are nearly complete, and where most of the geographical work has already been done (*vide* Beames, in J.A.S.B., Vol. LIV., pt. i., p. 162). Extension of the enquiry to those areas would probably yield sufficient information to decide whether the statistics can be interpreted on the lines I have suggested.

APPENDIX.

The results which I have set out are based on a critical examination of the statistics, pargana by pargana, for all the sarkārs situated in the area under consideration. To exhibit this process in detail would require an excessive amount of space, and in the following analysis I have given only such portions as will enable critics to test my conclusions with the aid of the figures in Blochmann's printed text of the *Aīn-i-Akbari*. The spelling follows Blochmann and Garrett's translation; in some cases I have used the variant given in brackets where it facilitates identification.

UPPER DUĀB.

1. *Sarkār Saharanpur*.—Of thirty-six parganas,¹ one (Indri) belongs to the Panjab, one (Sirdhanah) belongs to Meerut, and the remainder fall in the districts of Saharanpur and Muzaffarnagar, which I treat as a single block. The totals for the sarkār obtained by summation do not differ materially from those given in the text.

The rate test indicates possible errors in the following parganas: the figures are throughout smoothed, and represent thousands of bighas and of dams.

<i>Pargana.</i>		<i>Area</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Rate.</i>
Rurki ..	..	3	1,630	582
Raepur Tatar	..	5	370	79
Tughlakpur	..	82	220	3.
Jaurasi ..	..	212	2,470	11
Thanah Bhim	..	271	3,580	13
Sirdhanah	..	114	1,590	14

Four other parganas have rates below 20 dams.

The rate for Rurki is impossibly high: there is almost certainly an error of a digit, and having regard to the average size of the parganas in this sarkār, it is probable that the error is in the area. I take this

¹ In some cases the statistics for two or more parganas are combined. In this analysis I treat such cases as a single pargana, and the number given will thus differ on occasion from that which is stated in the text. In sarkār Ghazipur, for instance, there were nineteen parganas, but Ghazipur and its Haveli are combined, while Parharbari is joined to Muhammadabad: the analysis therefore shows only seventeen parganas instead of nineteen.

item as about 27,680 instead of 2,768, and add 25,000 bighas to the total. There is probably a minor error in Raepur Tatar, but its nature is not apparent, and it will not affect the total materially.

Tughlakpur has probably lost a digit from the revenue (which as it stands is very small compared to the assignments), and I add 2,000 000 dams to the total. I suspect an error of less magnitude in the revenue of Jaurasi, but as regards this pargana and the others with rates below 20, there is also the possibility that the assessments were *zamindāri*, and below the regular incidence. We shall meet with many similar cases in the West, but scarcely any in the East: I make no change in the statistics on their account, but allow for them roughly in stating the incidence on the larger areas

2. *Sarkār Delhi*.—We are not concerned with the large portion of this sarkār lying on the right bank of the Jumna. Of the duāb parganas, three fall in Muzaffarnagar, fourteen in Meerut, and ten in Bulandshahr. One other (Tandah Bhagwan) has been divided between Muzaffarnagar and Meerut; the area is about 52,000 bighas, and as I cannot trace the exact line of division, I assign 40,000 to the former district on a consideration of the map. This may be wrong by about 10,000 bighas, but the error will not affect the totals materially.

There are no exceptionally high rates, and none so low as to indicate an error of a digit. In the Meerut and Bulandshahr groups there are nine parganas with rates impossibly, or almost impossibly, low: I treat these as *zamindāri* assessments as explained under Saharanpur.

3. *Sarkār Kol*.—Of twenty-one parganas, seven fall in Bulandshahr, nine in the Aligarh block, and five in Etah. The sarkār totals obtained by summation agree closely with those given in the text.

Here again there are no exceptionally high rates, but low rates are frequent. The following are obviously impossible:—

<i>Pargana.</i>	<i>Area.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Rate.</i>
Thanah Farida ..	64	110	2 (below).
Tappal ..	163	1,800	11
Gangeri ..	54	372	7
Nuh ..	139	1,310	9

There is probably a digit missing from the revenue of Thanah Farida, the figure given being absurdly small for this part of the country, and the same considerations apply to Gangeri. I increase the revenue in these cases. The other two cases are more doubtful, and I make no alterations: either they are *zamindāri* assessments, or they contain errors which would not affect the totals very materially. There may also be some other *zamindāri* assessments in this sarkār.

4. *Sarkār Agra*.—Only two parganas, Mahawan and Jalesar, are required from this sarkār, so that the totals do not need examination. It may be noted, however, that the total area, ninety-one million odd bighas, given in the text, is quite impossible. The total for the whole Sūba is only twenty-seven millions, and the sarkār cannot have contained more than one-tenth of the area stated.

Mahawan presents no difficulties, but the figures for Jalesar (905,000 bighas, and 6,840,000 dams) are impossible as they stand. It is reasonably certain that the error lies in the area, which on the figures is the largest in the Sūba, exceeding even the huge pargana of Agra, but the removal of a digit would give an improbably high incidence, and I am inclined to think that this is one of the rare cases where a left-hand digit has been changed: general considerations suggest that the area may have been about 400,000 bighas, and as I am anxious not to overstate the area assessed in this part of the country, I deduct 500,000 from the total.

5. *Sarkār Kanauj*.—The totals do not need examination as only five parganas (Barnah, Patiali, Sikandarpur Atreji, Sahawar and Saket) are required to complete the area of the Etah district. All of these, except Saket, have very low rates. I treat Barnah as a *zamin-dāri* assessment in view of the fact that the revenue is given in round numbers: in two of the other three, the area is not likely to be seriously overstated, and either there are errors in the revenue or the assessment was *zamin-dāri*: the revenue of Sahawar has probably lost a digit, and I increase the total by two million dāms on this account.

After making the corrections indicated above, the figures for the modern districts work out as follows:—

(a) *Saharanpur—Muzaffarnagar*.

<i>Sarkār.</i>	<i>Parganas.</i>	<i>Area.</i> <i>Bighas.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i> <i>Dāms.</i>	<i>Rate.</i>
Saharanpur.	34 parganas(as indicated above) ..	3,250,000	79,000,000	
Delhi ..	Jhinjhanah Kandh- lah, Gangeru and a portion of Tan- dah Bhagwan ..	178,000	4,380,000	24 dāms
	TOTALS. ..	3,428,000	83,380,000	per bigha.

There are few traces of low *zamin-dāri* assessments in these two districts, so that the incidence of the revenue may be taken as an index to productivity.

I take the normal cropped area of Saharanpur as 1,100,000 acres,

APPENDIX.

and that of Muzaffarnagar as 900,000 acres : this gives 3,640,000 bighas (Akbar's) for the two districts, using the factor of conversion indicated in the text.

(b) *Meerut.*

Saharanpur.	Sirdhanah	..	114,000	1,590,000	
Delhi	.. 14 parganas	..	2,184,000	32,760,000	
"	.. Portion of Tandah				
	Bhagwan	..	12,000	300,000	
	TOTALS.	..	2,310,000	34,650,000	15 dāms per bigha.

The parganas in Delhi are :—Baghpat, Barnawah, Puth, Chaprauli, Jalalabad, Jalalpur Barwat, Dasnah, Sarawah, Garhmuktesar, Kutanah, Loni, Meerut, Hapur and Hastinapur.

Excluding what I take to be low *zamīndāri* assessments, the incidence would be about twenty dāms per bigha.

The normal cropped area of Meerut is about 1,425,000 acres, or, say, 2,600,000 bighas.

(c) *Bulandshahr.*

Delhi	.. 10 parganas	..	891,000	14,280,000	
Kol	.. 7 parganas	..	380,000	15,010,000	
	TOTALS	..	1,271,000	29,290,000	23 dāms. per bigha.

The assessments in Kol are high : those in Delhi include several cases of what I take to be low *zamīndāri* revenues, and excluding these, the incidence would be somewhat over 25 dāms.

The parganas included are : in Delhi—Adhah, Baran, Tilbegampur, Jewar, Dankaur, Sikandarabad, Sentah, Siyanah, Shakarpur and Kasnah ; in Kol—Ahar, Pahasu, Thanah Farida, Khurja, Dambhai, Shikarpur and Malikpur.

The normal cropped area is about 1,155,000 acres, or 2,100,000 bighas.

(d) *Aligarh block.*

This block comprises the Aligarh district, along with tahsil Jalesar of Etah, and tahsils Mat, Mahaban, and Sadabad of Muttra.

Kol	.. 9 parganas	..	1,615,000	34,800,000	
Agra	.. Mahawan and Jale-				
	sar ..	..	696,000	13,620,000	
	TOTALS.	..	2,311,000	48,420,000	21 dāms per bigha.

APPENDIX.

31

Allowing for probable low assessments, the true incidence would be under 25 dāms.

The parganas of sarkar Kol are: Atrauli, Akbarabad, Tappal, Jalali, Chandaus, Sikandrah Rao, Kol, Gangeri, and Nuh.

The normal cropped area of the block is 1,634,000 acres, or 2,970,000 bighas.

(e) *Etah* (portion).

Tahsil Jalesar has been taken in the previous block. Three modern parganas (Aulai, Nidhpur and Faizpur Badaria) are excluded as, according to Elliot, they were at this period in Rohilkhand; Azamnagar also is excluded as it formed part of Akbar's large pargana of Shamsabad. The rest of the district comprises the following:—

Kol	..	Bilram, Pachlana, Sidhupur, Soron and Marahrah ..	469,000	8,300,000	
Kanauj	..	Barnah, Patiali, Sikāndarpur Atreji, Sahawar and Saket ..	442,000	8,080,000	
		TOTALS ..	911,000	16,380,000	18 dāms per bigha.

Allowing for low assessments, the true incidence would be somewhat over 20 dāms.

The normal cropped area is about 515,000 acres, or 936,000 bighas.

The figures for the Upper Duab may be summarised as follows:—

		<i>Present area.</i>	<i>Akbar's area.</i>	<i>Incidence.</i>
Saharanpur with				
Muzaffarnagar	..	3,640,000	3,428,000	25
Meerut	..	2,600,000	2,311,000	20 (about).
Bulandshahr	..	2,100,000	1,271,000	25 (over).
Aligarh block	..	2,970,000	2,311,000	25 (under).
Etah block	..	936,000	911,000	20 (over).
		12,246,000	10,231,000	

ROHILKHAND.

The existing Rohilkhand division coincides closely with the sarkars of Sambhal and Budaon, but I have not found it possible to examine

APPENDIX.

the whole area because there have been frequent interchanges of territory with the sarkar of Kumaun, which was not under the the *zabti*, or regulation system, and for which consequently no record of areas exists. The comparison starts from the Ganges and is carried to the furthest point where coincident boundaries can be found.

1. *Sarkār Sambhal*.—Out of forty-seven parganas, thirty-two come into the area of comparison. Out of these, the figures of the following are open to question :—

<i>Pargana.</i>	<i>Area.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Rate.</i>
Ujhari ..	.. 125	700	5
Akbarabad ..	.. 54	640	12
Bachharaon ..	.. 115	830	7
Chandpur ..	.. 87	430	5
Jhalu ..	.. 27	240	9
Jadwar..	.. 77	830	11
Dhakah ..	.. 130	670	5
Dabharsi ..	.. 83	280	3
Sherkot ..	.. 20	4,920	248
Shahi ..	.. 80	900	11
Kundarki ..	.. 86	670	8
Kachh..	.. 100	1,250	12
Ganaur ..	.. 51	270	5
Manjhaulah ..	.. 142	1,740	12
Neodhanah ..	.. 210	900	4
Naroli ..	.. 182	1,410	8

The rate for Sherkot is impossibly high. The revenue is exceedingly large, and I take it as having a superfluous digit, the proper figure being about 490,000 dāms. It is probable that there are some errors in the remaining figures; I cannot suggest convincing alterations for any of them, and in all cases the revenue appears more likely to be in error than the area. I therefore use the figures as they stand; the areas are not such as to introduce the worst forms of error, while as to the revenue, it is known that *zamindārs* were powerful in this part of the country, and it is not unreasonable to treat the figures given as indicating the lenient terms they had been able to secure.

2. *Sarkar Budaon*.—Four parganas out of thirteen lie outside the area of comparison. The area-total of the sarkar comes (after correction of details) to about 2,000,000 bighas: the text has over 8,000,000, but this is certainly wrong, as it could not be fitted into the map. The suspicious figures are :—

APPENDIX.

33

<i>Pargana.</i>	<i>Area.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Rate.</i>
Budaon ..	658	7,360	11
Barsar ..	197	2,150	11
Sahiswan ..	253	2,490	10
Kot Salbahan ..	227	1,220	5

The area of Budaon is very large, but not excessive for a head-quarters pargana: probably there is an error in the revenue, or else the lands were held on favourable terms. In Kot Salbahan I think there is a superfluous digit in the area, which I take as 23,000, and in the same way I take Barsar as 97,000. I do not see a probable emendation for Sahiswan.

The modern districts of Rohilkhand stand as follows, excluding most of Pilibhit and Shahjahanpur, and also the Rampur State, where the boundaries are uncertain.

(a) *Bijnaur*.—Tahsil Nagina is omitted owing to uncertainties regarding the boundary. The remainder of the district includes ten complete parganas of Sambhal, as well as the greater part of four others. The complete parganas are: Jalalabad, Akbarabad, Kiratpur, Bijnaur, Gaudaur, Chandpur, Mandawar, Jhalu and Nahtaur. Portions of Aazampur, Seoharah, Sahanspur and Sherkot appear to lie in Moradabad; exact figures of the division are not available, but from consideration of the maps, I transfer 55,000 bighas on this account, and the proportionate revenue of 1,790,000 dāms. After making this adjustment, the assessed area of Bijnaur (three tahsils) stands at 582,000 bighas, with revenue of 15,660,000 dāms, and an incidence of 27 dāms per bigha, which should be raised to about 30 dāms to allow for favourable assessments.

The normal cropped area of the tract is about 1,085,000 bighas, so that cultivation has not quite doubled.

(b) *Moradabad*.—Two tahsils (Moradabad and Thakurdwara) are omitted owing to uncertainties regarding the boundary. The rest of the district comprised fourteen complete parganas, portions of the four named under Bijnaur, and probably some part of Manjhaulah, which I have included in Budaon. The complete parganas are: Amrohah, Ujhari, Islampur Dargu, Bachharaon, Sambhal, Haveli Sambhal, Deorah, Dhaka, Dabharsi, Rajabpur, Sirsi, Kundarki, Kachh and Naroli. Adding the area and revenue taken from Aazampur, etc., we get an area of 1,649,000 bighas, with 22,130,000 dāms revenue, and an incidence of less than fourteen dāms per bigha. Half the parganas are comprised in the list given above of very low incidences, due as I take it to favourable assessments: omitting these, the incidence would be over twenty dāms.

APPENDIX.

The normal cropped area of this tract is now about 1,167,000 bighas, or practically the same as the area assessed under Akbar. I may have assigned to it a larger area from Bijnaur than it actually got, but, on the other hand, I think it is entitled to some share of Manjhaulah, and in any case, these adjustments could not affect the broad conclusion.

(c) *Budaon block*.—This block comprises the Budaon district, two tahsils (Aonlah, and Mirganj) of Bareilly, and the three modern parganas (Aulai, Nidhpur and Faizpur Badaria) of Etah which (following Elliot) I treat as having belonged to Rohilkhand. Under Akbar it included five parganas (Jadwar, Shahi, Ganaur, Neodhanah and Manjhaulah) of Sarkār Sambhal, and eight from Sarkār Budaon (Ajaon, Aonlah, Budaon, Barsar, Sahiswan, Sanas Mandeh, Suneya, and Kot Salbahan). Reducing the areas of Barsar and Kot as suggested above, the figures stand as follows:—

<i>Sarkār.</i>	<i>Pargana.</i>		<i>Area.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Incidence.</i>
Sambhal ..	5 parganas	..	560	4,640	
Budaon ..	8 „	..	1,216	17,390	
			1,776	22,030	13 dāms per bigha.

As noted above, this may be an overstatement, since part of Manjhaulah may belong to Moradabad, but the error would not make a material change in the totals. The incidence is again very low, owing to the inclusion of what I take to be favourable assessments; probably twenty would be nearer the truth, but the pargana figures are here very irregular.

The normal cropped area of this tract is about 2,700,000 bighas, showing an increase of just over one-half.

(d) *Bareilly block*.—Under this block I take the country comprised in Akbar's great pargana of Bareli, namely, three tahsils of Bareilly, one of Pilibhit, and two parganas of Shahjahanpur. The area was 661,000 bighas, revenue 12,510,000 dāms, and incidence 19 dāms per bigha. The normal cropped area is now about 1,320,000 bighas, or just about double the earlier figure.

The figures for Rohilkhand may be summarised as follows:—

<i>Tract.</i>		<i>Present area.</i>	<i>Akbar's area.</i>	<i>Incidence</i>
Bijnor ..	..	1,085,000	582,000	30 (about).
Moradabad	..	1,670,000	1,649,000	20 (about).
Budaon ..	..	2,700,000	1,776,000	20 (about).
Bareilly ..	..	1,320,000	661,000	19
		6,775,000	4,668,000	

APPENDIX.

35

GANGES-GOGRA DUĀB.

We are concerned with the sarkārs of Ghazipur, Jaunpur and Benares, and also with portions of Chunar and Allahabad. The statistics differ from those hitherto reviewed in three respects: (a) the areas of the parganas are much smaller; (b) the incidences are much higher; and (c) there are practically no cases of those very low rates, not easily explicable by errors in the text, which, in the West, I have treated as due to favourable terms of assessment.

1. *Sarkār Ghazipur*.—The figures have already been discussed in the body of the paper. The only adjustment needed is in the revenue of Pachotar.

2. *Sarkār Jaunpur*.—The total area obtained by addition agrees closely with that given in the text; the revenue on the other hand shows an excess of fifteen million dāms, due mainly to the error noticed below in the figures for Karakat.

The rate-test throws doubt on the following figures out of thirty-four parganas (excluding the six parganas now in Oudh).

<i>Pargana.</i>	<i>Area.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Rate.</i>
Nizamabad	.. 6	600	100
Gadwarah	.. 2	510	255
Karakat ..	.. 48	23,000	479
Gopalpur ..	.. 3	18	6

Nizamabad is practically, though not theoretically, impossible; the area is in any case too small to make a material difference in the district total, but to avoid possible understatement, I increase it by 10,000 bighas. I make a similar correction for another small pargana, Gadwarah. In Karakat the revenue is impossibly high, and there is most probably a superfluous digit; I reduce the revenue to 2,300,000. Gopalpur is interesting, though too small to be important. The translation gives the revenue as 18,043 dāms; the text has the same digits, but they are irregularly spaced, and there is a gap between the four and three which suggests that a digit or cipher has been dropped in printing.¹ I therefore take the revenue as 180,000.

3. *Sarkār Benares*.—The revenue totals agree closely, but there is a discrepancy in the area of the sarkār. The translation gives 36,869 bighas, but the text has 136,869, which is certainly nearer the truth. Summation of the text figures gives 192,000 odd, but the emendation of pargana Byalsi noted below brings the totals into substantial agreement. The doubtful figures are:—

¹ It may be noted that a digit has dropped in the same way from the area of Haveli Karra in Sarkār Karra.

Pandarha	..	..	5	840	168
Byalsi	..	..	61	550	9

The error in Pandarha is too small to make much difference, but to avoid understating the areas, I take its area as 15,000. It is barely possible on the map that Byalsi could have had so much cultivation, and it is much more probable that the figure should be 6,961, instead of 60,961, thus bringing the sarkār totals into harmony. I therefore take the area as 7.

4. *Sarkār Chunar*.—This sarkār lay south of the Ganges, and we are concerned only with an outlying portion north of the river: it is described as “Kariāt in-ru-i āb”, and the text figures are probable.

5. *Sarkār Allahabad*.—The totals need not be examined as some of the parganas were “unmeasured”: complete figures are, however, given for the seven parganas north of the Ganges, and all of them are reasonable.

The comparison with modern areas in this duāb works out as follows:—

(a) *Ghazipur block*.—This includes the two districts of Ghazipur and Ballia, omitting (i) tahsil Zamania, which lies south of the Ganges, and (ii) pargana Doaba, which was administered as part of Sūba Bihar. It comprises six parganas (Bhadaon, Bihtari, Khanpur, Kharid, Sikandarpur and Shadiabad) of sarkār Jaunpur, and the following fourteen of sarkār Ghazipur: Balia, Pachotar, Bahriabad, Bhalaech, Dihba, Saiyyidpur Namdi, Zahurabad, Ghazipur, Kariat Pali, Kopachhit, Gandha, Karenda, Lakhner, and Muhammadabad. After correcting the revenue for Pachotar the statistics stand as follows:—

<i>Sarkār.</i>	<i>Parganas.</i>		<i>Area.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Incidence.</i>
Ghazipur	.. 14 parganas	..	194	9,230	
Jaunpur	.. 6 „	..	124	6,240	
			<u>318</u>	<u>15,470</u>	49 dāms per bigha.

The normal cropped area of this tract is about 2,125,000 bighas, or nearly seven times the area shown above.

(b) *Azamgarh district*.—This district stands by itself, with only a slight uncertainty regarding the boundaries on the North and West. It is made up as follows:—

Ghazipur	.. Pargana Bil-				
	habas	..	12	650	
Jaunpur	.. 14 parganas	..	222	12,780	
			<u>234</u>	<u>13,430</u>	60 dāms per bigha.

APPENDIX.

37

The Jaunpur parganas are : Tilhani, Chiriyakot, Chakesar, Deogaon, Sagri, Kariat Mittu, Ghosi, Kauria, Gopalpur, Muhammadabad, Mau, Nizamabad, Negin and Nathupur.

The boundary uncertainties might increase the total area by 15,000, or possibly reduce it by as much as 30,000 : to avoid understatement, I choose the former alternative, and take the area as about 250,000 bighas.

The normal cropped area is about 1,950,000 bighas, or nearly eight times the area shown above.

(c) *Jaunpur district*.—This district also stands by itself. I include in it pargana Chanda, which was in Oudh when Elliot wrote, but most if not all of which is now in the district. A deduction has to be made for a fragment on the North which I have assumed to belong to Azamgarh. After making corrections already indicated in the pargana statistics, the figures stand :—

Benares ..	Byalsi ..	7	550	
Jaunpur ..	13 Parganas ..	363	20,360	
		<u>370</u>	<u>20,910</u>	56 dāms per bigha.

The Jaunpur parganas are : Angli, Jaunpur, Chandah, Rari, Zafarabad, Kariat Dostpur, K. Mendhah, K. Soethah, Ghiswah, Gadwarah, Karakat, Mandiahu and Mungra. Making a deduction for a portion of Angli now in Azamgarh, the area is about 360,000 bighas.

The normal cropped area is about 1,515,000 bighas, so that cultivation has increased more than fourfold.

(d) *Benares block*.—This tract includes those portions of the Benares district, the Benares State, and the Mirzapur district, which lie north of the Ganges : it is made up as follows :—

Allahabad..	Bhadoi ..	73	3,660	
Chunar ..	Kariat in-ru-i			
	āb ..	18	850	
Jaunpur ..	Kolah ..	24	1,360	
Benares ..	6 parganas ..	142	8,290	
		<u>257</u>	<u>14,160</u>	55 dāms per bigha.

The parganas in Sarkār Benares are : Afrad, Benares, Pandarha, Kaswar, Katehr and Harhua.

The normal cropped area of the tract, using the figures of the *Imperial Gazetteer* for the Benares State for which I have no later data, is about 1,085,000 bighas. Cultivation has therefore increased about fourfold

APPENDIX.

(e) *Allahabad block*.—This block includes the portion of the Allahabad district lying north of the Ganges, leaving out the small detached pargana of Mirzapur Chauhari, which under Akbar belonged to Sarkār Manikpur. The block corresponds with the following six parganas: Soraon, Singraur, Sikandarpur, Kuai, Mah and Hadiabas (Jhusi): the figures are straightforward, and give an area of 216,000 bighas, with 10,890,000 dāms revenue and an incidence of 50 dāms per bigha.

The normal cropped area is about 835,000 bighas, so that cultivation has increased almost fourfold.

The figures for the Ganges-Gogra duāb thus stand as follows:—

<i>Tract.</i>	<i>Present area. Akbar's area.</i>		<i>Incidence.</i>
Ghazipur block ..	2,125,000	318,000	49
Azamgarh district ..	1,950,000	250,000	60
Jaunpur district ..	1,515,000	360,000	56
Benares block ..	1,085,000	257,000	55
Allahabad block ..	835,000	216,000	50
	7,510,000	1,401,000	

TRANS-GOGRA TRACT.

The two large modern districts of Gorakhpur and Basti are made up of fifteen parganas of Sarkār Gorakhpur with Anbodha from Sarkār Oudh. The Gorakhpur parganas are: Anhaula, Binaikpur, Bhanwaparrah, Telpur, Chiluparah, Daryaparrah, Dewaparrah-Kotlah, Rasulpur-Ghosi, Gorakhpur, Katihla, Kahlaparrah, Mahauli, Mandwah, Mandlah, and Maghar-Ratanpur. The doubtful figures are:—

<i>Pargana.</i>	<i>Area.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Incidence.</i>
Rasulpur Ghosi ..	4	620	155
Mahauli ..	3	620	207
Mandwah ..	2	450	225
Anbodha ..	282	1,300	4

The difference in conditions is so great that the figures for the three small parganas become immaterial, but to avoid understatement I add 30,000 bighas to the total on their account. Anbodha is much more serious. It is very hard to believe that the pargana can ever have had anything like the area given, or that it paid only 4 dāms a bigha. I can get no help from the sarkār totals, because the figures for the Oudh Sarkār are as a whole the most puzzling in Northern India: I conjecture there is a superfluous digit in the area, but I show the figures in alternative form:—

APPENDIX.

39

<i>Sarkār.</i>	<i>Pargana.</i>	<i>Area.</i>		<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Incidence.</i>
		(a)	(b)		
Gorakhpur..	15 Parganas	180	180	8,380	
Oudh ..	Anbodha	282	28	1,300	
		462	208	9,680	(a) 21 dāms per bigha.
					(b) 46 „ „

The normal cropped area is now about 8,000,000 bighas, so that cultivation has increased at any rate seventeen-fold, and to my mind more probably forty-fold.

*THE ARMENIAN INSCRIPTION OF THE
CENTRAL JAIL COMPOUND, AGRA.*

BY THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

THE Very Rev. Fr. H. Norman, D.D., Rector of St. Peter's College, Agra, wrote to me on May 12, 1917:—

"The Head Jailer of the Central Jail, Agra,—the Jail facing the (Catholic) Cathedral,—reported to me a "find" some three or four months ago. Between the inner and the outer walls of the Jail, about 300 yards from the Cathedral, and where now is a vegetable garden, the prisoners while digging came upon a stone. This was a cross with short arms, and meant to stand erect, and about 4 feet high. It was covered with Armenian lettering in very good preservation. It was evidently the headstone of a tomb.

"The people of the Archæological Department, Agra, had come over, the day before I saw it, and had taken three copies of the inscription, one of which was to be sent to Calcutta, I was told.

"You might enquire into the matter; and, if the stone is of value, you might induce those responsible to make further excavations.

"The stone is evidently Christian, and perhaps Catholic, and found not far away from our Cathedral, all which should interest you."

I was greatly interested in the discovery, and I started speculating thus. The Jail is on land which, tradition and documents (?) say, once belonged to the Catholic Mission of Agra. In the seventies of last century, three tombstones with crosses and European inscriptions said to go back to the end of the 16th century were found in the

ARMENIAN INSCRIPTION, AGRA.

41

garden facing the front verandah of the Convent, contiguous to the Cathedral. These stones have since disappeared. I refer to this find in my paper on Mīrzā Zū-l Qarnain, the Catholic Armenian Grandee under three Great Moghuls (*Mem. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal.*, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 184). Might not the new find show that between 1600 and 1610, and possibly before 1600, there was a Catholic Cemetery which stretched from part of the Cathedral Compound into the Convent and the Jail? There was a Catholic Chapel on the site of the present Native Chapel, Cathedral Compound, before 1604. It had a cemetery too. In 1610 or 1611 the remains of the Catholic dead were exhumed from this Catholic graveyard and carried to the Padres Santos' Cemetery (Cf. *op. cit.*, App. A).

On June 20, on my return from Woodcot, Kurseong, where I received Fr. Norman's letter, I found that the Superintendent of Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, Agra, had sent me on May 29, 1917, an estampage of the Armenian inscription found in the Jail Compound, Agra, and that he asked me to assist him in obtaining an English translation of it for the purpose of record.

Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth, of No. 19, Lindsay Street, Calcutta, the author of the *History of the Armenians in India* (Calcutta, 1895), came to inspect the rubbing, made it out quite easily, and took a copy of it, for he is a great collector of old inscriptions from Armenian tombs in India. On June 30, he favoured me with the following translation, in which he tried to some extent to preserve the order of the lines in the original.

This Holy	Cross
is in	memory of

the Rev. Zachariah and/of his pa-rents/ Joseph/ and/
Mariam/ and Sar-gis. Anno/ 1106. [=1657 A.D.]

The Armenian inscription, romanized by Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth, runs as follows:—

Soorb	Khachus
Hish	ataka

Tare Zachar/ in yev/ yiur tzun-/ oghatsun/ Heesaph/ in yev/ Mariamin/ yev Sargi/ sin Thivun/ 1106/.

The stone, judging from the estampage sent me, is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad on a length of 2 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad on a length (at the bottom) of 9 inches. The stone itself is not therefore cross-shaped. From the very top of the stone to the bottom of the writing, it measures 3 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Altogether there are 12 lines of writing, the characters being very clear, and chipped off in only 2 or 3 letters. Some of the words are abbreviated.

The transverse bars of the cross are of equal length, 7 inches, and terminate in triple leaves resembling trefoil. 'Cross treflee' would be an appropriate designation of the cross. The cross and the letters are in relief, and, dividing off the different lines, are thin ribs of stone.

Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth is of opinion that the stone is not actually a tombstone, but a memorial tablet, called in Armenian 'Khachkhar' a "cross-stone". We are not told whether the stone was found standing, or lying flat on the ground.¹ If it is a memorial tablet, we should fancy that it was placed erect, say in or against a wall. The following fact may show that, indeed, the stone did not cover a tomb.

Mr. Seth calculates that the Armenian date 1106 is equivalent to 1657 A.D., and he suggests that the Rev. Zachariah, an Armenian priest, who died at Agra in 1105

¹ Mr. T. B. Horwood, now Acting Superintendent of the Central Jail, Agra, tells me (24th Febr., 1919) that the stone was found at a depth of 3 or 4 feet, whilst foundations for the main wall were being dug; but he cannot now find out whether it was found erect or lying flat.

CENTRAL JAIL COMPOUND, AGRA. 43

(Armenian era) or 1656 (A.D.), as shown by an Armenian inscription in the Padres Santos' Cemetery, *i.e.* the old Catholic Cemetery now used, must be the same as the Rev. Zachariah commemorated on the newly discovered stone.

Here we must make a digression about the earlier stone in the Padres Santos' Cemetery. This date 1105 (Armenian era) or 1656 (A.D.) is based on a transcription made for Mr. M. J. Seth by an Armenian friend at Agra, in 1896, a year after the publication of his *History of the Armenians in India*. I am not in a position to doubt the correctness of the transcription or of the conversion of the date into terms of our own era. Such conversions are not easy, especially if they have to be strictly accurate, even to the month and the day of the month. And I must say that the date 1615 A.D. had repeatedly been given for the inscription on the earlier stone.

1. The date 1615 seems to have first appeared in print in Fred. Fanthome's *Reminiscences of Agra*, 2nd edn., Calcutta, 1895, where we find at p. 66: "Father Zakur, Bishop. Died 1615."

2. It is repeated in the Rev. A. Führer's *List of Christian Tombs and Monuments*, Allahabad, 1896, p. 175, under the form: "Episcopus Zachar from Tabrez, 1615" and at p. 31 under No. 74. Führer, it may be remarked, did no original work at the Padres Santos' Cemetery. We can trace back his work in connection with the Armenian or Portuguese inscriptions of the Padres Santos' Cemetery and Martyr's Chapel to Fanthome, or better to Father Symphorien's article in the *Indo-European Correspondence*, Calcutta, 1878, pp. 450-452, that article having appeared subsequently, in 1878 or later, in the *Proceedings of the Archaeological Soc. of Agra*. Fr. Symphorien's list of deceased priests and his dates must themselves have been copied from A. C[hristison]'s article in *Proceedings of the Archæol. Soc. of Agra* (Jan. to June 1876), Agra 1876.

3. Fr. Felix, O.M.C., gave us in *Catholic Calendar and Directory for the Archdiocese of Agra for the*

year 1907, p. 217, No. 2, and p. 228, No. 1, a translation of Fr. Zachariah's Armenian inscription, which translation, like that of his other Armenian inscriptions in the Padres Santos' Cemetery, must have been copied from some old paper in the Agra Mission Archives. At p. 217, No. 2, we have: "Father Zakar, Bishop. I am from Tabrez. 1615." At p. 228, No. 1, we read: "I am from Tabrez. Fr. Zakur, Bishop. 1615." Near both passages occurs the remark: "This inscription is in Armenian on the top of a cross in a niche to the right of the pacca dome in which the grave of Padri Santoos is situated." The *pakkā* dome, by the way, is Martyr's or Martyrose's Chapel (less correctly called 'the' Martyr's Chapel).

Fr. Felix's translations of the Armenian inscriptions, published in 1907, appeared again with some changes of spelling and arrangement, in *Catholic Calendar and Directory for the Archdiocese of Agra for the year 1908*, supplt., pp. 34-36.

4. E. A. H. Blunt's *List of Inscriptions on Christian Tombs and Tablets in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 33, No. 75, reproduces Fr. Felix's statement: "Father Zakhar. Bishop. I am from Tabrez, 1615. (Translation from Armenian). [Said to be at top of a cross in a niche to the right of the dome. I could not find it.]"

I do not remember having seen that inscription either, though I must have searched for it in December 1912; neither do I think that Fr. Felix saw it. It may have disappeared, or, if it was *within* Martyr's Chapel, it may have been plastered over.

5. To add to the confusion in which the study of these Armenian inscriptions of Agra is still involved, Mr. Mesroby J. Seth gave us still another date in his *History of the Armenians in India*, Calcutta, 1895, p. 25, where we find the following "verbatim" translation: "This is the tomb of the Reverend Zachariah, from Tabrez, in Persia. Died in the year 1691 A.D." This translation

exhibits the very grave defect that it omits the Armenian date.

My friend Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth now tells me that his translation of the above inscription was made from a copy that appeared in an Armenian magazine published in Calcutta in 1857 in which the Armenian date is given as 1140, which is equivalent to 1691 A.D. In a recent list of all the Armenian inscriptions from Agra, now in his possession (in manuscript), the date on the Rev. Zachariah's tombstone is given differently, *i.e.* 1105, which corresponds to the year 1656 of the Christian era.¹

If now we suppose that Mr. M. J. Seth subsequently obtained a more reliable copy of this inscription, and that the date (1656 A.D.) can be trusted, we dare suggest that the stone newly found refers to the same Father Zachariah, and that, if Father Zachariah was indeed *buried* in the Padres Santos' Cemetery, as appears to have been the case for 4 other Armenian priests, the new stone may be only a memorial tablet. It is not likely, for instance, that the parents of Father Zachariah were buried at Agra. We expect them to have died at Tabriz; hence, in their case at least, the stone would be a mere memorial.

The question now is, how was this memorial found in the Jail Compound—at a small distance, it is true, from the Catholic Cathedral Compound, but fully 20 minutes away from the Padres Santos' Cemetery? If, as suggested by Mr. M. J. Seth, the new stone should indicate the site of an Armenian Church, how is it that 5 Armenian priests have their inscriptions in the Catholic (Roman) graveyard rather than in a church of their own or some graveyard near it? That the Padres Santos' Cemetery was originally given to the Jesuits and their Catholic congregation, is now settled beyond dispute. Cf. my article on *Mirzā Zūl-Qarnain* in *Memoirs As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 183.

¹ Unless a rubbing of the inscription in question is sent to Mr. Seth, the mystery about the rather conflicting dates cannot be satisfactorily solved once for all.

I do not believe yet in the existence in the 16th or 17th century of an Armenian Church at Agra, and my idea of these Armenian priests is that they were itinerant Missionaries, who, if they were not in communion with Rome, must have made their peace with Rome at the end, or else they would not have been buried in the Catholic Cemetery, that Cemetery being 'entirely blest', as Fr. Anthony Botelho, S.J., wrote in 1670. Cf. my article on Zū-l Qarnain, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

On the other hand, it is difficult to suppose that, if the memorial tablet was also put up in the 'Padres Santos' Cemetery, it found its way later to the Jail Compound. We cannot well fancy, either, that it was put up in a private Armenian house which would have stood where the tablet was found. Memorial tablets are not erected in private houses.

How then was it dug up in the Jail Compound? This remains a mystery, which only further digging at the same spot may help to clear up. It is not impossible that there should have been at the place a cemetery of Armenians, Catholics, or non-Catholics.

Mr. M. J. Seth in his *History of the Armenians in India*, p. 23, writes that Akbar attributed the birth of his son Jahāngīr to the advent of the Armenians at Agra, and to "their erection in 1562 of a Christian Church there at the express wish of their royal patron." I have reasons to doubt this statement. Mr. Seth tells me he found it in an Armenian magazine published in Calcutta in 1857. May it not be derived from Khojamall's history, part of which Mr. M. J. Seth was good enough to translate for my article on Mirzā Zū-l Qarnain, *op. cit.* pp. 191-193? There, indeed, Khojamall attributes the birth of Jahāngīr in 1563 (sic) to Akbar's kindness to Zū-l Qarnain's father; but I fear that the erection of an Armenian Church at Agra was calculated accordingly as having taken place a year earlier. Khojamall wrote in 1768, and much of what he has to say is hopelessly wrong. Jahāngīr was born only on August 30, 1569,

O.S. (Cf. V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, 1917, p. 452. Rogers and Beveridge, *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 2, has Aug. 31, 1569). And, as Mr. Seth himself puts down Jahāngīr's birth in 1570 (*History of the Armenians*, p. 23), I understand less how (*ibid.*) the date 1562 for the erection of an Armenian Church at Agra was arrived at? Was it perhaps thought that this church was built contemporaneously with Akbar's fort at Agra? That event is set down in 1564-1565 by V. A. Smith in his new edition of Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections*, 1915, p. 357*n.* 2; in 1565 in his *Akbar*, 1917, p. 451.

From what I have seen of the Jesuit MS. letters, of many of which I have copies, the Jesuits never speak of an Armenian church at Agra. In the 16th and the 17th century, at Agra, as well as at Fatehpur Sikrī, Lahore, and Delhi, and in other parts of India, the Armenians, whenever they had no church of their own, conformed to the Catholic Church. This explains the large number of them buried in the Padres Santos' Cemetery, where I counted about 120 Armenian inscriptions. The Jesuits say at times of these Armenian members of their flock that they were not always easy to manage: they stuck to their own dates for the festivals and ecclesiastical seasons of the year, to their own customs, and, when one of their priests—not in communion with Rome—came on a visit, there was generally a stir among the Armenian part of the congregation, and a tendency to follow the 'national' pastor.

I am specially rich in documents up to about 1656. Now, it is after that date that these Armenian priests would have died at Agra and been buried in the Padres Santos' Cemetery. If we can rely on the published dates, one of them died in each of the years 1656, 1682, 1689, and 1776. If we can rely also on the published dates of the Armenian inscriptions to laymen buried in the same cemetery, we have 1 for 1611; 1 for 1645; 1 each for 1702, 1723, 1728, 1774, 1776, 1777, 1778; 2 for 1779; 3 for 1780, and 1 each for 1783, 1784, 1786, 1789, 1793, 1796, 1798.

The rest are either not dated, or posterior to 1799. Cf. Fr. Felix, *op. cit.*, 1907, pp. 228-231. It is curious that the Armenian priests are buried, not in Martyr's Chapel, where lie some 25 Jesuit Missionaries, but near it, outside; curious that the Armenians are all buried in the same part of the cemetery, a little further off; curious that so few Armenian inscriptions belong to the 17th century, as compared with the Portuguese inscriptions, and that, barring the Armenian inscriptions in the Padres Santos' Cemetery, no other Armenian inscriptions are known to exist at Agra except the one now found, and another still to be deciphered, which is partly embedded in the wall, and used as a window-sill, under the date 1772 on the façade of the Native Chapel, Catholic Cathedral compound. There is room for some speculation here; but, as long as we have no authoritative copies and translations of these inscriptions, we are exposed to lose our time.

* * *

I have spoken of four other Armenian priests buried in the Padres Santos' Cemetery. I take this occasion to show how little reliance we can place so far on the printed dates of their inscriptions. Let us compare Fanthome, Führer, Fr. Felix, Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, and Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth.

Fanthome, *op. cit.*, 1895, p. 66.

1.	Father Juhannas	..	..	died 1682.
2.	„ Patros	..	..	„ 1683.
3.	„ Pagdasar or Balthasar		„	1689.
4.	„ Arratoon	..	..	„ 1776.

Führer, *op. cit.*, 1896, p. 175.

1.	Presbyter Juhannas	..	died 1682.
2.	„ Patros	..	„ 1683.
3.	„ Pagdasar	..	„ 1684.
4.	„ Arratun	..	„ 1776.

CENTRAL JAIL COMPOUND, AGRA.

49

Fr. Felix, *op. cit.*, 1907, pp. 223-224.

1. Father John (Yuhannes), son of
Jacob of Linhouse .. died 1682.
2. Father Patros (Peter), of Karabagh ,, 1683.
3. ,, Baghdazar (Balthasar) .. ,, 1689.
4. ,, Arratune ,, 1776,
July 13.

At pp. 228-230, we have them again with a misprint (1663 instead of 1683) for No. 2.

Fr. Felix, *op. cit.*, 1908, pp. 34-36, reproduces what he wrote in *op. cit.*, 1907, pp. 223-224.

E. A. H. Blunt, *op. cit.*, 1911, pp. 36-38.

1. (No. 90): "Father Johannes, son of Jacob of Linhouse (?), 1682. (Translation from Armenian)."
2. (No. 91): "Father Petros of Karabagh, 1683. (Translation from Armenian)."
3. (No. 94): [Father] "Baltasar, 1689. (Translation from Armenian)."
4. (No. 104): "Father Haroothiun (Arratoon), 13 July 1776. (Translation from Armenian). [The name Harathiun is commonly pronounced Aratoun, Aroutin, or Artin. It is equivalent to the English 'Paschal']."

As Nos. 94 and 104 are printed within [], it is a sign that Mr. Blunt did not himself see the inscriptions.

Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth, *op. cit.*, 1895, p. 25.

1. "This is the resting-place of the Reverend Johannes, son of Johannes Jacob. Died in the year 1668 A.D."
2. "This is the tomb of the Reverend Bagdassar. Died in the year 1691 A.D."

Inscriptions Nos. 3 and 4 are not given, and it will be noted that the two inscriptions given differ for the dates.

E. A. H. Blunt has still translations of 20 other Armenian inscriptions in the Padres Santos' Cemetery, but I remark that, barring some modernizing of the names, he depended entirely on Fr. Felix' book of 1907, Fr. Felix giving summary translations of 83 inscriptions (*plus* that of Mortenepus, *i.e.* Martyrose or Martyr, *latinè* Martinus) in 1907, and 84 in 1908. Hence, the agreement of Fanthome, Führer, Blunt, and Fr. Felix is no guarantee for the correctness of the dates. Blunt followed Fr. Felix, and Fr. Felix used an old list in the Agra Mission Archives, which Fanthome must also have handled. Führer would have copied Fanthome, or the *Proceedings of the Agra Archæological Society*, if these contain them. Now, as the list in the Agra Mission Archives must have been compiled with the help of an Armenian, we have one Armenian pitted against another, Mr. Mesrovb J. Seth, who had to rely on his Armenian friends of Agra.

With such materials it is impossible to make any headway in the history of the Armenians of Agra. We require an Armenian, an enthusiast, a scholar, who will undertake to decipher properly and edit our Armenian inscriptions from all over India. If private enterprise cannot do it, the Government through its representatives in the Archæological Department should find the remedy. Let estampages of all the Armenian inscriptions of Agra be sent to Mr. Mesrovb J. Seth, or let him be given the advantage of a visit to Agra. Better still, let the two be combined. He is quite ready to undertake the work.

*St. Xavier's College,
30, Park Street, Calcutta.*

*ARMENIAN INSCRIPTION FROM THE NATIVE
CHAPEL, CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL
COMPOUND, AGRA.*

BY THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J., AND MESROVB J. SETH.

UNDER the date 1772 on the old façade of the Native Chapel, in the Catholic Cathedral compound, Agra, there is a window, the sill of which consists of a tombstone with an Armenian inscription. To reach it, one must ascend by a masonry staircase on the right of the chapel to a terrace in front of the old façade; then, with the help of a bench or a chair, one can obtain a good view of the stone, the inscription lying with its face upwards.

It was by mere chance that I came across that stone at the end of my stay at Agra, in December 1912, and ever since I had been anxious to know what it might have to say or how it had come there. If I recollect well, there is not another Armenian tombstone to be found in the Catholic Cathedral compound. The discovery of the Armenian inscription in the Jail compound, Agra, placed me again into relations with the Archæological Department of Agra, with the good result that a rubbing of the stone at the Native Chapel, Catholic Cathedral compound, was also sent me in 1917.

The stone is embedded on three sides in the walls of the chapel, so that the rubbing, although complete as far as the lettering goes, does not show the decorated border of the stone. The rubbing measures $3'8'' \times 8\frac{3}{8}''$; the portions left unprinted must measure some 6 inches more on every side. The lettering is in relief and occupies 16 lines, the lines being separated from one another by a raised ribbing in the stone, as is the custom with old

Armenian inscriptions. The inscription is in very good condition, but the letters are mostly linked together.

Mr. Mesroby J. Seth, the author of the *History of the Armenians in India*, gives the following romanisation and *verbatim* translation of the Armenian:—

Ais a tapan/
Sookhiasee/
wor a wordi Tha-/
righooleh az-/
gav a Er-/
evan a Valar-/
shapat medz/
khaghakhe sa/
phokhedtzav ar/
tzankalin Christos/
Astvatz huisun/
verein thvakanis/
Hayotz medzin/
1120 unnin/
Azaria/
Damah/

Translation:

This is the tomb of Sookhias, who is the son of Tharighool. He is from Erivan, of the big city of Valarshapat. He departed to the cherished Christ-God, the Hope above, in the great Armenian era 1120, on the 9th Damah of [the era of] Azaria [*i.e.* 6th of November 1671 A.D.]

Mr. Seth also favours us with the following notes:—

“There are 3 Armenian eras:

“1. The national era, which in this year of grace is 4411.

“2. The *great* Armenian era, which commenced in 551 A.D., so that the date of the present inscription is $1120 + 551 = 1671$ A.D.

“3. The small or new Armenian era, known as the era of Azaria, or the new era of Julfa, which commenced in the year 1615, and was used exclusively by the Armenians of Julfa (Ispahan) and the Armenian colonists in India, who were almost all from Julfa. Both these eras were in vogue amongst the Armenians in India up to the latter end of the 18th century; for, in the course of my researches, I find them using the Christian era, as in Europe, from the beginning of the 19th century, not only in their

CATHEDRAL COMPOUND, AGRA.

53

correspondence and books of accounts, but also on their tombstones. The two first eras are still used (in addition to the Christian era) in Pontifical Bulls and ecclesiastical writings and publications from the Holy See of Etchimidzin, as also by the Armenian Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Constantinople.

"The 9th Damah of the small or new era of Azaria corresponds to November 6.

"The date in the original is in Armenian numerical characters, as in the Roman style. The characters used are as follows:—Rha=1000; Tche=100; Eenie=20.

"The Armenian Philanthropic Academy of Calcutta, now situated at No. 39, Free School Street, was opened on the 2nd of April 1821 A.D., because it was the 1st day of Shams, the 1st month of the era of Azaria, the new year of the New Era of Julfa, as the founders, promoters, and benefactors of that national educational institution, all Armenians of Julfa, were naturally anxious to open the National Academy on a memorable date. In the new inscription of Agra, the year of the great era is given, but the month is that of the small era of Azaria. There are several Armenian inscriptions in Calcutta and elsewhere, which have the Christian era and the months of the era of Azaria, which shows the great popularity of Azaria's era amongst the Armenians in India during the 17th and 18th centuries.

"Azaria's calendar has 12 months of 30 days and an extra month of 5 days known as "Aveliatz," *i.e.* 'extra' (as the word signifies), and as there may be no discrepancy between his computation and the Christian era, Azaria put 6 days in Aveliatz, when there is a leap-year.

"The months of Azaria's era, beginning in A.D. 1615, are as follows:—

- | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|----|
| 1. Shams | of 30 days, commencing from April | 2. |
| 2. Adam | „ 30 „ „ „ May | 2. |
| 3. Shbath | „ 30 „ „ „ June | 1. |
| 4. Nakha | „ 30 „ „ „ July | 1. |

5.	Qamar	of 30 days, commencing from July	31.
6.	Nadar	„ 30 „ „ „ „ Aug.	30.
7.	Thirah	„ 30 „ „ „ „ Sept.	29.
8.	Damah	„ 30 „ „ „ „ Oct.	29.
9.	Hamirah	„ 30 „ „ „ „ Nov.	28.
10.	Arean	„ 30 „ „ „ „ Dec.	28.
11.	Ovdan	„ 30 „ „ „ „ Jan.	27.
12.	Nirhan	„ 30 „ „ „ „ Febr.	26.
13.	Aveliatz	„ 5 „ (in leap-years 6) „ „ Mar.	27.

“Erivan, a district in the province of Ararat, was for two centuries a Persian province, before it was annexed by Russia in 1828. Valarshapat is a very old Armenian city in the district of Erivan; near it, is the famous Armenian monastery of Holy Etchimadzin, the seat of the Katholikos or Supreme Pontiff of the Orthodox Armenians all over the world, the present Katholikos being His Holiness George V.”

I have very little to add to these remarks. About the person commemorated by the stone I know nothing. Where did the stone come from? No one will suppose that it was put from the first to the use it is doing now. It may have been lying first in the Church compound, and in that case it would be the second oldest that has been found there, the oldest being a (discarded?) stone to the memory of Father de Castro, dated 15th December 1646. Cf. my article on *Mirzā Zū-l Qarnain* in *Memoirs As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. 5, No. 4, p. 185. If it did not lie originally there, it is not likely that it came from the Padres Santos' Cemetery, which is some 20 minutes away. Was it perhaps taken from near the stone recently found in the Jail compound close by? In that case, we should have a new inkling as to the existence of a former cemetery or of a church, or both, within the grounds of the present Jail.

We commend to the attention of the authorities of the Archæological Department, Agra, the desirability of exca-

CATHEDRAL COMPOUND, AGRA.

55

vating in the Jail compound, and in the Convent garden.
(Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 184-185).

It is almost useless to try and guess the date when our new Armenian inscription was utilised as a window-sill. However, as the date 1772, above it on the old façade, must commemorate renovations in the Chapel, we incline to believe that it was then put into its present position. Father Felix writes in the *Catholic Calendar and Directory for the Archdiocese of Agra for the year 1907 . . .*, p. 205: "In 1769, when Fr. Francis Xavier Wendel came to Agra, he at once tried to repair the Church, as a slab above a door on the right gives us to understand. The inscription is as follows:—

I. H. S.

ANNO MDCCLXIX.

"For some unknown reasons he must have been unable to continue its restoration, but three years later, in 1772 (which date can be seen on the front wall of the Church), he finished it by the generous help of Walter Reinhardt, better known as General Sombre or Somroo, as the following inscription inside the Church shows:—

SUMPTIBUS

Translation:—

D

At the expense of Walter

WALTERI

Reinhardt, Esq., and through

REINHARDT

the care of the Rev. Fr. F [ran-

CURA

cis] X[avier] W[endel] of the

R. P. F. X. W.

Society of Jesus.

S. J. "

The original shell of the Church must date from 1636, for Shāh Jahān ordered the previous Church to be pulled down in December 1635.

*St. Xavier's College,
30, Park Street, Calcutta.*

THE ZAFARNĀMA-I-KĀNGRĀ, OR AN ACCOUNT
OF THE CONQUEST OF KĀNGRĀ DURING
THE REIGN OF JAHĀNGIR.

[In the summer of 1917 there came into my possession an old manuscript volume bound in leather, containing the following works written in a neat *nasta'liq* hand :—

1. The Zafarnāma-i-Kāngrā (six versions of the story of the conquest of Kāngrā).
2. Panjruqqa'-i-Zahūrī.
3. The Zanāna Bāzār, attributed to the princess Zeb-un-nisa.
4. Miscellaneous notes, mainly on arithmetical calculations.

Works No. 2 and No. 3 are dated and signed by the scribe, one Ram Ratan. They were written at about the same time—*Rabī'-ul-awwal*, and *Rabī'-us-sānī* 1239 A.H. respectively—on paper of the same size, 8·7 inches long and 6 inches wide. The other two works are neither dated nor signed, but apparently are in the same handwriting, though written in instalments at different times. Their paper is of a different quality and size being only 7·85 inches long, and slips of paper have been pasted on to each leaf to enable all the four books to be bound uniformly together. It seems that works No. 1 and No. 4 were written at an earlier date, but all were bound together in, or shortly after, 1239 when No. 2 and No. 3 had been copied. The volume was kindly examined for me by Mr. Rushbrook Williams, Professor of Indian History in the Allahabad University, who has a wide knowledge of historical manuscripts. Judging from the binding, the paper, and the writing, he considers it to be genuinely old.

The Panjruqqa'-i-Zahūrī and the Zanāna Bāzār are well-known works, but the title Zafarnāma is new. The following note has been written on this book by Khan Bahadur Mir Raza Husain, M.A., *Mir Munshi* to the Government of the United Provinces.

Naini Tal, 2 Sep. 1918.

PANNA LALL, I.C.S.]

THE title given in the manuscript is *Zafarnāma-i-Kāngrā*. But in an abstract translation of this book given in the Appendix of Vol. VI of Sir H. Elliot's History of India,

the work is called *Shash-Fath-i-Kāngrā*, and the introduction to the translation contains the following remark:—

“This little work was written to show the author’s ingenuity in composing in six different styles, the account of the capture of Kāngrā.” It is further stated that the authorship is doubtful; some attribute it to Ni‘mat Khān ‘Āli, others to Jalāla Tibātiba, but that the writer of the introduction (Professor John Dowson) entertained no doubt that it was written by Muhammad Jalāla Tibātiba, not only because the general voice concurred most in this opinion, but because in a common-place book in the Professor’s possession, at least a hundred years old, among other compositions of Jalāla, the first and last *Faths* (of Kāngrā) were expressly ascribed to him. Professor Dowson’s opinion is apparently well founded. But this manuscript contains the following passage, which would lead the reader to suppose that the author of the *Zafarnāma* (or *Shash-Fath-i-Kāngrā*) was the same as the author of *Bādshāhnāma*:—

چون خامه بادشاه نامه نگار که از برکت نگارش کار نامه فتوحات حضرت
ظل الهی آواز جہانگیری آویز گوش ماه تامہی نموده و از چہرہ پردازی
تصویر ظفر نامہ تسخیر کانگرہ حلقہ در گوش تقریر و تحریر کشیدہ *

[Since the pen of the writer (author) of the *Bādshāhnāma* which has, by describing the events of the conquests of His Majesty in such a highly graceful style, spread its fame throughout the universe from the highest heavens to the lowest depth of the earth, and by narrating the conquest of Kāngrā in equally elegant style has surpassed all grace of language whether spoken or written (is now bent on giving up brevity.....)].

In another place also both the words *bādshāhnāma* and *zafarnāma* are used in juxtaposition. Although they are used there only in their literal sense of ‘history of a king’ and ‘history of a conquest’ respectively, and not as the titles of particular books, there is no doubt that the author had in mind the two books bearing those titles.

There are three works (or three volumes of the same work) entitled *Bādshāhnāma*. The first, which is often called *Shāhjahānnāma* and sometimes more specifically '*Tārikh-i-Shāhjahāni Dah-sāla*,' was written by Amināi Qazwīnī, and comprises the history of the first ten years of the reign—page 1, vol. VII, Sir H. Elliot's History of India.

The second work is a history of the first twenty years of the reign of *Shāh Jahān*, composed by 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī—page 3 of the History.

The third being the completion of the second by 'Abdul Ḥamīd's pupil and assistant Muhammad Wāris, embraces the last ten years of *Shāhjahān's* reign. It was revised by 'Alā-ul-mulk Tūnī entitled Fāzil Khān, and a part of the work was written by the latter—page 121, vol. VII, Sir H. Elliot's History.

There is nothing in the *Zafarnāma* to show as to which, if any, of these *Bādshāhnāmas* is referred to. However, as stated in the introduction to the translation the style is very difficult. In the introduction to the *Bādshāhnāma* of 'Abdul Ḥamīd the following remarks are made about him or the style of his *Bādshāhnāma*: "'Abdul Ḥamīd was, as he himself states, a professed admirer and imitator of Abul Fazl's style; and when he is dealing with a subject demanding his eloquence, his style is as verbose, turgid and fulsome as that of his master"—page 4, vol. VII, History of India, by Sir H. Elliot. These features mark the style of our *Zafarnāma*, and the authorship of this work could therefore be ascribed to 'Abdul Ḥamīd with some reason, although he is not mentioned by Sir H. Elliot. It seems to the writer that either Sir H. Elliot's attention was not drawn at all to the passage quoted above, or that he took the word *Bādshāhnāma* as a common noun meaning 'Royal biography.' But the insistent repetition of the word, and the very great similarity between the style of the *Zafarnāma*, and 'Abdul Ḥamīd's *Bādshāhnāma* suggest that it also is the work of

'Abdul Hamīd. I have not come across any Bādshāhnāma by Jalāla.

The story of the conquest of Kāngrā as given in the *Shash Fath* is briefly as follows :—

When the Emperor Jahāngīr had been informed of Surajmal's revolt, and of the fact that he had laid his rapacious hands upon some of the parganas of the Punjab, he entrusted the duty of punishing him to the Prince (Khurram, i.e. Shāhjahān). The latter gave the command to Rāja Bikramājīt who had conquered the tribes of Jām and Bhārā. He marched from Gujrāt against the rebel on the 12th Shahrīyār in the 13th year of Jahāngīr's reign or the 1st of Sha'bān, 1027 Hijri. Sūrajmal on receiving the intelligence of his motion towards him was overwhelmed with fear, ran towards Pathānkot and took shelter in the fort of Mau. Rāja Bikramājīt soon reached the place and besieged the fort. The refugees offered opposition, but were defeated. Sūrajmal fled to the fort of Nūrpur. The town of Nūrpur, before the fort was built, was called Dhamri, but after its reduction it was renamed Nūrpur after the Emperor "Nūruddīn" Jahāngīr. Bikramājīt took possession of Mau and pursued Sūrajmal. The latter, however, fled towards the mountains and having entered the dominions of the Rāja of Chamba took refuge in the fort of Tārāgarh. He was soon besieged there by the royal army. For three days the Rāja led successive attacks upon the fort, and on the fourth day stormed it with all his warriors, who, though they sustained great loss in killed and wounded, yet bravely carried everything before them, took possession of the fort and obliged Sūrajmal to flee to the Rāja of Chamba and take refuge in a fort in which the Rāja resided. Bikramājīt marched towards the fort of Nūrpur, and soon conquered the forts of Hara, Pahāri, Thātha, Pakrota, Sūr and Jawāli, which all lay in the vicinity of Nūrpur. He then determined to seize Sūrajmal and take the fort of Kāngrā. While he was engaged in making preparations for this purpose, Mādho

Singh, brother of Sūrajmal, taking advantage of the opportunity, raised a rebellion in the same territory. He established himself within the fort of Kotila between Kāngrā and Nūrpur. Bikramājīt marched towards him and having reached the place suddenly laid siege to the fort. The enemy was defeated and after much bloodshed the fort fell into the hands of the royalists. Sūrajmal was seized by a fatal disease and soon after died in the fort of the Rāja of Chamba, who acknowledged obedience to the throne. The whole property of Sūrajmal was made over by the Rāja of Chamba to Rāja Bikramājīt, who despatched all the prize property to the emperor. Besides other valuables it consisted of 14 large elephants and 200 Arab and Turkish horses. Bikramājīt then proceeded to Kāngrā. Immediately on his approaching the fort he surrounded it with his troops. He led several gallant attacks against the fort. The besiegers succeeded in effecting a breach in the walls and forced a passage into the fort. At last the opponents being entirely beaten, found their safety in flight, and they surrendered the keys of the fort to Rāja Bikramājīt, who then made a triumphal entry into it.

The substance of the account as given in *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* is as under :—

On the 5th of Muharram, 1031 Hijri, Jahāngīr received news of the capture of the Kāngrā fort by the Mughal forces. After stating that Kāngrā was an impregnable fortress never before taken by any invader, although repeated attempts were made by different kings, and that his father had sent an army against that fort, which laid siege to the fortress, but had to raise it suddenly owing to its services being needed for quelling the insurrection of Ibrāhīm Mirza in the Punjab, Jahāngīr says that the conquest of Kāngrā was one of the several enterprises which he was determined to carry through in the course of his reign. At first Murtaza Khān, Governor of the Punjab, with Sūrajmal next in command, was sent to reduce the fort, but the former died before accomplishing the work.

Then after the conquest of the Deccan another army was sent under Rāja Sūrajmal, but he having failed to defeat the enemy, Rāja Bikramājīt was sent. On hearing the news of his appointment Sūrajmal mutinied. The latter was attacked by Bikramājīt, who defeated him and conquered all his forts. Sūrajmal then took refuge with the Rāja of Chamba and died soon after. Then Prince Khuram undertook the work and sent his servant Sundar for the purpose of reducing the fort, and many officers of the royal army were allowed to join the expedition. On 16th Shawwāl, 1029 Hijri, the royal troops invested the fortress, and after a careful reconnoissance stopped all means of egress and ingress so as to stop completely the supply of provisions to the beleaguered garrison, who were thus in a few months* forced to surrender after their food supplies were exhausted.

A comparison of the two accounts shows that the description of the conquest as given in the *Zafarnāma* (or *Shash Fath*) is scanty and somewhat inaccurate. For instance, it does not mention the first expedition sent under Murtaza Khān and the appointment of Rāja Sūrajmal to assist him. Again while according to the *Tuzuk* the possession of Kāngrā was at last obtained by the royal army under the command of Sundar, a servant of Shāhjahān, in the 15th year of Jahāngīr's reign, or in 1031 Hijri, the account in the *Zafarnāma* would lead the reader to think that Rāja Bikramājīt was the hero of Kāngrā and that the final victory was achieved by him in the 13th year of Jahāngīr's reign.

Again although according to the *Tuzuk* the only expedition sent against Kāngrā during the reign of the emperor Akbar, which laid a siege to that fortress had to raise it suddenly because the services of the besieging army were required in another quarter, viz. against Ibrāhim Husain Mirza, who had mutinied in the Punjab, the author of the *Shash Fath* states to the effect that all the efforts of Akbar for the conquest of the fortress proved of

no avail, but that it was only due to the auspiciousness of Shāhjahān that, that impregnable fort which could not be reduced by any previous invader was captured under his directions.

The *Shash Fath* can hardly be said to be a historical work of any great importance, but its literary merits cannot be denied. As a rare example of versatility of composition it will excite the admiration of Persian scholars. But, as remarked by Sir H. Elliot, the style is very difficult and full of redundancy of ornament, and the remarks about Abul Fazl's style contained in the introduction to the translation of the *Akbarnāma*—that a great familiarity not only with the Persian language, but also with this sort of style is required to make the reading of the book a pleasure, and that unwearied attention is required to seize and follow up the meaning of the author—are equally applicable to this work. It was probably for this among other reasons that this work never found its way into Persian educational instruction like such other recognized works as *Ruqa'āt-i-Abul Fazl*, *Sih Nasr-i-Zahūri*, etc.; and although the fact that Sir H. Elliot had it translated into English and gave the translation a place in the appendix to his history may be taken as some evidence of its importance.

RAZA HUSAIN.

KASIA RELICS.

KASIA is a village situated at the crossing of two important thoroughfares, at the distance of 35 miles due east from Gorakhpore. The place corresponds with the celebrated *Kushinagar*, which as the scene of Lord Buddha's death was famous throughout the then known world. The place was visited by Fa Hian and so also by Hwen Tsang who has left a detailed description of it.

According to Hwen Tsang, Kushinagar was situated 116 miles to the north-north-east of Benares in direct line. Fa Hian's measurement would place Kushinagar at 150 miles to the N.-W. of Vaisali. Now Kasia is 112 miles to the N.-N.-E. of Benares in the direct line, and by road laid out by the British Government it is 140 miles in the N.-W. direction from Vaisali.

It was General Cunningham who in 1861-62 first identified Kasia with Kushinagar. Subsequently, in 1876-77 Mr. S. C. L. Carleylle carried out some excavations, the result of which confirmed the theory of Cunningham. Fresh excavations were carried out in 1904-5 and the two following years under the superintendence of Dr. Vogel and in 1910-11 under that of P. Hira Nand Shastri. All the excavations have fully justified Cunningham's identification.

In 1896 Mr. V. A. Smith, at the request of Sir Antony Macdonnell, visited Kasia in order to compare the remains with those described by Hwen Tsang in 635. Mr. Smith has challenged the identification of Cunningham and places Kushinagar beyond the Great Gandak. His destructive argument, however, is not stated with fairness one would think. The objections of Mr. Smith are answered by his own observations and I have found Buddhists mocking

at his suggestions. To the Buddhist there is not the least doubt that Kasia is the ancient Kushinagar, and the place is to this day the object of veneration on the part of Buddhists who come here in large numbers every year from Burma and elsewhere, and for whose comfort a learned Bhikshu, Chandra Mani, has now erected a nice Dharmshálá at the cost of Rs. 15,000.

The remains at Kasia consist of:—

- (1) An isolated brick stupa, some 50 ft. in height and overgrown with trees, on the western edge of the Rama Bhor Tal, bearing the name of Devasthan or Rama Bhór-Ki-Bhawani;
- (2) A small mound of ruins to the south-west of this stupa and a short distance to the N.-E. of the village of Anurudhwá;
- (3) Máthá Kunwar Ka Kôt, about a mile west of the Rámá-Bhór-Stupa, comprising a temple with a colossal recumbent image of the dying Buddha, a large stupa, several monasteries and other buildings;
- (4) A colossal statue of the seated Buddha, called Máthá Kunwar, about 400 yds. S.-W. from the Kot;
- (5) Remains of a number of small earthen mounds and barrows, locally called Bhimavat, to the north and east of the Kot; and
- (6) The remains of an enclosing wall.

Taking them one by one:—

(1)

Devasthán is the ruin of a large very ancient stupa of solid brick work of which the diameter of the plinth is 155' and that of the drum 112'. It is situated somewhat less than one mile to the S.-W. of Kasia village site. At the S.-E. foot of the mound is a small rectangular building, the nature of which is not exactly known, but which does not appear to have any relation with the stupa and was subsequently erected.

KASIA RELICS.

65

The Devasthan was opened some time ago by Mr. Lumsden, a former district officer of Gorakhpur, but it did not yield any relics and the structure was irretrievably damaged. Later on in 1910 P. Hira Nand Shastri also tried some experiments upon it but no relics could be found therein.

According to Pali Annals, the site of Buddha's cremation must have been somewhere to the east of the city of Kushinagar. Hwen Tsang, however, places the site of cremation to the northward of the city. Village Anurudhwa and the earthen mound, No. (2), near it are believed to stand on the site of ancient Kushinagar. The different accounts of the site of cremation can thus be reconciled by identifying *the stupa of cremation* with the Rámá Bhár stupa which being situated to the north-eastern side of the Anurudhwa mound (ancient city) might have been loosely described by one party as lying to the north and by the other as lying to the east. The unshakable belief of the Buddhist world is that the Rama Bhár stupa (Devasthan) marks the site of Lord Buddha's cremation.

(2)

Close to village Anurudhwa and between the Matha-Kunwar-Ka-Kot and Rama Bhar stupa is a mound of brick ruins which is said to have been a fort but to which no name is given. There is absolutely nothing left now to show the nature of the building that once stood on this site, but from its square shape it might be conjectured that either a monastery or the palace of the Mallian king should have stood there.

At the time of Hwen Tsang's visit, the walls of Kushinagar were already in ruins, and the place was almost deserted, but the brick foundation of the capital occupied a circuit of about 2 miles. Cunningham has come to the conclusion that the famous city of Kushinagor must have occupied the site of the mound and the village of Anurudhwa as said above. The palace of the

king which was in the midst of the town was in all probability standing on the site of the brick mound that is under consideration, and to 1,000 ft. on each side of it was the extension of the town which would give the circuit wall the length of about 2 miles.

This situation of Kushinagar is in accordance with and explains the existing ruins at Kasia. A fort in the interior of the village of Anurudhwa was also excavated and the remains of a building discovered there. This place (the interior of the village) is so far off from either the Rama Bhar stupa or the Matha-Kunwar-Ka-Kot that the old building on it could not have had any connection with either of the two places, but must have been an independent building in itself—a fact which further goes to show that the old town existed there and that this building was the fort of the ancient town.

(3)

The most important of all the ruins at Kasia is the Máthá Kunwar-Ka-Kot, and all discussions as to the identity of the site centre round this (the third group). When first discovered, it presented the appearance of a mound in which the top of a brick stupa was visible, and in 1861-62 Cunningham had identified with the site of the *Sál grove* of Kushinagar, the grove in which the Great Teacher, Lord Gautam Buddha, attained Nirvan on the full moon of *Vaisakh*, 543 B.C.

Matha-Kunwar stands nearly 1,000 yds. to the north-north-west of the Rama Bhár stupa. It is 600 ft. in length from N.-W. to S.-E. and from 200 to 300 ft. in breadth, and has been found by the ruin of a considerable number of independent buildings.

During his excavation in 1876-77 Mr. Carleylle discovered in the Kôt a brick temple adjoining a big stupa. This temple contained the image of the dying Buddha, some 20 ft. in length, corresponding exactly to that described by Hwen Tsang as existing at Kushinagar in the

seventh century. It bears a votive inscription recording its erection by an abbot named Haribala in the fifth century. When Mr. Carleylle had discovered the temple he found its roof, having fallen on the image inside, was breaking it into numberless small pieces. The temple was repaired and the image restored to its original form by Mr. Carleylle who had the image enshrined in the temple with its head to the north, feet to the south and face to the west—the position in which it originally was. This image is now the main object of Buddhist worship here and is beautifully decorated. The temple is called the Nirvan Temple and the great stupa, adjoining it on the same high elevation, the Nirvan Stupa.

Fresh excavations carried out in 1904-05 and the two following years by Dr. Vogel, and the still fresher ones in 1910-11 carried out by Pandit Hira Nand Shastri, have disclosed that the Nirvana Temple and Stupa form the nucleus of an extensive group of Buddhist buildings, comprising several large monasteries, a few small shrines and a great number of brick stupas of various sizes.

These buildings belong to widely different periods and those of later dates have been raised on the ruins of earlier monuments. The history of this sacred site does not start from the erection of the Nirvan Temple, for the evidence of coins and other inscribed objects prove that several of the buildings date back to the Kushan and early Gupta epochs. In the 5th or 6th century a portion of the buildings was destroyed in a conflagration.

In 1870 the Nirvana Stupa was completely unearthed by Mr. Carleylle. In 1910 P. Hira Nand Shastri sunk a shaft from the top down the centre of this structure. Five feet down a *Swastika* mark made of two lines of bricks crossing at right angles was found. Lower down was a circular chamber 2' 1" in depth as well as diameter. This chamber was found to contain a copper vessel with a copper plate on the mouth. The vessel was embedded in a heap of sand containing innumerable small cowries. At

the end of the document on the plate is recorded that the plate was deposited in the 'Nirvaṇa Chaitya' and that Harbala was the donor.

The copper vessel contained sand mixed with charcoal, cowries, precious stones and seed pearls. Among this were found two copper tubes. One of these immediately came to pieces and the other contained ashes, pearls, a small emerald, a silver coin of Kumār Gupta and a small silver tube which in its turn proved to contain a gold tube. In the gold tube was found only a minute quantity of some brownish substance and two drops of liquid. This liquid P. Hira Nandji poured on the palm of his hand to test, and it immediately evaporated. Dr. E. H. Hankin, the Chemical Examiner at Agra, examined a specimen of the contents of the copper pot but he could find no traces of human bones in it.

Further down in the stupa a circular plinth was found 34' from the top. This belongs to a perfect little stupa which enshrines a well-modelled terra-cotta Buddha figure, sitting cross-legged in meditation and facing west. The interior was again examined and the only finds were some charcoal and an earthen pot containing earth and pieces of charcoal. The pot was found a little above the halo of the terra-cotta Buddha.

Some of the relics obtained in the copper and earthen vessels found in the Nirvaṇ Stupa have been left as a trust with Mahabir Bhikku in the Kasia Buddhist Dharmśālā and can be seen by any interested visitor to the place.

(4)

The Matha Kunwar statue is made of the dark blue stone of Gaya and represents Buddha seated under the Bodhi Tree, attended by celestial beings. The whole is 10½ ft. high and 4¾ ft. wide, the figure itself being 5 ft. 4½ in. in height. It was found split into two pieces from top to bottom and otherwise injured. In 1861 Cunningham had observed a mound near the statue and he had

KASIA RELICS.

69

taken it to be the ruins of the temple that enshrined this statue. This observation was verified in 1876 by Carleylle who discovered a little square temple in the ruins, and finally in 1910 Pandit Hira Nand found out in the discovered temple an elaborate masonry pedestal of which the ornamentation resembles that on the base of the image itself. P. Hira Nand has repaired and replaced the statue in its original position in the pedestal.

The so-called temple is in reality the part of a monastery of which the remains are in accordance with Hwen Tsang's description of Buddhist monasteries in general. The statue belongs to the 12th or 11th century and the monastery must be nearly contemporaneous.

A legend runs that a villager chose the hand of the statue for a *Lorha* (a piece of stone for grinding hot spices), and breaking the arm carried it home. By the time he reached there his whole family was dead and the unhappy man in great agony threw back the *Lorha* at the place whence he had taken it. Surely it is not an act that can be attributed to the agency of the all-merciful Lord Buddha. The short inscription on the base of the statue has been practically worn out by the villagers in sharpening their tools.

(5)

To the north and east of Matha Kunwar Ká Kot the plain is covered with a number of low grassy mounds. Regarding these barrows the people have a tradition that gypsies were formerly very numerous about Kasia and that these mounds are the tumuli of their dead. They are made of plain earth and contain nothing. They are sometimes locally styled *Bhimavár* and the villagers are heard saying that ghosts are sometimes seen flitting about them.

(6)

Surrounding the Máthá-Kunwar-Ká-Kôt are the remains of the enclosing wall. These remains have not been excavated all along but have been unearthed only at

a few places. Hwen Tsáng had mentioned the existence of a wall round the *Sál grove* and the excavators were dejected on finding no trace of it first. They had begun to doubt even the identity of the place where Mahabir Bhikku stood up at a particular spot and pointed out that the gate of the wall must be there. The place was excavated and the gate actually found! Later on, other traces of the wall were discovered too in the same straight line.

At the time of various excavations a large number of clay seals was found bearing the inscription of the "Convent of the Great Decease" which would appear to supply the final evidence that this is the place where Lord Buddha died, but it has been urged that such seals were probably attached to letters from elsewhere though as yet no other site has yielded seals from the same place. This latter is altogether a prejudiced view. Such seals can be found in heaps only at the places of their origin where they might have been used to be attached as seals to letters going outside. If such seals were to come from elsewhere, during different excavations different sorts of seals of various places should have been found and not those of only one place the 'Convent of the Great Decease.' The books in Páli say that Lord Buddha lay between two *Sál* trees while dying, and this was the impression found on most of the seals discovered.

One of the seals had the inscription "Of the Community of Friars at the Convent of *Vishnudwipa*." If this is supposed to be the name of the old town which contained the "Convent of the Great Decease" even then we have not to go too far to look for its situation for still the important remains of Math-Kunwar-Ka-Kôt with the Nirvan Temple and Stupa are situated within the limits of the village of *Vishnupura*. But *Vetha-Dwipa*, another form of *Vishnu Dwipa*, was also one of the eight places in which a portion of Budha's relics was preserved under a stupa.

KASIA RELICS.

71

Cunningham has described the instances of penetrating sight and miracles of Anurudha, the first cousin of Buddha, performed at Kushinagar after the latter's death, and on that account attributes the village of Anurudhwa to have taken its name from him. In doing all this he has lost sight of one simple fact, that not only did Anurudha perform miracles there but he had taken up his *abode*, also near the cremation stupa of Lord Buddha, and so there is no wonder if the place where he took up his abode should have been named after him, specially so when he was such an advanced and renowned Buddhist, and the site of Kushinagar in after years became the centre of Buddhist pilgrimage and well known in Buddhist history.

Another point that has not been noticed by others and has been misunderstood by Cunningham himself is the root of the name *Kasia*. Cunningham's idea is that *Kasia* is a corrupt form of Kushinagar and that it truly ought to be *Kushia*. But no, *Káshyapa*, the chief disciple of the Great Lord Buddha, with whom He had even once exchanged His clothes, was at *Páwá* when he heard of his teacher's death. Thence he proceeded to Kushinagar with his 500 disciples, and at a short distance from Kushinagar stopped in a grove to take a little rest. This grove which was on the plain of the present *Kasia* was later on named by the Buddhists after *Káshyap*, and it is *Kashapa* and not Kushinagar that has given name to the now flourishing village of *Kasia* (*Káshyá*).

Páwá has been indentified with *Padrauna*, and it is to be noted that *Kasia* lies between *Padrauna* and the ancient remains and is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the ruins.

Hwen Tsang describes *Páwá* to be 12 miles from Kushinagar, and this is exactly the distance between *Padrauna* and *Kasia*. The people of *Páwá* had obtained $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the relics after Buddha's cremation, and to the south of *Padrauna* is a large mound covered with broken bricks about 220 ft. broad from east to west and 120 ft. long

and 14 ft. high, and it might be that this marks the site of the monastery and the stupa that contained the relics allotted to the people of Páwá.

That Padrauna and Kasia were the favourite places of holy men is illustrated by the name of their Pargana Sidwa-golma which has its origin in the word 'Sidh'—the holy.

Mr. V. A. Smith, the only person who has contested the identification of Kasia with Kushinagar, argues that if the remains near Kasia are those which adjoined Kushinagar, then the village of Anurudhwa must correspond with the fortified town of Kushinagar; a river must have flown between that village and the Matha-Kunwar-Ká-Kôt; traces should be visible of a group of monuments to the north of Anurudhwá as well as of another to the north-west: and that there should be a stupa at the N.-E. angle of the gate of the ancient town now represented by Anurudhwa. He argued that none of these conditions is satisfied at Kasia, while further the great stupa in the Kot can never have been more than 85 ft. high, whereas that seen by Hwen Tsang was still 200 ft. high in its then ruinous condition.

How far these objections can stand can be judged from the existing ruins of to-day. With Anurudhwá corresponding with the site of Kushinagar, the Rama Bhár Stupa is the one that is mentioned as standing at the north-east angles of the wall and the remains at Máthá-Kuar-Ká-Kôt, which lies to the north-west of the city as required, bears a most striking resemblance to the *Vihára* of Hwen Tsang with the 20 ft. long unique image.

The argument as to the present non-existence of the river at the desired place is of little importance, for the changes of river beds in this part are frequent and easy and the Ramabhar Tál with the *Khanna Nálá* which lies between Anurudhwa and the *Kôt* was itself a river bed in the days of old, and its fluvial action may have brought

KASIA RELICS.

73

about the complete disappearance of the old town and of the minor monuments referred to by Hwen Tsang. Truly it is owing to the wanderings of the Little Gandak River that it is somewhat difficult to follow Hwen Tsang's accounts of the sacred edifices at Kashia—the Little Gandak River that was the Ajitáwati of Hwen Tsang and the Hirṇa Vati of the Hindus. It would be interesting to note that now and then the Khanna Nálá (that lies between the Kot and Anurudhwa) is referred to as Hirná Nálá by the villagers.

As to the height of the Nirvāṇ *Stupa* Mr. Smith himself notes that from its composition it shows the signs of a rebuilt structure, and it may be that the present building is not the same that was seen by the Chinese traveller but another one built on the ruins of the former. It must also be borne in mind that Hwen Tsang had written about 1,300 years ago, and the Buddhist remains throughout India have suffered from the ravages both of nature and of the foes of the Buddhist faith.

The only name now associated with the ruins near Kasia is that of Matha Kunwar, and it is not improbable that the illiterate people of the place should have called the big statue of Buddha in dying posture 'The Mritya Kunwar,' i.e. the dying or the dead prince, and named the place 'Mritya Kunwar-Ká-Kot'—the fort of the dying or dead prince—although the learned never called Buddha by that name. Hwen Tsang himself once refers to Lord Buddha as 'Kumār Rájá', and it is well known that the Lord was a prince.

The distance and direction of Kasia from various places like Benares, Vaisali and Padrauna, the nature of the remains that have been found to exist there, their marked agreement with the descriptions left of them by past visitors, and the most striking coincidence of names of all the places lying quite close to the ruins, go to prove and put it beyond doubt that the ruins near Kasia are those of Kushinagar and of the monasteries and monuments that

were erected in memory of the passing away of Lord Buddha there.

Kasia is no railway station, and the visitors must alight at Padrauna, the ancient Páwá, and proceed from there like the Máhá Kasyap, the chief and great disciple of Lord Buddha, to take rest in the village of Kasia before they advance towards Rámá Bhár, the place of Gautam Buddha's cremation, and thence passing through Anurudhwa, the ancient Kushinagar, have a look at the statue of Matha-Kunwar and finally enter the Matha-Kunwar-Ka-Kot, the sacred Sál grove, the place of last repose on earth of the Great and celestial Teacher Lord Gautam, the Buddha.

R. G. MISRA,
Dy. Collr.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

(1)

To the 'Oriental Collections' of William Ouseley, the erudite Granville Penn, Esq. contributes a series of articles designed to prove that the puzzling word -έρρα and the common πῦρ are Egyptian in origin, and signified specifically *the Sun* and not merely generic *fire*. He refers to the epithet of Bacchus *πυρογενής* and interprets it in the ancient sense of the word, to wit "Sun-born."

Thirty years later Tod in his fascinating (if fanciful) chapter one of Vol. I of the *Annals*, identifies the patriarch Menu (Noah) with Bacchus: he adduces the title Bāghēs or tiger-lord, with corroboration from the panthers, the vahan of Bacchus. Tod notes that in the Bhayishya Menu is called "Vaivaswata," the Sun-born; which equals *πυρογενής*, if Granville Penn be right.

Has this identification of Menu-Noah-Bacchus, so interestingly elaborated by Tod, been supported by more scientific historians and philologists? and, if so, does Tod's still more ambitious theory about the Heracleidae in chapter V stand modern criticism? Of course Tod lived at a time when young Philology was sowing some very wild oats; but the correlation of heroes and myths is always so interesting that I venture to seek enlightenment from your readers.

TALIB-'ILM.

(2)

KAYASTH MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The question whether marriages between members of those subdivisions of a caste which are ordinarily considered to be endogamous was discussed by the Judicial Commissioner, Oudh, in the case of *Har Bahadur v. Raj Bahadur* (Oudh and Agra Law Reporter, 1918, p. 373). One N. R., a Mathur Kayasth, after the death of his first wife, took into his keeping the widow of a Srivastav Kayasth, and had a son, B. L., born of her. B. L. married a Srivastav. In the course of the judgment it is stated:—

"The Kayasth community is divided into 12 sub-castes, but B. L., the father of the defendant-appellant, was not of pure descent

ordinarily a Kayasth of one sub-division does not marry in another sub-division, but no such custom is recognized by the Hindu Law. Assuming, however, that there is such a custom, the evidence about which is not very clear, it cannot apply to persons born of mixed descent. They are treated as belonging to the sub-division which accepts and assimilates them."

R. BURN.

PROCEEDINGS.

THE Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Muir Central College, on March 11th. The Hon'ble Sir George E. Knox presided.

The annual report of the Honorary Secretary was read and approved.

The statement of accounts for the year ending March 1st, 1919, was presented by the Honorary Treasurer and adopted, subject to the approval of the auditors.

The following Members of Council were elected for the ensuing year :—

<i>President</i>	..	Mr. R. Burn, I.C.S., C.I.E.
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	..	The Hon'ble Justice Sir P. C. Banerji, Kt. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Md. Rafique.
<i>Honorary Secretary</i>	..	Mr. D. Dewar, I.C.S.
<i>Honorary Treasurer</i>	..	Mr. S. B. Smith.

MEMBERS.

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Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams.
The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.
Mr. M. Nizamuddin Hasan.
The Hon'ble Sir George E. Knox, Kt.
Lala Sita Ram.
Mr. C. J. Brown.
The Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.
Mr. Abdul Mājid.
Mr. W. Jesse.

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Mr. C. J. Brown.
The Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.
Mr. Abdul Mājid.
Mr. W. Jesse.

REPORT.

SINCE the last Annual Meeting of the Society was held in March 1918, the president Doctor Venis died in April and one of the vice-presidents Nawab Muhammad Ishaq Khan towards the end of the year.

The second number of the Journal appeared in June 1918 and the third number is now with the publishers and should be out within two months. Mr. Moreland has contributed an article in which he compares agricultural statistics for selected tracts of the U.P. in Akbar's time and for the present time. There are also articles by Father Hosten of the Society of Jesus on Two Armenian Inscriptions found in Agra; by Mr. Panna Lall, I.C.S., on the Zafarnama history of the conquest of Kangra; and by Mr. R. G. Misra, P.C.S., on Buddhist relics at Kasia. There are also some notes and queries.

The present list of ordinary members includes 118 names. There have been many resignations only partially counterbalanced by the addition of new members. Last year the list of members included nearly 150 names.

I circularized the universities and colleges of these Provinces asking them to subscribe as members to the Society. Some eight institutions have agreed to do so.

I then addressed the Government of the U.P. (after consulting several members of the Society for their advice) and pointed out that the U.P. Historical Society was not flourishing and that one cause of this was lack of money: that the Government of Bihar and Orissa have been supporting their Provincial Research Society lavishly and its Journal issues quarterly and has contained much original work and obviously aroused the enthusiasm of the Behari people.

The Financial Secretary replied by a D.O. of November 1918, saying that it was proposed to provide Rs. 4,000 a year as a grant for the Society for two years. I have as yet received no official confirmation of this letter which explicitly stated that these were only the present intentions of the Government and were not for publication. But I see to-day (March 5th) that the Budget Statement has been issued. In all probability the grant will be given.

As each number of the Journal costs Rs. 1,100 or Rs. 1,200 it is obvious that members' subscriptions alone could only pay for one issue

REPORT.

79

of the Journal per year. If the proposed grant of Rs. 4,000 be given there will be nothing pecuniarily to hinder the Society from issuing its Journal quarterly.

But at present articles received are only just enough to fill the one Journal which appears at spasmodic intervals of a year or so. There is nothing for instance in reserve now except the long-hoped-for account by Pandit Hirananda Shastri of the excavations which he held at Sankisa Basantpur and an account of Mr. Dewar of the collection of Inland Customs Revenue under the H.E.I.C.

T. HOTWOOD,

Honorary Secretary.

5-3-19.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS for the year ending February 28th, 1918.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.
Balance from 1916	.. 1,469 14 0	Fixed deposit	.. 500 0 0
By Subs. „ 1916	.. 75 0 0	Stamps	.. 10 0 0
„ „ „ 1917	.. 500 0 0	Stationery	.. 15 12 0
„ „ „ 1918	.. 480 0 0	Commission on foreign	
„ Balance of Sankisa Ex-		Cheques	.. 1 10 0
cavation Fund	.. 190 0 6	Messrs. Longmans Green &	
„ Sale of one Journal	.. 6 0 0	Co., for Journal, Vol. I,	
„ Interest on fixed depo-		Pt. I.	.. 1,292 0 0
sit	.. 22 8 0		
			1,819 6 0
		Balance carried forward	.. 924 0 6
			2,743 6 6
	2,743 6 6		

Examined and found correct.
27-3-18. S. H. FREMANTLE.

(Sd.) S. B. SMITH,
Hony. Treasurer.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS of the United Provinces Historical Society for the year ending March 1st, 1919.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.
I. By Balance in current		Printing notices, etc.	.. 18 0 0
account with the		Stationery	.. 3 0 0
Allahabad Bank,		Postage Stamps	.. 20 0 0
March 1st, 1918	.. 924 0 6	Discount on cheques	.. 3 0 0
II. „ Subscriptions real-		Messrs. Longmans Green &	
ized during the		Co.'s Bill for printing, etc.,	
year—		Vol. I, Pt. II, of the Jour-	
Arrears		nal	.. 1,043 4 9
for 1917	154 0 0		1,087 4 9
Subscrip-			
tions for		Balance in Bank,	
1918	.. 555 0 0	March 1st 1919	1,205 12 6
Subscrip-		Deduct ch. No.	
tions for		30419 not yet	
1919	.. 610 10 0	cashed	.. 8 0 0
	1,319 10 0		1,197 12 6
III. „ Int. on F.D. of		Cash with Treasurer	.. 0 10 0
Rs. 500 for period			
March 26th '17 to			
Feb. 6th '19	.. 42 0 9		
	2,285 11 3		2,285 11 3

The assets of the Society also include Rs. 500 on Fixed Deposit.

Examined and found correct.
1-iv-19. M. RAFIQUE.

(Signed) S. B. SMITH,
Hony. Treasurer.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

[Any errors in this list, and any change of address, should be intimated to the Honorary Secretary.]

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THE VICE-PATRONS (*ex officio*).

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SIR RAM GOPAL KRISHNA BHANDARKAR, Litt.D., K.C.I.E., Poona.

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- Hindu University, Benares.
- Allahabad University, Professor of Modern Indian History.
- Secretary to Government, U.P., Miscellaneous Department.

VOL. II

MAY, 1921

PART 2

THE JOURNAL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY
THE HONORARY SECRETARY

CONTENTS

	PAGE
<i>Lectures and Articles—</i>	
Place-names in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. By Paul Whalley	1
The source of the saying ascribed to Jesus in the Buland Darwaza inscription at Fathpur-Sikri. By Vincent A. Smith ..	59
A note on two Brass Images. By R. B. Daya Ram Sahni, M.A.	68
Benares Iconographical Notes. By B. C. Bhattacharyya ..	72
The Inland Customs Revenue of the Province of Agra under the Company. By D. Dewar, I.C.S.	79
<i>Notes and Queries</i>	101
<i>Report</i>	113
<i>Proceedings</i>	114
<i>List of Members</i>	117

LONGMANS GREEN & Co.,
6, OLD COURT HOUSE STREET, CALCUTTA
BOMBAY, MADRAS, NEW YORK and CHICAGO
LONDON

PLACE-NAMES IN THE UNITED PROVINCES
OF AGRA AND OUDH.

BY PAUL WHALLEY, *Retired Bengal Civil Service.*

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE object of this essay is to illustrate the way in which place-names were made or grew in the U.P. of Agra and Oudh, the sources from which the materials were drawn and the moulds in which they were cast.

In the year 1874 the Government of the North-West Provinces published a Resolution, No. 2,286, dated the 25th of September, 1874, on the transliteration of Indian proper names, and appended to it a list of all the principal places in the North-West Provinces according to the approved spelling in Persian, Hindi and Roman characters. The list contains in all over 750 names of places arranged according to the revenue divisions. The orthography is authoritative, if not always consistent, and the names, many of them well known, possess an interest in themselves by reason of their familiarity. The series is fairly typical, exhibiting the leading characteristics of Hindu toponymy, and, by examining a set of names, spread as this is, over a large area, we are certain to arrive at a tolerably complete view of the Hindi system of naming places.

To examine these names it is necessary to classify them, and we take as a basis of classification the dictum of E. W. Forstemann (*Die Deutsche Ortsnamen*, Norderhausen, 1863), viz. that every place-name is

either (1) a base (*Grundwort*), i.e. a generic term,

2 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

or (2) a base with a characteristic, i.e. a generic coupled with a descriptive term.

The word base must be understood to denote a generic term which has been popularly adopted as part of the stock material of which place-names are formed. Such are pur (town), kherā (village), garh (fort), bās (abode).

They are mostly obsolete appellatives, and in the nomenclature of the present day are seldom met with in their simple form. The most notable instance is the town of Pur in the district of Muzaffarnagar. At a very early period the simple names began to be differentiated by the addition of a characteristic, sometimes affixed but more commonly prefixed to the base and giving the form of a compound name, such as Rāmpur, the town of Ram. The majority of modern names are clearly of this character. But in many of the older names the base has been abraded, or obscured or metamorphosed, not unfrequently gliding into the form of a language suffix, as in the case of Ahrauli, originally Abhira-Palli, or settlement of Ahirs. And this tendency has been developed to such an extent as to produce a system of name-suffixes almost as difficult and intricate as language suffixes.

The above considerations suggest a subdivision of place-names of the second class, of all, that is to say, which are not simple bases, into composites and derivatives, meaning by composites those which contain manifestly the separate elements of base and characteristic, and including in derivatives those in which the base has been suppressed or disguised or has assumed a suffixal form. The division is not very scientific, but it is convenient, and we devote our next chapter to the names which we call composite.

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 3

CHAPTER II.

ON COMPOSITE NAMES.

Part I.

Out of the 750 odd names contained in the Government list we find over three hundred having such terminations as *pur*, *ganj*, *khera*, etc., which are generic bases plainly separable from the characteristic; and these bases fall into three families, with distinct features, which we may call Municipal, Rural and Religious.

The first and most numerous family comprises the names ending in *pur*, *nāgār*, *ganj*, *ābād*, *shahr* and *sarai*, signifying town, market, fort and the like, names that have to do with population and commerce and the life of the governing classes. These terminations are frequently combined with Arabic and Persian names; in other words they show a strong infusion of the Musulman element.

Names of the second family end in *gānw*, *jhīl*, *kherā*, *ḍih* and so on, and reflect the work and aspects of rural life; while names of the third family terminating in *ban*, *prayāg*, *esar*, *dwārā*, *math* belong to places of religious sanctity.

The two last families are almost exclusively Hindu.

The largest class of names in the first family, or indeed in any, consists of those ending in *pur*. For the most part they are simple names or titles of men with the termination *pur* attached to them. I have arranged them in three lists, the first containing names compounded with Musulman, and the second names compounded with Hindu names. Doubtful names are relegated to the third list.

LIST A.—(MUSULMAN).

<i>Town.</i>	<i>District.</i>	<i>Serial number.</i>
ADAM-PUR ..	Azamgarh ..	1.
AKBAR-PUR ..	Mainpuri ..	2.
AKBAR-PUR ..	Cawnpore ..	3.
ALI-PUR ..	Mainpuri ..	4.

4 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

<i>Town.</i>	<i>District.</i>	<i>Serial number.</i>
ASAD-PUR ..	.. Budaon ..	.. 5.
ASAF-PUR ..	.. Bijnor ..	.. 6.
BADSHAH-PUR	.. Jaunpur..	.. 7.
BAHRAM-PUR	.. Fatehpur	.. 8.
BAZ-PUR ..	.. Tarai ..	.. 9.
FARID-PUR	.. Bareilly ..	.. 10.
FATEH-PUR	.. Fatehpur	.. 11.
GATEH-PUR	.. Agra ..	.. 12.
GHAZI-PUR	.. Ghazi-pur	.. 13.
GHAZI-PUR	.. Fatehpur	.. 14.
HASAN-PUR	.. Moradabad	.. 15.
HASAN-PUR	.. Basti ..	.. 16.
HAZRAT-PUR	.. Budaon ..	.. 17.
HUSAIN-PUR	.. Bareilly ..	.. 18.
ITIMAD-PUR	.. Agra ..	.. 19.
JALAL-PUR	.. Shajahanpur	.. 20.
JALAL-PUR	.. Hamirpur	.. 21.
JALAL-PUR	.. Jaunpur..	.. 22.
KHĀNJAHĀN-PUR	.. Allahabad	.. 23.
MALIK-PUR	.. Bulandshahr	.. 24.
MIRAN-PUR	.. Muzaffr.	.. 25.
MIRAN-PUR	.. Shahjahr.	.. 26.
MIRZA-PUR	.. Shahjahr.	.. 27.
MIRZA-PUR	.. Mirzapur	.. 28.
MIRZA-PUR	.. Allahabad	.. 29.
MUGHAL-PUR	.. Moradabad	.. 30.
MUBARIK-PUR	.. Azamgarh	.. 31.
NUR-PUR ..	.. Bijnor ..	.. 32.
SALIM-PUR..	.. Budaon ..	.. 33.
SALIMPUR..	.. Cawnpore	.. 34.
SAYYID-PUR	.. Ghazi-pur	.. 35.
SHAHJAHAN-PUR	.. Shahjahanpur	.. 36.
SHAHJAHAN-PUR	.. Gorakhpur	.. 37.
SHAH-PUR ..	.. Muzaffr.	.. 38.
SHAHZAD-PUR	.. Allahabad	.. 39.
SHARIF-PUR	.. Mainpuri	.. 40.
SIKANDAR-PUR	.. Azamgarh	.. 41.
SULTAN-PUR	.. Saharanpur	.. 42.
SULTANI-PUR	.. Benares ..	.. 43.

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 5

LIST B.—(HINDU).

<i>Town.</i>	<i>District.</i>	<i>Serial number.</i>
BHAGWAN-PUR ..	Saharanpur ..	44.
BHOJ-PUR ..	Farrukhabad ..	45.
BINAYAK-PUR ..	Gorakhpur ..	46.
BISAL-PUR ..	Bareilly ..	47.
CAWNPORE see Kan-pur.		
GADAR-PUR ..	Tarai ..	48.
GANGA-PUR ..	Mirzapur ..	49.
GHATAM-PUR ..	Cawnpore ..	50.
GOPAL-PUR ..	Azamgarh ..	51.
GOPAL-PUR ..	Jalaun ..	52.
GORAKH-PUR ..	Gorakhpur ..	53.
GORDHAN-PUR ..	Mirzapur ..	54.
HAMIR-PUR ..	Hamirpur ..	55.
HASTINA-PUR ..	Meerut ..	56.
IMRAT-PUR ..	Farrukhabad ..	57.
JAGAMAN-PUR ..	Jalaun ..	58.
JAINTI-PUR ..	Shahjahanpur ..	59.
JAIT-PUR ..	Hamirpur ..	60.
JAS-PUR ..	Tarai ..	61.
JWALA-PUR ..	Saharanpur ..	62.
KALIAN-PUR ..	Fatehpur ..	63.
KAN-PUR ..	Cawnpore ..	64.
KASHI-PUR ..	Tarai ..	65.
KHARAK-PUR ..	Moradabad ..	66.
KIRAT-PUR ..	Bijnor ..	67.
KISHN-PUR ..	Fatehpur ..	68.
LALIT-PUR ..	Lalitpur ..	69.
MAKAN-PUR ..	Cawnpore ..	70.
MANGAL-PUR ..	Cawnpore ..	71.
MANIK-PUR ..	Banda ..	72.
MAN-PUR ..	Moradabad ..	73.
MOHAN-PUR ..	Etah ..	74.
NATHU-PUR ..	Azamgarh ..	75.
PAHLAD-PUR ..	Ghazipur ..	76.
PHUL-PUR ..	Allahabad ..	77.
PHUL-PUR ..	Azamgarh ..	78.
PURAN-PUR ..	Bareilly ..	79.
RAJA-PUR ..	Banda ..	80.
RAJ-PUR ..	Dehra Dun ..	81.
RAM-PUR ..	Saharanpur ..	82.

6 PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.

<i>Town.</i>		<i>District.</i>		<i>Serial number.</i>
RATAN-PUR	..	Basti	..	83.
RUDAR-PUR	..	Gorakhpur	..	84.
RUDAR-PUR	..	Tarai	..	85.
SHIURAJ-PUR	..	Cawnpore	..	86.
SHIURAJ-PUR	..	Fatehpur	..	87.
SHIURAJ-PUR	..	Allahabad	..	88.
SHIU-PUR ..	..	Benares	..	89.
SITA-PUR ..	..	Banda	..	90.
SUMER-PUR	..	Hamirpur	..	91.
TIL-PUR ..	..	Gorakhpur	..	92.

In the above two lists we have a series of 92 names of towns, formed by the base PUR added as a suffix to the name or title of a man. Of these 43 are Musulman and 49 Hindu names. All or nearly all the names will at once be recognized by any one who has lived in Hindustan, for with a few exceptions the names are still in common use and call for no comment or explanation. Most of the Musulman names are of Arabic origin, but Badshah and Bahram, and Shah, and Shahzad are Persian, and Sikandar through Persian from the Greek. Some of the names, as Malik and Mirza and Mughal and Sayyid, are appellations of tribes or families rather than individuals, and some like Shah and Sultan and also, among the Hindu names, Raja, are mere unattached titles, but such titles in local usage often designate individuals, Shekhpur for instance meaning a village belonging to some particular leading Shekh of the neighbourhood.

In one instance *Ghazipur* (No. 13) Sir A. Cunningham (Anc. Geog. p. 438) remarks:—

“Ghazipur is a name given by the Mahomedans, and said to be an alteration of the original Hindu name of Garjpur.”

“Garjanapati,” he adds, “is a title of the god of war.”

There is an abundance of villages named after Hindu tribes, Misrs, Dikhits, Dubes and so on. But such names do not usually take the termination pur, at least in the

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 7

eastern districts. They appear mostly as Misrauli, Dikhtauli, Dubauliya. There are however certain tribal names which take the pur ending freely, e.g. Pandepur, Tiwari-pur, Gujarpur and Dhimarpur.

In the column of Hindu names there are a few that are nearly obsolete and appear more familiar in a Sanskrit garb. Thus Binayak (46) is better known as Vinayaka. Bisal (47) reminds us of the great Chauhan chief, Raja Visala Deva. Hastinapur (56), so we are told by the Gazetteer, derives its name from a Raja Hastin, perhaps the same Hastin who lived in the fourth century and whose land grants were deciphered and published by Dr. Fitz-edward Hall in 1861.

There are other names that are now seldom heard except in combination with others. Thus Bhoj (45) a name once made famous by Bhoja Deva of the Kanauj dynasty, is now mostly met with in the double name Chatar-Bhoj, and Jas (61) in Jas-Karan.

Cawnpore (64) is written in the Persian column of the Government list Kanpur and in the Nagari Kanhpur. The former is the spelling locally current. The latter is an attempt to go back etymologically to the name Kanh or Krishna. The popular spelling is probably correct. Kanpur may come from the name Karan, anciently Karna, as H. Kan, ear, from Skr. Karna, and Pan, betel, from Skr. Parna. Karna in the Mahabharat was the friend of Daryodhana. Near Basti there is a village called Kanpur, which in the maps of fifty years ago is shown as Karanpur or, in the spelling then in vogue, Kurunpoor.

It is quite useless to enquire who were the persons after whom these towns were named. In the Gazetteers we find abundance of local traditions ascribing their foundation to mythical or historical personages. But local tradition is generally found on investigation to be the invention of an ingenious Brahman. The few names of villages that can be traced with certainty are taken from the name of a village headman, or a servant of a chief

8 PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.

who received a grant of land, or an adventurous cultivator who broke up waste land. The great towns probably can claim no nobler origin for their names. They were not founded; they grew. There seems to be one exceptional case, Fatehpur Sikri (12), for we are told by Ferishta (Briggs II, p. 234) that it was named Fatehpur by Akbar in commemoration of the conquest of Gujarat. Akbar returned from Gujrat to Agra in June, 1573 A.D.

LIST C.

Doubtful Names in Pur.

BADLĀ-PUR ..	.. Jaunpur ..	93.
BĀN-PUR ..	.. Lalitpur ..	94.
BHĀŪ-PUR ..	.. Cawnpore ..	95.
BHOGNI-PUR..	.. Cawnpore ..	96.
BURH-PUR ..	.. Bijnor ..	97.
CHAND-PUR ..	.. Bijnor ..	98.
CHOLA-PUR ..	.. Benares ..	99.
DERA-PUR ..	.. Cawnpore ..	100.
DHĀM-PUR ..	.. Bijnor ..	101.
DHĀNĀ-PUR ..	.. Ghazipur ..	102.
HAPUR ..	.. Meerut ..	103.
JĀLHU-PUR ..	.. Benares ..	104.
JAUN-PUR ..	.. Jaunpur ..	105.
MANJHAN-PUR	.. Allahabad ..	106.
RANI-PUR ..	.. Jhansi ..	107.
SAHARAN-PUR	.. Saharanpur ..	108.
SAHIS-PUR ..	.. Bijnor ..	109.
SAKAT-PUR ..	.. Farrukhabad ..	110.
SHIKAR-PUR ..	.. Bulandshahr ..	111.
SHORE PUR ..	.. Dehra Dun ..	112.
SINGIRAM-PUR	.. Farrukhabad ..	113.
TILBEGAM-PUR	.. Bulandshahr ..	114.

Badlāpur (93) and Chandpur (98) have been put in this column because we have Bādal Khān, and Chānd Khān, as well as Badlā Sahu and Chandāmāl, and it is therefore doubtful whether these towns took their names from Hindus or Musulmans.

Bhāūpur (95) is almost certainly named after some one called Bhāū, though the name in this form is rare.

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 9

There is a Zemindar named Bhāūnāth living at Chiliya in the Basti district.

Sakatpur (110) is another instance of a somewhat rare name. The Government list is indecisive as to the spelling. It is written in the Persian character with a cerebral T and in the Nagari with a dental T. There is the same vacillation in the spelling of Saktesgarh in the Mirzapur district, only in that case the Persian gives the soft, and the Nagari gives the cerebral T. But both Pandit and Munshi have concurred in writing Sakit in Etah with the cerebral T.

The Gazetteer tells us that tradition ascribes the founding of Sakit to Raja Sakat Deo, a Chauhan Thakur and a descendant of Pirthiraj of Dehli, and the name Sakat Singh is said to be still met with among Thakurs, and we find also an ancient name Sakatayanah with cerebral T. The corresponding name Sakat with dental T may be an abbreviation of Sakti-Want powerful.

Shorepur in Dehra Dun (112) is from the English name Shore. The rest are more uncertain. Dhāmpur (101) probably stands for Dharmpur from the name Dharm. The elision of R causes the lengthening of the vowel.

Dhānā in Dhanapur (102) is certainly a proper name. Witness Dhānā ka Purwa, Dhānā's hamlet in Allahabad. It is perhaps an alternative form of Dhanwant. We get Dhanwanpur in Etah, Dhānwā in Saharanpur. Shikarpur (111), we are told in the Gazetteer Vol. 3, p. 180, was founded about 370 years ago by Sikandar Lodi as a kind of hunting lodge on a large scale. Hence the name Shikarpur.

To a modern sportsman it would seem that an Emperor who founded a city as "a kind of hunting lodge" must have had curious ideas of sport, but things were different in those days. We learn from Farishta that the early emperors were in the habit of taking out their armies for a hunting excursion when no more serious business was on hand.

10 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

Shikār however is a name used both by Musulmans and Hindus: by the Musulmans perhaps jocularly, as Shikār Beg for Shukr Ulla Beg or as a corruption of Shkur or Shukūr; by the Hindus for Sikhar, or some similar word, meaning learner or pupil. Two young students of this name obtained the degree of B.A. in 1889, Chandra Shikār, and Shikhār Nāth Bandhopadhya (see N.W.P. Gazette, 27th April, 1889).

Singirampur (113) is perhaps a corruption of Sangrampur from the name Sangram, or of Sanghārāma, a Buddhist monastery.

Tilbegampur (114) is a singular instance of the conjunction of a Hindu name with the title of a Mahomedan lady. The history of the place furnishes the explanation. The town was formerly in the possession of the Bhatti Rajputs. "The last Bhatti proprietors were of the "Mahomedan faith which the family had adopted in Aurangzeb's reign" (Gazetteer V. III, 175). The name must have been given after the religious change, and that accounts for its semi-Hindu and semi-Musulman character. Til is usually a man's name but Hindu names are mostly of the epicene gender and can be adopted by either sex at pleasure.

Bhognipur (96) is presumably a corruption of Bhagwānīpur from the name Bhagwān; or else it is the concubine's village, Bhogni being used in this sense in Sanskrit.

Bānpur (94) must have once been Verman-Paurān or Varna-Purān Varna, as a proper name, is no doubt a contraction of Varuna. And so the river Banganga was originally the Varunaganga.

Saharanpūr (108) is said to have been named after Shah Haran, a Chishti saint, to whose shrine pilgrims still resort.

This is the explanation given by the Gazetteer, but some doubt is thrown upon it by the existence of another Saharanpur in the Aligarh district, where there is no legend of any Shah Haran. We may confidently suggest that

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 11

the original name of both towns was Sadhāranpur, from the Hindu name Sādhāran. In the same district of Sahāranpur, and in Meerut and Bulandshahr, districts of the same division, we find villages called Sadharanpur in which the name has undergone no modification beyond the shortening of the first vowel.

Jaunpur (105) is derived in H. (127 note) as follows: Jaun foreigner, Prakrit Javano, Shr: Yavana, as in Jaunpur, Skr. Yavanapuram. But whatever the original meaning of Jaun, it occurs so often in place-names as to leave little room for doubt that it is used as a man's name and Jaunpur means, not the foreigner's town, but simply the town of Jaun. We find another Jaunpur in Bijnor, Jaun-Thi also in Bijnor, Jaun-a and Jaun-Tha in Kumaun, Jon-Thari and Jona-Mai in Mainpuri, Jon-ai and Nagla, Jon-ia in Muttra, Jon-hara in Aligarh, Jona-puri in Pilibhit. Cf. Sir A. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography* I. p. 531.

The name Sahispur in Bijnor (109) is referred by the Gazetteer with some diffidence to the "Lordships of a thousand towns (Sahasrapura) which existed as early as the days of Manu"; but considering the very rare mention of towns in Sanskrit writings a thousand towns seems rather a large order for Manu's time. The name Sahaspur occurs in Azamgarh and Ballia, and I am inclined to regard Sahas as a proper name, but have not met an instance of it.

There is a historical town called Sahasrām or Sahsarām, the name of which appears to lend colour to the theory that Sahas is a proper name. But the origin of the name of this town is doubtful. It is the burial place of Sher Shah Sūr (Briggs' *Ferishta* II, p. 125), and it may be that his name has got mixed up with that of the town. Shah Sur in its Hinduized form of Sāh-Surā is very like Sah-Sarām, and in any case the terminal form Rām is suspicious.

Rānīpur in Jhansi (107) may have been so named

12 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

because the town grew up on lands assigned to a Rānī for her separate maintenance or lands received in dowry.

Būrhpur (97) is not name to linger over since it is questionable whether there is a town of this name. The settlement officer of Bijnor, as quoted in Vol. V of the Gazetteer, takes it to be a mistake for Nūrpur, which is evidently derived from the Musulman name Nūr-ulla or Nūr-uddin.

We come next to a quartet of names in which the suffix pur appears incongruous, viz. Cholāpur (99), Derāpur (100), Jālhūpur (104), and Manjhanpur (106). We may dissociate Derāpur from the Deras of the Panjab, and derive it from the old name Dedda, in which case the formation is regular. Cholāpur seems to be the union of two generic terms instead of a characteristic and a generic term, for Cholā, like Cholā in Bulandshahr, no doubt stands for Chuilā, the place of springs; in which case we must infer the suffix pur to have been added at a later date, when the place assumed some importance; (cf. Denver City in America for simple Denver). We must apply the same theory of a late addition of the suffix to Jālhūpur and Manjhanpur. Jālhū was probably at an earlier day Jallaka-Bhumi the land of Jallaka or Jāl, and could only have taken the suffix pur when the name had ceased to be etymologically significant to the popular ear. Manjhanpur must have originally been Manjhanā, equivalent to the common village name of Majharā, the intermediate one. Here also the suffix pur must be a late addition.

Hāpur (103) has no business in this list at all. It has been mis-spelt to suit a false etymology. It is not compounded with pur. The real name is Hāpar. The Gazetteer (Vol. 3, p. 380), after giving two untenable derivations,—one of them “Hayāpur, or ‘Town of Shame’” (!)—goes on to say that the name is not pronounced Hapur but Hāpar, which signifies locally a grove or orchard. Mr. Crooke gives the correct meaning as follows: “Hāpar, a Nursery for sugār-cane. Upper Duab.” The Gazetteer

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 13

is no doubt right in referring the name of the town to this word.

This completes the list of place-names compounded with pur. Excluding Hapar they number 113. We have also one town called simply pur, and others ending in purwa, pura and puri, that is to say pur with a suffix, but as these names are not governed precisely by the same rules as names in pur, we will first state those rules as deduced from the examples.

1. Names ending in pur connote a group of houses rather than a domain of land, differing in this respect from names ending in gānw.

2. Pur as a termination combines with names and titles of men, or is added to old village names, when the villages gain importance and cease to be purely agricultural.

3. Pur as a termination does not ally itself or only very exceptionally, with the names of trees, soils and natural objects from which other forms of place-names are freely drawn.

4. Names compounded with pur are for the most part of recent origin, later than the Mahomedan conquest, and the termination attaches itself as readily to Musulman as to Hindu names.

Pur in Muzaffarnagar (115) standing alone as the name of a town must indicate a town of considerable antiquity, dating from a time when there were very few towns in the neighbourhood, or when the appellation pur was not a common one; but it appears from the Gazetteer to be one of the happy towns that have no history.

Purwa occurs only in Mufti ke purwa (116) which is not exactly a compound name, but in course of becoming so. In the Persian column of the Government list it is written Mufti kâ purwa, but according to the local dialect ke is right. Munfti ke purwa, the jurist's holding, is a good example of a title standing for a proper name. Purwa, as well as Nagla, is commonly used as an equiva-

14 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

lent for the Arabic term *mazra*, technically used in Revenue language to denote a subordinate fraction of a *mauza*, and in official English translated *hamlet*.

Purwa is not, properly speaking, a diminutive of *pur*, but being a form chiefly used by villagers, it has come to mean a settlement within a village, having its separate cultivation and separate cluster of dwelling houses and originating in most cases from a grant of land.

There are six names ending in *pura*.

BARHĀ-PURA ..	.. Bijnor ..	.. 117.
GAI-PURA ..	.. Mirzapur ..	.. 118.
LĀL-PURA ..	.. Hamirpur ..	.. 119.
RAJ-PURA ..	.. Budaon ..	.. 120.
RAM-PURA ..	.. Jalaun ..	.. 121.
SIRH-PURA ..	.. Etah ..	.. 122.

Barhāpura (117) may mean a hamlet on the outskirts of a village. *Barhā* is explained by Mr. Crooke to be (1) the circle of fields most distant from the village site, (2) generally, grazing ground. Or the name *Barhāpurā* may have been originally *Barhāipura*, carpenters' village.

Gaipura (118) is not cow-town from *Gai* a cow, but *Gaya's* town from the name *Gayā*.

Lālpura (119) may be from the name *Lāl*, or from *Lāl* the title of a *Thakur* chieftain's son.

Rajpura (120) is from the name *Rājā*, often curtailed to *Rāj*, as in *Rāj Bahadur*. The antepenultimate is shortened as it generally is in such compounds, especially in *Rampura*, though, not, as it happens, in the instance that follows.

Rāmpura (121) is simply *Ram's* village. The name is so profusely spread over the eastern districts, that it would seem to have been bestowed on new settlements without any special significance.

Sirhpura (122) is either from the name *Siddh* or from the title *Siddh*, a saint or holy man. It is difficult to say which. The elision of the first of the conjunct consonants, viz. *D*, is regular (H. 143). The change of *DH* to cerebral

DH or PH is not regular, but far from uncommon in the Western districts. We have the example of Būrhā, old, from Skr. Vriddha. The anomaly is explained in part by Dr. Hoernle's remark (Sec. 16, p. 15) that the R of Western Hindustan is always more or less distinctly cerebral. In a footnote he quotes the instance of Badhela or Barhela, a wild hog, from Skr. Varāha plus suffix-la.

There are three examples of puri in composition

BICH-PURI ..	..	Agra ..	..	123.
KIL-PURI ..	..	Terai ..	..	124.
MAIN-PURI ..	..	Mainpuri ..	..	125.

Bich-puri (123) comes from the name Bis-Esar, commonly abbreviated to Bechā, the Ch resulting from the Skr. palatal ś in Viṣ, people, subjects, as in Viṣ-patiḥ. The names Naglā Bich and Purā Bich occur in Agra.

Kilpuri (124) Kilā is "forest land taken up for temporary cultivation" (Cr) and the place was no doubt called Kilā before it became Kilpuri. The town stands in the midst of a forest tract, where most of the cultivation was done until recently by Thārus, who never stay long in one place. The word Kilā is probably identical with Khilā explained in Mr. Reid's Azamgarh Glossary, as land the first year after it has been broken up from the waste. The tendency to disaspiration in the Kumaoni dialect accounts for its assuming the form Kilā.

Mainpuri (125). The Gazetteer Vol. 4 says, "Local tradition says the town was known as Mainpur in the days of the Pandavas. The more received tradition is that the name is derived from one Main Deo whose image is still to be seen at Tal Darwaza in Nagariya." Neither tradition seems to be worth attention.

There is no lack of villages named Maina, Maini and Main, probably from the Main or Mainphal, a tree with fruit like small round gooseberries, and it may be that Mainpuri was one of these and owed the suffix puri to its superior importance, but the preferable derivation is from the tribal name of Mainā or Meo, as in Maināther in Etah.

16 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

This completes the catalogue of village names compounded with *pur* and its derivatives.

There remains the question what was the original signification of *pur* and how it came to denote a town.

Dr. Schrader and others, connecting *pur* with the Greek polis, assume that it meant some kind of earthwork or fortification. There seems to be really no basis for assigning this meaning to it.

It often happens that when a word has passed beyond and wholly severed itself from the idea from which it sprung, we find the primitive sense lingering in a compound. Now *Go-Purāṁ* in *Skr.* means a gate, a town-gate, a principal gate, the ornamental gate-way of a temple, and we have *puri* used in the sense of the adytum of a temple.*

May it not be that *Purāṁ* was originally the cattle gate—the gate that was thrown open in the morning when the cattle were driven out to pasture, and closed when they were safely housed at night?

It is curiously illustrative of the pastoral life of the early Aryans that most of the common words for house or dwelling among the rustic population have something to do with an enclosure or shelter for cattle; and even now along the forest border the chief events of village daily life are the going out of the herds to graze in the morning and their return at dusk. The early pastoral village was not a cluster of independent houses, but an enclosure with a single entrance, or at least one broad entrance through which the cattle were driven twice a day. Hence it can be understood how the interest of the village centred on the entrance, and how the name for the "gate" became a synonym for the village.

The lordship of a *Sahasrapura*—v.s. *Sahispur* (109)—becomes intelligible if we understand it as meaning a thousand gates, that is a thousand enclosures containing

* Cf. *Gk.* poros, a passage; *Lat.* portus, porta; *Eng.* fare, ferry.

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 17

a considerable number of cattle but only one or a few families each.

Originally, no more than the gate of a cattle enclosure, the meaning of the word *pur* went on growing and broadening like the lives of the people on whose lips it dwelt. As the enclosure grew into a village and the village gained an organisation, the stir and animation about the village gate increased. There under the broad-spreading Bargad tree, which served at first only as a gathering place for cattle, the village elders assembled and sat in council. There strangers were received, and travelling merchants brought and showed their wares, and there all of commerce and politics that entered into the village life was transacted. And so the word *pur* drew into itself the spirit of budding civilisation and became identified with all that was energetic and progressive and prosperous in the struggle of early Aryan life. The *pur* became the birthplace of architecture, the home of letters, and the school of arts that graced and refined humanity. But the Musulman invasion swept over the land and checked its further development. Since then the word has died out of living speech. Only its dead image survives in the place-names we have been considering. But the image is that of its last phase of life. It has shaken itself free from the traditions of its infancy, and the reminiscences of the pastoral scenes from which it sprang, and allied itself with wealth, and commerce and aspiring ambitions. Therefore it links itself chiefly with the names and titles of men, and seldom combines with the names of trees and soils. These last are found in the association with the terms *ganw* and *khera* which are still redolent of the breath of the forest cattle, and instinct with the quiet and seclusion of village life.

NAGAR.—Somewhat like the history of *pur* is the history of *Nagar*, and its recent use is very similar. In a few cases we find it standing alone and uncompounded. Thus we have the town *Nagar* (126) in district Basti, *Nagarā* (127) in Azamgarh and *Nagariā* (128) in Etah,

18 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

Nagarā and Nagariā being formed from nagar by suffixes just as purā and purī from pur. Besides these there are 21 towns in the Government list the names of which are compounded with nagar. In 14 of these the first element of the name is a Musulman proper name or title.

AZAM-NAGAR	.. Etah ..	129
DALIL-NAGAR	.. Etawah ..	130
DARA-NAGAR	.. Bijnor ..	131
DARA-NAGAR	.. Allahabad ..	132
DIL-DAR-NAGAR	.. Ghazipur ..	133
FARID-NAGAR	.. Meerut ..	134
IRADAT-NAGAR	.. Agra ..	135
ISLAM-NAGAR	.. Budaon ..	136
KAMARUDDIN-NAGAR	.. Meerut ..	137
KHAIR-NAGAR	.. Farrukhabad ..	138
MANSUR-NAGAR	.. Basti ..	139
MURAD-NAGAR	.. Meerut ..	140
MUSA-NAGAR	.. Cawnpore ..	141
MUZAFFAR-NAGAR	.. Muzaffr ..	142
SAYYID-NAGAR	.. Jalaun ..	143
SHAHBAZ-NAGAR	.. Shahjahanpur ..	144

The only name in this list that requires comment is Khairnagar (138). It might be supposed to have taken its name from a tree called Khair. But in the Persian column of the Government list the name is spelt with the Arabic letter khe. It is therefore short for Khairuddin-nagar.

In six names the first element is clearly a Hindu name.

JASWANT-NAGAR	.. Etawah ..	145
PARAM-NAGAR	.. Farrukhabad ..	146
RAM-NAGAR ..	.. Benares ..	147
RAM-NAGAR ..	.. Kumaun ..	148
SRI-NAGAR ..	.. Garhwal ..	149
SRI-NAGAR ..	.. Hamir-pur ..	150

The only doubtful name is

MAKRAND-NAGAR	.. Farrukhabad ..	151
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There is a tree called Makrand or Makranda, but there is no instance I have met with of its occurrence in

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 19

a village name; and as nagar like pur never seems to unite itself with the names of trees, but only of persons, it may be guessed that Makrand is a man's name. There is evidence of the existence of the name Makrand in other place-names, and however rare it may now be, it must not long since have been popular in Rohilkhand, for we find six villages in Bareilly named Makrandpur, six in Pilibhit, and six in Shahjahanpur, not to speak of others in Budaun, Moradabad and Bijnor.

The Skr. word Makranda means the honey of flowers.

In Paramnagar again (146) Param is a personal name, an abbreviation probably of Parmanand or Paramsukh, and Paramnagar must not be translated 'chief city,' but the city of Param. Nagar shows the same reluctance as pur to combine with an adjective, and the examples of such a combination are very rare.

As regards the origin of the word nagar there is first the hypothesis that it is connected with the Naga or serpent race. It is difficult to understand how the name of a strange tribe can have been appropriated as a general term to mean town or settlement, especially by the Hindus as a name for their own towns. For though in composition nagar appears most frequently in conjunction with Musulman names, it is still essentially a Hindu word, a word used in every day speech, and often in a sense equivalent to the English "home." Thus a villager wishing to say "I will go home" will often use the expression "I will go to the nagar."

In Wilson's Sanskrit Grammar, p. 346, we read that nagaram, a city, is a derivative from naga, a mountain, and means "having houses as lofty as mountains," an explanation not likely to find acceptance at the present day.

The probabilities are in favour of identifying nagar, a city, with the word nagar or nāgar or nāgal meaning a plough. Nagar is quoted by Mr. Crooke from North Oudh in the sense of "a heavy plough with a perpendicular

20 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

frame," and he mentions that the same implement is called *najāra* in Rohilkhand. In the Santal country a plough is called *nahel* (F. S. U. Har) and in Gaya the old Sanskrit word *Lāṅgal* is still used in this sense (Gr. 1). For the derivation of *nagar*, a plough, from the Skr. form *Lāṅgalām* v. H. 31 and III, Note. It is not difficult to follow the transition of meaning from *Nagar* a plough to *Nagar* a city. The word that meant a plough took the meaning of the land ploughed, and in this sense apparently we find *Langar* used as a prosthesis in eastern names, as in *Bhimal-Langari* in the Basti District. Then, if we remember that in the change from a nomad to an agricultural life the first step towards settled occupancy was the ploughing and sowing of the land round the cattle pens, we see how the plough or the ploughed land came to represent the idea of an orderly life and a fixed residence and to be synonymous with an inhabited site. We find the same succession of ideas in the Persian *Ābādī* which means first cultivation, and then habitation, and finally the portion of a village occupied by dwelling houses as distinguished from that which is available for cultivation.

As further evidence of the identity of *Nagaram*, a town, with *Langalam*, a plough, I observe that *Naṅgalam*, a Prakrit form of the latter, coincides with the form of *nagar* which prevails in place-names along the upper course of the Ganges. In *Bijnor* it is *nangal*, *naglā*, *nanglī*, in *Sāharanpur* and *Muzaffarnagar* *nāgal*, *naglā*, *naglī*. Except in modern compound names we do not meet with *nagar*, *nagra*, *nagaria*, till we come as far south as *Aligarh*.

In the list there are two examples of *nāgal* from the vicinity of *Hardwar*, viz.

NĀGAL in Saharanpur	..	..	152
NĀGAL in Bijnor	..	..	153

The latter town in the village Directory is spelt *Nangal*.

GANJ.—From *Nagar* we pass to *Ganj*.

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 21

Ganj is a Persian word meaning a store and was applied no doubt long ago to the store-houses erected by the Mughal emperors on the military roads for supplies to troops on the march. That being the case, we shall not be surprised to find that, out of the forty-five names of towns compounded with ganj the first element is in the great majority of cases a Musulman proper name or title, such as Bashārat, Yākūt, Mīr, Nawāb, and in many of the remaining cases a Hindu name common to the baniya tribe, such as Dātā, Gursahai, Hanumān. A few bear English names, Kyd and Roberts, and English titles, Captain and Colonel.

In the other names compounded with ganj, this termination seems to have been superadded to the name of the village in which the store-house was located. There are half a dozen of these.

MUSULMAN NAMES.

<i>Town.</i>	<i>District.</i>	<i>Serial number.</i>
ALI-GANJ ..	.. Etah ..	.. 154
ALLAH-GANJ ..	.. Farrukhabad ..	.. 155
BASHĀRAT-GANJ ..	.. Bareilly ..	.. 156
FARĪD-GANJ ..	.. Allahabad ..	.. 157
FATEH-GANJ ..	.. Bareilly ..	.. 158
HĀFIZ-GANJ ..	.. Bareilly ..	.. 159
HUSAIN-GANJ ..	.. Fatehpur ..	.. 160
ISMAIL-GANJ ..	.. Allahabad ..	.. 161
KĀDIR-GANJ ..	.. Etah ..	.. 162
KĀIM-GANJ ..	.. Farukkhabad ..	.. 163
KAMĀL-GANJ ..	.. Farukkhabad ..	.. 164
KHUDĀ-GANJ ..	.. Shahjahanpur ..	.. 165
KHUDĀ-GANJ ..	.. Farukkhabad ..	.. 166
MANSUR-GANJ ..	.. Gorakhpur ..	.. 167
MĪĀN-GANJ ..	.. Farukkhabad ..	.. 168
MIR-GANJ ..	.. Bareilly ..	.. 169
NABĪ-GANJ ..	.. Mainpuri ..	.. 170
NAWĀB-GANJ ..	.. Bareilly ..	.. 171
NAWĀB-GANJ ..	.. Farrukhabad ..	.. 172
NAWĀB-GANJ ..	.. Etah ..	.. 173
NAWĀB-GANJ ..	.. Cawnpore ..	.. 174

22 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

<i>Town.</i>	<i>District.</i>	<i>Serial number.</i>
NAWĀB-GANJ	.. Allahabad	.. 175
SHĀH-GANJ	.. Jaunpur ..	.. 176
WAZĪR-GANJ	.. Budaon ..	.. 177
YĀKŪT-GANJ	.. Farrukhabad	.. 178

HINDU NAMES.

BHĀRAT-GANJ	.. Allahabad	.. 179
CHET-GANJ	.. Benares ..	.. 180
DĀTĀ-GĀNJ	.. Budaon ..	.. 181
GOPĪ-GANJ	.. Mirzapur	.. 182
GULZĀR-GANJ	.. Jaunpur ..	.. 183
GURSAHAI-GANJ	.. Farrukhabad	.. 184
HANUMĀN-GANJ	.. Allahabad	.. 185
HARDUA-GANJ	.. Aligarh ..	.. 186
MAHĀRAJ-GANJ	.. Azamgarh	.. 187

ENGLISH NAMES.

CAPTAIN-GANJ	.. Basti ..	.. 188
COLONEL-GANJ	.. Allahabad	.. 189
KYD-GANJ	.. Allahabad	.. 190
ROBERTS-GANJ	.. Mirzapur	.. 191

VILLAGER NAMES.

BARHAL-GANJ	.. Gorakhpur	.. 192
DOMARIA-GANJ	.. Basti ..	.. 193
KĀS-GANJ ..	.. Etah ..	.. 194
KAURIYĀ-GANJ	.. Aligarh ..	.. 195
KOPĀ-GANJ	.. Azamgarh	.. 196
SARSĀ-GANJ	.. Mainpuri	.. 197

The village names may be briefly explained.

BARHAL (192) is a tree resembling the jackfruit tree. The name of a tree often stands for the name of a village. Aonla is a familiar example.

Domaria (193) or, as it should be spelt, Dumaria, is a settlement of the Dom tribe. There are no Doms now in the vicinity of Dumariaganj. They have left their name behind them and gone eastward. They are still numerous in the adjacent district of Gorakhpur.

Kās in Kāsganj (194) is doubtless an abbreviation of

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 23

the name Kāsī or Kāshī as in Kāshīnath (*vide* H. 202, note 1, page 100).

The town is said to have been founded by Khan Bahadur Khan. The truth probably is that he founded only the ganj, and then the town, known previously as Kās, Kāsī, became Kāsganj.

Kauriya (195) is a gourd often seen trailing over thatched places—another derivation is from Kondi, a pool, and a third makes Kauriyaganj in the market where the tax called Kauri was levied on grain sellers' weights (*vide* Grierson 1201 *ad finem*). The last would be good if supported by historical evidence, but it must be remembered that Kauriya is far from an uncommon name for a town or village. We have another on our list belonging to district Azamgarh. It is probably a diminutive of KOT.

Kopā (196) means a place where there is a well, kūp. This Skr. form of Kuāñ is still current in the Eastern districts (Gr. 920 b). From the same base come the village names Kop, Kopīā, Kopā, Kupiyā in Basti, and Kop, Kopwā in Ballia.

Sarsa (197) also, Sirsa, is a very favourite village name. It is derived from the Siras, a large handsome tree, a kind of Acacia, called in Brandis' Forest Flora Albizzia leblek, see 282.

In explaining these names we have trespassed somewhat on subjects reserved for subsequent chapters, but as only one of the names, Kauriya, comes again on our list, it seemed better to dispose of them finally here.

The Persian word ganj is no doubt identical in origin with the Skr. Ganja, a mine, a treasury, a mart; but Ganj as an element in place-names came in with the Musulmans and is an importation from Persia.

ĀBĀD.—The word Ābād is Persian and is best translated colony. There are thirty-one towns in the list having this termination and three names of cities and districts, viz. Moradabad, Farrukhabad, Allahabad, making in all thirty-four.

24 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

The first element in all the names with perhaps one exception (No. 226) is a Musulman proper name, and the names that meet us here are aristocratic names, names frequent in noble families, names distinguished in history—and, with the one exception of Akrabad in Aligarh, said to be for Akbarabad, none of them have been defaced by usage, nor have they taken any vulgar or familiar suffixes, such as we noticed in names compounded with *pur*. In town names formed with *pur* we hear the hum of busy commerce and the jingling of rupees, but the names ending in *ābād* recall to us the pomp and splendour of the Mughal camps, the throng of courtiers, and the parade of troops with blazoned banners, and burnished armour and gaily caparisoned steeds;—we feel that here, if anywhere, the gazetteers are right in attributing the foundation of the towns to illustrious emperors and famous commanders or in saying that the places were named in their honour.

It is noteworthy too, that, so far as our list goes, names compounded with *ābād* occur only in the older settled provinces. There are none in the Trans-Jamna districts of Banda, Hamirpur, Jalaun, Jhansi and Lalitpur in the south, nor in Kumaun, Garhwal and the Tarai to the north. The last named districts indeed have always retained an exclusively Hindu character, and we should not expect to find in them names with a Persian termination.

<i>Town.</i>	<i>District.</i>	<i>Serial number.</i>
AKBAR-ABAD	.. Bijnor ..	.. 198
AKR-ABAD..	.. Aligarh ..	.. 199
ALLAH-ABAD	.. Allahabad	.. 200
AURANG-ABAD	.. Bulandshahr	.. 201
AURANG-ABAD	.. Basti ..	.. 202
BEGAM-ABAD	.. Meerut ..	.. 203
FAIZ-ABAD	.. Saharanpur	.. 204
FARRUKH-ABAD	.. Farrukhabad	.. 205
FATIH-ABAD	.. Agra ..	.. 206
FĪROZ-ABAD	.. Agra ..	.. 207
GHĀZĪ-ABAD	.. Meerut ..	.. 208
JAHĀN-ABAD	.. Bareilly ..	.. 209

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 25

<i>Town.</i>	<i>District.</i>	<i>Serial number.</i>
JAHĀN-ABAD	.. Fatehpur	.. 210
JAHĀNGĪR-ABAD	.. Bulandshahr	.. 211
JALĀL-ABAD	.. Muzaffarnagar	.. 212
JALĀL-ABAD	.. Shahjahanpur	.. 213
JALĀL-ABAD	.. Farrukhabad	.. 214
KHALĪL-ABAD	.. Basti ..	.. 215
MUHAMMAD-ABAD	.. Farrukhabad	.. 216
MUHAMMAD-ABAD	.. Ghazipur	.. 217
MUHAMMAD-ABAD	.. Azamgarh	.. 218
MURĀD-ABAD	.. Moradabad	.. 219
MUSTAFA-ABAD	.. Mainpuri	.. 220
MUZAFFAR-ABAD	.. Saharanpur	.. 221
NAJĪB-ABAD	.. Bijnor ..	.. 222
NIZĀM-ABAD	.. Azamgarh	.. 223
RASUL-ABAD	.. Cawnpore	.. 224
SĀD-ABAD..	.. Muttra ..	.. 225
SHĀDI-ABAD	.. Ghazipur	.. 226
SHAMS-ABAD	.. Farrukhabad	.. 227
SHIKOH-ABAD	.. Mainpuri	.. 228
SĀKANDAR-ABAD	.. Bulandshahr	.. 229
ZAFAR-ABAD	.. Jaunpur..	.. 230
ZUHŪR-ABAD	.. Ghazipur	.. 231

Ākbārbād (199) is said by the Gazetteer to be corruption of Akbarabad, though, comparing it with Loh-Ākbar-Ābād in the adjoining district of Bulandshahr, it might be referred to Skr. Ākaraḥ, a mine, cf. Agra.

In Shādiabad (226) Shādi may not be a personal name. We read in Ferishta (Brigg's Ferishta IV, 191) that Ghizni Khan, being crowned King of Malwa at Mando, ordered that his capital should thenceforth be called Shadiabad, or the city of joy. Shadiabad in Ghazipur may have owed its name to a similar proceeding. Shadi is not a usual name amongst Musulmans, but is affected by the Kayaths, perhaps as a Persian rendering of the Hindu name Ānand.

Mr. Crooke derives Ābād from Skr: Āvās abode. That it was identified in the popular mind with the latter word may be inferred from the existence of such variants

26 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

as Ilahābād and Illahābās, and Nawādā and Nawāsā, new dwelling, not to mention that Ābādī is used as a prefix in Sahāranpur in precisely the same manner as Bās in Agra.

GARH. Garh, fort, is from Skr: Gaḍaḥ, a screen, fence, ditch.

The word Garh is mostly applied to mud forts, such as constituted the strongholds of the petty Rajput chiefs, but occasionally forts of greater pretensions, such as Ali-garh and Fatehgarh were called by this name.

We have Garh in the form Garhā, standing alone, in

GARHA ..	Ghazipur ..	232
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and there are sixteen compound names in the list of which Garh is the final element. Most of these are compounded with Musulman proper names.

AFZAL-GARH ..	Bijnor ..	233
ALI-GARH ..	Farrukhabad ..	234
AZAM-GARH ..	Azamgarh ..	235
AZMAT-GARH ..	Azamgarh ..	236
BAHĀDUR-GARH ..	Meerut ..	237
FATEH-GARH ..	Farrukhabad ..	238
HASAN-GARH ..	Aligarh ..	239
NAJAF-GARH ..	Cawnpore ..	240

The two following

KHAIRĀ-GARH ..	Agra ..	241
KHAIRĀ-GARH ..	Allahabad ..	242

are spelt as if they meant the fort at the village Khairā the latter again meaning the place of the Khair tree; but perhaps the names originally had the Arabic guttural khe and are derived directly from the name Khairuddin, like Khairnagar (138).

Compounded with Hindu names we have—

BIJAI-GARH ..	Meerut ..	243
MADHO-GARH ..	Jalaun ..	244
PARICHHAT-GARH ..	Meerut ..	245

The name Parichhat is now obsolete, but is found in earlier times in the form Parikshit. The Gázetteer

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 27

informs us that tradition describes the building of the fort to Parikshit, grandson of the Pandava Arjun.

The remaining names require separate notice.

SAKTES-GARH .. Mirzapur .. 246

is the fort of "the lord Sakat", ES standing for Esar or Ishwar; or it may be the fort at the place called Saktesar, or Garh Muktesar (317). In either case the addition of ES or Esar points to the inference that the place was famous for some religious worship. Śakata was a demon slain by Krishna. Sakat, as a Rajput name, has already been noticed under Sakatpur (110).

PITHORĀ-GARH .. Kumaon .. 247

Pith-orā is a village name resolvable into a characteristic Pīth, and an amorphous base, Orā or Aurā, which will be dealt with under toponymal suffixes. The element Pīth is of frequent occurrence in Kumaoni village names, e.g., Paithan, Paithana, Pithoun, Pithauni, Pithrarh, and also survives in the current language. Mr. Crooke gives the words paithār, paisār, paithsār, though he has missed the right derivation. The original Skr. form of Paithsār is Prishṭa-Śālā, i.e., a house in which the dwelling apartments are on the Prishṭa, upper surface or roof, generally with an outside staircase leading to them, a style of building very common in the hills where the cattle occupy the ground floor and the family the upper storey. The same type recurs in the Swiss chalet and the Malay pile-dwellings, and it goes back to the stone and bronze ages in the Swiss lakes and the plains of the Po. The Sanskrit names for it are not very ancient.*

The St. Petersburg Dictionary gives "Prishṭa, Rück-en, so v.a. die obere Seite, Oberfläche, Prishṭa, Bhumi, "das oberste Stockwerk." So Cappeller, "Prishṭa, sur-face, top of a hill or palace, Prishṭa-Vastu, the upper

* Another Skr. name for it is ŚIRO GRAHAṆ which we seem to find again in the Kumaoni village name of CHIRANGA.

28 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

"storey or top of a house." The last word may have been the original form of Pithora.

BAR-GARH	..	Banda	..	..	248
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The first element of this name is not spelt with a cerebral R. Therefore the name can hardly mean "great fort," nor is there any reason for connecting it with the Bar or Bargad tree. Bargarh is the fort of Bar or Bal, a name that often recurs in old place names, as in Baliya (wrongly spelt Ballia), and Balai Khera, a place famous in archæology.

SHAHR.—Shahr is the common Persian word for town, as Nagar is the Hindi word, but it has been very sparingly imported into Indian names. There are only three instances of its use as a suffix in the list, viz.—

BULAND-SHAHR	..	Bulandshahr	..	249
MACHHLI-SHAHR	..	Jaunpur	..	250
ANUP-SHAHR	..	Bulandshahr	..	251

There is a fourth instance in the Persian column of the Government list, viz. Sawādshahr, but in the English and Nagari columns shahr is written as a prefix and the name is

SHAHR-SAWĀD	..	Agra	..	..	252
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meaning apparently pleasure-town or town of delight, possibly a place which one of the Grandees of imperial Agra used as a country seat, and decorated with a fancy name.

Anūpshahr must once have had a Hindu name derived from Skr. Anūpam, river bank. Its situation on the banks of the Ganges points to this.

Bulandshahr (249) was once Bitanda (v. Brigg's "Ferishta" v. I. p. 237 note). Passing into L, as at one period it constantly did, the name became Bilanda, which the Musulmans converted into Bulandshahr or High Town.

Machhli-shahr (250) has been supposed to be a refinement of the vulgar name Machhraṭa or fish market, but it is also possible that the town was popularly called

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 29

Machhli-shahr or fish city from being decorated with fish emblems, emblems of the sovereignty of the Nawab of Lucknow.

Sarai, a guest-house or place of accommodation for travellers, is used optionally as a prefix or a suffix.

The examples of the latter are:—

GUR-SARAI	..	Jhansi	..	253
KHETA-SARAI	..	Jaunpur	..	254
MUGHAL-SARAI	..	Benares	..	255
MIRAN KI SARAI	..	Farrukhabad	..	256

Such names are naturally most frequent along the high roads.

In Gursarai (253) Gur is a man's name, commonly met with in the combination Gur Sahay. In Kheta-serai (254) also Kheta is a man's name, though now obsolete (modern form Cheta). Witness Kheta-sarai in Farrukhabad, Khetapur in Jaunpur and Bijnor, and Khetapura in Etah and Moradabad. The name occurs in its Prakrit form Khetala in a mediæval inscription. (*Epigraphia Indica*, p. 93.)

Mughalsarai (255) requires no comment. The spelling of Miran ki Sarai (256) differs in the different columns of the Government list. In Persian and Roman the A of "Miran is long. In the Nagari it is short. The latter represents correctly the local pronunciation, and according to the local dialect this is a plural form, and the name would imply the Sarai owned or supported by the Mirs or Sayyids. For the form Mirān with a long A see the remarks on Mirānpur (24, 25).

The four cases in which Sarai is used as a prefix may be enumerated here:—

SARAI ĀKIL	..	Allahabad	..	257
SARAI MAHĪUDDIN	..	Jaunpur	..	258
SARAI GIRDHĀRI	..	Etah	..	259
SARAI AGHAT	..	Etah	..	260

In the first two instances we have Musulman proper names, in the third, and perhaps in the fourth, Hindu

30 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

names. Sarai Aghat is said to have been named after the saint Muni Agastia who went to convert the Deccan, an etymology that would be more admissible if we accepted the spelling of the name in the Village Directory, Sarai Agith. Otherwise it would seem more likely that we have not in this instance to do with a man's name, but with the Skr. word Āghāta boundary, limit, which occurs repeatedly in the land-grants in the phrase Chatur-Āghāta-Visuddha, having its four limits accurately defined. (See for example Jayachandra's grant, 1.23 in the *Indian Antiquary* of May, 1889.)

The Persian word Sarā or Sarāi may have been originally the same word as the Skr. Sālā, a hall or shelter, which in Hindi usually takes the form Sār as in Gausār, a shed for cattle, or it may be from Śraya-Āśraya, refuge.

Here we come to the end of the first family of compound names, the one into which Musulman names are admitted. The remaining two families are exclusively Hindu.

CHAPTER II.

Part. 2.

RURAL AND RELIGIOUS NAMES.

The remaining two families of composite names are exclusively Hindu. Hindu life may be said broadly to be divided between agriculture and religion; and these are the two divisions into which Hindu village names naturally fall. The one set of names breathes of rural life and its surroundings, the other is stamped with a religious character.

RURAL NAMES.

The village and its tutelary divinities and its internal economy,—the field, the cattle-pen and the orchard, the fort and the ford and the water-supply for irrigation and for watering cattle,—all these come under review in such

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 31

names. Among the representatives of this class found in our list of names there are some twenty *bases*, as defined in the first chapter, mostly affixed to characteristics and easily detachable.

These bases may be subdivided as follows:—

Group A.—(a) GANW, (b) KHERA, (c) DIH, (d) BAHAT, nearly synonymous words which may all be translated village.

Group B.—(e) BHIT, a ridge, (f) KOT, a fort or hill, (g) GHAT, a ford or watering place, (h) LAR, a line as of trees: words indicating striking objects in the village or its immediate vicinity.

Group C.—(i) SOT, a river creek, (j) KUND, a water hole, generally in a river bed, (k) POKHAR, a pool, (l) JHIL, a swamp, (m) TAL, a lake, (n) KUAN, a well; all words relating to water-supply,—natural or artificial.

Group D.—(o) THAR, (p) THANA, a station or camp, (q) KHET, a field, (r) BAGH, (s) BARI, both meaning orchard or garden, (t) SAR, enclosure; words relating to village property and its management.

Names falling into groups B and C, such as Amsot, Nohjhil, though now applied to inhabited sites, indicated in the first place mere localities, irrespective of or antecedently to any village settlement. On the other hand the names in group A, such as Bansganw and Sakaldiha, presuppose a settlement and cannot have been applied except with reference to human habitation; while the names in Group D, compounded with words like field or orchard, suggest that the villages now marked by them are branches or offshoots of earlier villages of which perhaps no trace now remains.

The names in this chapter are for the most part evidently self-grown. We are often told in the Gazetteer and elsewhere that such and such a person founded a town and gave it such and such a name, but a careful study of names leads to the conclusion that the deliberate naming of a town was an event of rare occurrence. Either

32 PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.

the locality was known by a name before the existence of any settlement, or it became known by the name of a settler, as Mohan's place or Mohan's camp, without any conscious volition on the settler's part.

Group A.—(a) GANW (spelt less correctly in the Government list GAON). In translating GANW by the word village it is necessary to bear in mind that the two words are far from being equivalent either in their original or current meaning. GANW means primarily a tract of land cultivated by one set of people who generally live together at a central spot within the tract, and is only used casually and by a trope to signify their habitations. But GANW and village both suggest places where the principal occupation of the residents is agriculture, and so far GANW contrasts with PUR in the same way as village with town.

Hence Ganw in composition is much less frequently combined with the names of persons than Pur or Nagar, and, unlike them, it is sometimes associated with the names of trees. There are no examples in our list, but in the Nasik district of Bombay we find Pimpalganw, the Pipal village and Ambeganw, the mango village, in the Poona district.

Unlike Pur again it occasionally takes an adjective as its first element, as in the very common names of Unchaganw and Baraganw.

The latter name occurs twice in the list that follows:—

DEO-GANW	.. Azamgarh	.. 261
BHON-GANW	.. Mainpuri ..	.. 262
BARA-GANW	.. Jhansi ..	.. 263
BARA-GANW	.. Shahjahanpur	.. 264
BANS-GANW	.. Gorakhpur	.. 265
CHIR-GANW	.. Jhansi ..	.. 266
HATH-GANW	.. Fatehpur ..	.. 267
ATH-GANW	.. Benares ..	.. 268
TAL-GRAM	.. Farrukhabad	.. 269

Deoganw (261) means the village occupied by a ruling caste. In the Skr. dictionaries we find that DEVA is a term for a Brahman. In recent times however we find

the title more frequently applied to Chhatris and Rajputs. The fact is it was a name appropriated to themselves by the superior castes and when used as a characteristic in place-names it ordinarily denotes a Rajput settlement. And in the neighbourhood of places thus named we commonly find subordinate villages distinguished by the name of a servile caste. Thus Deopura, in Thana Rajpura, Tahsil Gunnaur, of the Budaon district, is balanced by a Chamar-pura or Chamar's town in the same Thana and Tahsil. The Devas or Rajputs were the feudal lords, the Chamars were their serfs.

For the meaning of Deo or Deva as a suffix see Baramdeo (325).

BHONGANW (262). The story goes that Raja Bhim-Sen founded the town and called it Bhima-grama. Such stories are mostly fictitious. Bhon however may be a man's name as in Thana Bhavan (369); or we may translate the name village of the temple. The word Bhavan, which in Sanskrit meant only a dwelling, a house, came to mean temple in the vulgar tongue, and is so used in modern Hindi. The account given in the Gazetteer of the motley character of the inhabitants of Bhonganw and the mosque crowning a mound in the centre of the town rather points to this interpretation. The mosque probably occupies the site of an ancient temple.

BARA-GANW (263, 264). The first element in this name is apparently the adjective BARA great.

BANS-GANW (265) may be classed with the names derived from trees, for the BANS or bambu is to all intents and purposes a tree though technically speaking a grass. The habit of planting a belt of bambus round the habitations of a village was formerly very prevalent, and is still a common feature of villages in recently civilized tracts. The bambus served a double purpose; they supplied materials for roofs, carts and a variety of implements, and they also formed an almost impenetrable stockade in case the village was attacked.

34 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

CHIR-GANW (256) CHIR and CHHIR recur frequently as characteristics in village names, the latter in Chhirganw in Muttra and Chhiraoli in Aligarh and Jalaun. I am inclined to think that CHHIR is the original form and to refer it to Skr. CHHIDRA. The term BHUMICHCHHIDRA occurs more than once in ancient land-grants. Its meaning has not been precisely determined, but it is evidently a species of land tenure, originating probably in the first cleavage of the soil, the first ploughing of virgin land.

Fallon gives a Hindi word *chhir* as a synonymy for Sir, "the lessee's own cultivation"; but I do not find *chhir* in this sense either in Crooke or Grierson. On the other hand Crooke gives the verb *chirna*, unaspirated, meaning to plough up fallow land, and *Chir* would naturally mean the land thus brought under cultivation.

There is a secondary form CHIRI or CHIRIYA which is not uncommon. See below CHIRIYA-KOT (277).

HATH-GANW (267) may be from the name Hathi, the modern form of Hastin (v. Hastinapur, 56), or from Hathi, an elephant, meaning the place where an elephant was kept.

ATH-GANW (268) I take to be a corruption of ATH-KON or octagon, as in Athkona, which occurs twice in Pilibhit, a name given apparently because the boundary marks (kon) were set up at the eight cardinal points (ashta disha).

TALGRAM (269) preserves the Skr. form GRAMA. It has been understood to mean Lake Village, either the village, bordering on a Tal or lake or one that has a lake within its boundaries. The Gazetteer (Vol. VII, p. 24) takes it somewhat differently as "the village of ponds". Is it not rather Toddy tree village? TALA in Skr. is the toddy tree, *Borassus flabelliformis*, called in modern Hindi TAR, and we find the name in its Hindi form, Targawan, in the Etah district.

(b) KHERA in its earlier use seems to have been nearly synonymous with Ganw, and varied from the English idea of village in much the same degree. In Merwara it

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 35

still denotes an inhabited site, but in the U.P. having become an obsolescent word associated chiefly with the names of old villages it has contracted a sense of decay and desertion. Mr. Growse says, "it implies a state of comparative deprivation, which may be either of people or of land"; and Mr. Crooke renders it "the mound forming the site of a deserted village." The disuse of the word, coincident with the visible decay of the objects associated with it, has made it a symbol of decadence, but at the time when it established itself as a term of village nomenclature it had the simple meaning of village which it possessed in its Skr. form KHETAH. It occurs thus very frequently in the western districts. In the eastern districts it is supplanted by DIH.

These two words DIH and KHERA, possibly wide apart in their original sense, have drawn together and come to be curiously alike in their later use. Both words denote, one in the east and the other in the west, not only the village but the village god, the same deity who is called BHUMIYA in the extreme west and in the Panjab, and of whom Mr. Ibbetson says, "the erection of his shrine is the first formal act by which the site of a new village is consecrated."

In the east where the word DIH prevails, not every village is strictly speaking a DIH. It acquires the title only after the performance of a certain ceremony by which the presence of a protecting deity is secured. The phrase DIH BASANA, popularly understood to mean to found or settle a village by locating cultivators, has an esoteric and more exact meaning. Dih basana is literally *to cause the DIH to reside*, meaning by DIH the village god. The object of Dih basana is to get a deity to protect the village, not only to protect the crops but to watch over everything that belongs to the village. DIH KA STHAN JAHAN DIH BANGAYA AUR DIH HI DEVTA HAI, VAHI GANW KI RAKSHA KARAT HAI. "The Dih (divinity) dwells where a DIH has been constituted, and the DIH itself is a god and takes

36 PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.

care of the village." This was the explanation given me by an eastern zamindar, and the language shows that the two senses of DIH, the place protected and the protecting deity, were so intimately associated in his thoughts that he found a difficulty in distinguishing them. He assured me that without a DIH a village could not be prosperous.

When a DIH is located the ceremony is usually performed by two OJHAS who are invited for the purpose. The OJHAS are not Brahmans, though the name OJHA is said to be derived from UPADHYAYA. They are simply wise men skilled in the arts of exorcism. Puja is performed and rice and flour buried in a certain spot. A somewhat similar ceremony is gone through in consecrating the threshold of a new house.

The process of installing a KHERA in the Western Duab seems to be much the same, KHERA is the name of the local divinity who is identified with the village, and the priest who conducts the religious ceremonies in his honour is called KERAPATI. When the Brahmans took charge of these ceremonies they appear to have dubbed the divinity with the Sanskrit name of KSHETRAPAL, perhaps simply because the name KSHETRAPAL or field protector appropriately denoted the functions of the god, but the name is little used except in Kumaun. In central Hindustan the god is known simply as KHERA and in the eastern districts as DIH or DIHWAR.

The word DIH has been supposed to have been borrowed and corrupted from the Persian DIH, a village. But as we find it in place-names, it is unquestionably older than the Mahomedan conquest,—witness the name VAVA-HARA-DIHA in Kanaujia grant H, date A.D. 1177, *Indian Antiquary*, May 1889,—and it has all the aspect of a pure Hindi word. No doubt the Hindi and Persian words are of common descent. In the series of words quoted by Brugmann, Vol. I, secs. 395, 405, the Skr. Dehi a rampart holds a place in company with Greek Teichos, a wall, German Teich, a pool, and English Dyke and Ditch, Fick

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 37

gives a similar series of words, including the Skr. derivative Deh-ali, a threshold, which in Persian has now become Dahliz and in Hindi Deorhi, the older form surviving perhaps in the name of the city of Delhi.

KHERA is Skr. KHETAH, a village, which Mr. Beames says is evidently a dialectic form of Kshetram. In meaning, however, there is no appreciable resemblance and the divergence of the forms must be very ancient. We find a closer and probably later relationship of KHETAH to words containing the idea of driving and hunting, as Skr. A-KHETAH, hunting, Panjabi Heda, hunting (Beames II, sec. 69), Hindi Khetaki, a huntsman, Skr. Achchhodanam, hunting, Hindi Khedna, to drive cattle, Khaderana, to chase, Kheda, an elephant corral. These words point to the inference that the primitive meaning of KHETAH or KHERA was an enclosure into which cattle were driven. And the word Khirak, which is Khera with a pleonastic suffix, is still used in the sense of "an enclosure in which cattle are kept at night." (Cr.)

The cattle enclosure, as we have noticed under PUR, was the germ of the village. The first lands ploughed and sown were strips on either side the path leading from the stockades within which the cattle were kept at night to the LEHRA, or place where they were assembled in the morning before being taken to graze in the forest. It was thus by degrees that the pastoral camp grew into the agricultural village, and the word KHETAH expanded its meaning to suit the new development.

We have only one instance of KHERA on our list.

KANKAR-KHERA	..	Meerut	..	270
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meaning the village with the gritty or gravelly soil.

The two examples of DIH are naturally from the eastern districts,

KORANTA-DIH	..	Ghazipur	..	271
SAKAL-DIHA	..	Benares	..	272

KORANTA is found elsewhere as a name by itself, without the base DIH, and comes from Korant, given in

38 PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.

Grierson as a variant of Korar, land suitable for garden cultivation, and we find Kachhiant also in the same sense, —the one word from the Kori and the other from the Kachhi tribe (Gr. 807, Cr. p. 141). The termination is the Sanskrit ANTA, with the T in the first of the two instances lingualized. Sakal-diha is from the name Sakat (v.s. 110), the T changing to L.

A few illustrations of the use of DIH as a base are sub-joined. They are taken from the Basti district, which contains from ninety to a hundred names compounded with DIH;

- (1) with names of men, Arjun-diha, Bag-dih (Vyaghra), Chandi-diha, Kas-deha (for Kashi-dih);
- (2) with names of tribes, Teliya-dih, Ahira-dih, Dewa-diha (v.s. Deoganw 261), Pandua-dih (Pande);
- (3) with names of trees, Pakar-deha (from Pakar or Pakhar, *Ficus infectoria*), Amili-diha (from the Imli or tamarind tree, Prakrit Amiliya), Aunra-dih (from the Aonla, *Phyllanthus emblica*), Mau-dih (for Mahu-dih from the Mahuwa tree);
- (4) with adjectives, Unch-dih, high village, Nawa-dih, new village, Ubri-deha, for Upari-dih, upper village;
- (5) miscellaneous, Non-dehwa, salt-village, and Sakhiya-deha, the last probably a relic of Buddhism.

(d) BAHAT occurs as a base in two of the names in the list, for an explanation of which, as well as for other hints I am indebted to a late Commissioner of Jhansi, Mr. G. E. Ward.

TAL-BAHAT	.. Lalitpur ..	.. 273
BALA-BAHAT	.. Lalitpur ..	.. 274

The base BAHAT occurs as a suffix and as a prefix and as an independent name. Few districts are without a village named Behta, or Bahta, and Budaon has nine or ten names in which Behta appears as a prefix like Bas in Agra.

BAHAT is derived from the low Sanskrit VAHITA,

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 39

ploughed, as in the Gwalior inscription A, edited by Professor Buehler in the "Epigraphia Indica," No. 20, vv. 8 ff. DALLAKA-VAHITA-KSHETTRAM, the field cultivated by DALLAKA. The same phrase occurs in conjunction with other names. Here VAHITA is still used as a past participle, not exactly as ploughed, but in the broader sense of cultivated. It subsequently came to mean by itself cultivated land, settlement, village, with a development similar to NAGAR (126-153).

And here it may be observed that, just as most of the Hindi synonyms for house when traced to their origin are found to mean cattle-shed, many of the words implying settlement or permanent residence have something to do with ploughing (v.s. Nagar 151-152).

In Crooke's Glossary we find BAH, BĀH, or BĀHĀ mean the ploughing of land, bah karna, bah denā, bahnā and bahānā mean to plough, and BAHAN is land ploughed and left fallow. Therefore the primary meaning of BAHAT is tilth or tillage.

The prefixed characteristics TAL and BALA in the names quoted have still to be deciphered. Of Talbahat the Gazetteer (p. 590) says, "the name is derived from a large tank, which supplies water for irrigation purposes to several of the surrounding villages." But Mr. Ward observes that Balabahat is up in the Vindhya hills, and he thinks the prefix BALA refers to its situation. In that case it is a fair inference that TAL also has reference to situation, and that the prefixes BALA and TALA answer to each other, and are identical with the suffixes Malla and Talla, signifying upper and lower, which are frequent in Kumaon and Garhwal, as in Khanda Malla and Khanda Talla, upper and lower Khanda. Hence too it may be gathered that BALA is a pure Hindi word, cognate indeed with the Persian BALA but not borrowed from that language. Mala and Bala seem once to have been alternative forms which still survive in Malai, also called Balai, cream, that which comes to the top.

40 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

Tal or talla in the sense of low in relative position is found in the Hindi particle Tale, Eastern Tare, below, in the name of the Tarai district, the district below the hills, and in the place-name Tarahta or Tarhati, a town at the foot of the hill of Kalinjar (v. Gazetteer I, p. 446, s.v. Kalinjar).

Before leaving the BAHAT series it may be noticed that the name Ambahta mentioned below (287) very possibly belongs to it, though admits of another explanation.

Group B.—We pass on to another class of terminations indicating some conspicuous object in or near the village.

(c) BHIT means a mound or wall, especially a mound or bank made by earth dug out of a tank; also the wall of a house, and the mound on which betel is grown. The final T often becomes cerebral, and is sometimes nasalized, giving the forms BHIT and BHINT (v. Cr. s.v.)

BHIT occurs but rarely as a base in compound names. We have one instance in the list, viz.

PILI-BHIT Bareilly 275

Pilibhit is a large town on the Deoha river, within a few miles of the forest of the Rohilkhand Tarai. It is popularly supposed to derive its name from the yellow (pila) clay of which the houses are built; but, as a fact, the clay at Pilibhit is not more yellow than elsewhere. It has also been suggested that the town is named after the Piriya family of Banjaras who settled there. If this is so, then the termination BHIT must be a corruption of BAHAT (*vide supra*), for BHIT, a mound, could hardly coalesce with the name of a tribe. But the best explanation of the name Pilibhit is that there is a bush or shrub, locally known by the name of PILU, which grows abundantly on the ridges dividing the ravines near the town, and the place was probably known by the name of PILUBHIT, or the ridge where the PILU grows, before it was colonized. Afterwards the name, being unintelligible to strangers, was perverted into PILIBHIT, yellow bank or yellow wall.

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 41

The word BHIT in its Skr. form is BHITTI. In the East a mud house, as opposed to a masonry house, is called Bhitghar (Gr. 1235).

ACHAL, a hill, as in Himachal, snow-peak, Devachal, sacred hill, might be reckoned here. It occurs once in the list, viz. in

BINDHACHAL .. Mirzapur .. 276

but in this instance it is not a genuine base, for Bindhachal, as explained by Sir Monier Williams ("Brahmanism and Hinduism," p. 575), stands by an ellipse for Vindhya-chala-vasini, or dweller in the Vindhyan mountains, and is a name of the goddess Kali. He adds "This was the form of the goddess to which the Thags were supposed to offer up their victims, and here was the particular shrine to which they made pilgrimages from all parts of the country. It is still one of the most popular temples in India."

(f) KOT is equivalent to Garh and means a fort. It must be distinguished from Koth which means a store-house. The former in Skr. is KOTTAH and the latter KOSHTAH. From the former come the names Kotila, Kotra, Kot-dwara, Kutiya and Kutana; from the latter Kuthaund, Kuthla and many names in the eastern districts.

The examples of KOT in composition are

CHIRIYA-KOT	.. Azamgarh	.. 277
CHITAR-KOT	.. Banda ..	.. 278
SHER-KOT..	.. Bijnor ..	.. 279

Chiriyakot (277) means the fort at Chiriya. For Chiriya, the diminutive of chir, see above under Chirganw (266).

Chitar-kot has been rendered in English "the spotted fort." It is rather the fort of Chitra, Chitra being a man's name. Similarly Sherkot (279) is the fort of Sher. Sher is the Persian form of the name Sinha or Singh or Sen. But this has been so far forgotten that we often meet the name Sher Singh.

42 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

The etymological affinities of KOT are rather obscure. We find a reduplicated form KAKUT, peak, summit, which is perhaps an earlier shape of the word, and the same as the Lat. CACU-MEN, only with a different suffix.

(g) LAR as a termination in place-names appears to be used only in combination with the names of trees, as in

SISO-LAR Hamirpur 280

Sisolar is compounded of Sisu or Siswa, a shisham tree, and Lar or Lar, a row, and means a belt of shisham trees. The name Kali Lar is given to the great belt of Sal trees that runs through the Tarai forest, and we have village-names exactly parallel to Sisolar in Amolar a belt of mangoes in Farrukhabad district, in Chilolar a belt of Dhak trees in Banda, and in Batolar a belt of Bargad trees in Mainpuri.

I invite attention to the persistence of the medial in all these names. Perhaps it may help in throwing light on the origin of the junction or link vowel about which there are conflicting theories. Nearly all tree-names in Sanskrit have U for their stem-vowel. Is it that? or is it the suffix of the gen. plur: in Skr. -anam or -am, in W. Hindi -on?

(h) GHAT, a passage, a ford or ferry, a landing place, a watering place for cattle, a bathing place by the river side. Such are the ordinary meanings of the word. It is also used for mountain passes as in the name, familiarized in English, of the eastern and western Ghats. The instances of its use as a base presented by the Government list are—

RAJ-GHAT	.. Allahabad	.. 281
RAJ-GHAT	.. Bulandshahr	.. 282
LOHA-GHAT	.. Kumaun..	.. 283
DOHARI-GHAT	.. Azamgarh	.. 284
SIRAS-GHAT	.. Lalitpur..	.. 285

Rajghat in the first two instances (281-2) means chief or principal ghat or ferry.

Lohaghat (283) may be so called because iron is found

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 43

there. Loha is also a term for hard firm soil. But Lohaghat is more plausibly derived from Skr. LOHA red, with reference to the colour of the banks or the water. Egli, in his article on the Brahmaputra in the *Nomina Geographica*, observes that the river in part of its course is known by the Sanskrit name of Lohit owing to the red colour of the soil suspended in the water.

Dohari in Dohari-ghat (284) is either for DOHLI or DEOHARIA, the former word meaning a grant of land to Brahmans; the latter a place where votive offerings are made. On the outskirts of a village may often be seen an earthen mound under a tree, on which figures of horses and elephants moulded in clay are piled. This is the Deohariya.

The last name, Sirasghat (285), is an example of a numerous class of names compounded with GHAT found chiefly along the minor streams that emerge from the Tarai, or submontane forest tract. These names take us back to a time when most of the country was under forest. They mark the ghats or fords by a particular tree easily recognisable by the traveller. The commonest instance is Piparghat or Piparghatia, the ford by the Pipal tree. This tree generally overtops the neighbouring forest trees and furnishes a conspicuous landmark. But it is not everywhere that a Pipal tree grows by a ford to serve as a sign-post; and so we find the names of most remarkable trees that are not of a gregarious nature in composition with GHAT. Gregarious trees as a rule are not of much use as landmarks. For that reason we find no such names as Mahughat from the Mahuwa tree or Sisughat from the Sisu or Shisham, nor does the name of the Sal tree, the commonest tree in the Tarai forests, occur in this relation. But we have Belghatia the ford by the Bel tree (*Oegle marmelos*), and Sirasghat the ford by the Siras (*Acacia sirissa* or *Albizia leblek*), as in our example, and there is a place Gaighat, interpreted in the Gazetteer as cow's landing place, which probably means the ford marked by

44 PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.

the Agai tree, sometimes spelt Aghai, *Dillenia pentagyna*.

Where the streams emerge from the forest we find the fords indicated by the names of grasses or other distinctive peculiarities. Pattharhat, for instance, is the ford where there are stones or boulders, Pattharhat standing for Patthar-ghat.

This leads us to remark that not unfrequently the initial GH of GHAT is reduced to a simple aspirate in composition and the vowel shortened. We have no certain instance in our list, but perhaps

PANAHAT... .. Agra 286

stands for Pani-ghat or Panghat, the place where people go to draw water, though I lean to the belief that PANAHAT is Panyahatta, a trade-mart, from Skr. PANAH trade and HATTAH a market.

GHAT ford and HAT market combine to produce the toponymal suffix—AHTA, as in

AMBA-AHTA... .. Saharanpur 287

The earlier name was perhaps AMBA-GHATA, the ford by the mango-tree. We have an Ambaghat in Ratnagiri in the Bombay Presidency, where GHAT presumably denotes a hill-pass. In the Basti district there is Amhat on the Kuana river where there was once a ford and where there is now a bridge, and this was doubtless in earlier times Amghat.

But when once a base is merged in a suffix form it is hard to go back to its origin without the aid of historical evidence, and it is quite possible, in spite of the cerebral T, that Ambahta may belong to the BAHAT series, v.z. 273, 274.

The sense of means of passing or access prevails through the significations of GHAT, and in Hindi, next to mountain passes, the earliest application of the word was doubtless to the breaks or clefts in the high banks of rivers, which gave access to the fords and watering places

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 45

to which the name was subsequently transferred. The English toponymal affix GATE has a precisely similar sense. "Ramsgate, Margate, Westgate, Kingsgate and Sandgate are the *passages* to the shore through the line of the Kentish cliffs." (Isaac Taylor, "Words and Places," p. 266, Edition of 1864).

The orthodox grammarians admit an etymological connection between GHAT and English GAP, but, with the exception perhaps of Dr. Taylor, they regard the identity of meaning of ghat and gate as a mere coincidence. The coincidence however is curious enough to be worth noting.

Group C.—From the word ghat we pass naturally to the group of words having reference to water-supply. Water for drinking, bathing and irrigation being one of the prime necessities of Hindu life, words referring to it are frequent in place-names.

Among those used as bases we find SOT, KUND, JHIL-POKHAR, TAL and KUAN, all of which are represented, albeit meagrely, in our list.

(i) SOT signifies a back-water or creek or side-channel of a river, and also the spring in a well. In the former sense it occurs in the name

AM-SOT Bijnor 288

Amsot is a place on the Ganges in the Tarai forest where there is a broad glen, filled with swamp grass, intersecting the plateau of forest which borders the high bank of the river. This grassy hollow, which is flooded in the rainy season, is the SOT, a famous find for tigers. Probably there is or was a clump of mango-trees on one of the banks, whence the name Am-sot.

The dictionaries derive SOT from Skr. SROTAS, Prakrit SOTTO, a river.

(j) KUND, a pool, is found in

MAR-KUNDI .. Banda 289

Markundi means the place in the *Mar* tract where there is a pool. Mar is a deep black soil which occupies a large

46 PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.

area in Bandelkhand. It is minutely described in Crooke's Glossary s.v. Mar

KUND is the Skr. KUNDAH, a pool.

(k) POKHAR, a pond, occurs in

RANI-POKHRI .. Kumaun .. 290

POKHRI in this instance is not necessarily a diminutive. It may stand for POKHARI, with short final I, of which Grierson (916 note) says, "In N.E. Tirhut POKHARI is a large tank, as instanced in the proverbial saying, Pokhari Rajokhari, aur sabh pokhra; The pool at Rajokhari is a grand pool, all others are puddles."

Rajokhari here is for Raj-pokhari. Note the loss of the initial consonant, a point to which we shall have occasion to revert hereafter.

The accepted derivation of POKHAR is from the Skr. PUSHKARAH, a lake or pond. H. quotes an intermediate Prakrit form.

(I) JHIL is a swamp, generally a spacious sheet of water in the rainy season, which gradually dries up as the hot weather approaches, leaving a broad fringe of coarse grass on either side and in the centre a slender trickling stream, expanding here and there into muddy pools in which the buffaloes wallow.

There seem to be two examples of JHIL as a base in the list, but it must be admitted that the first of the two is doubtful. They are

LAKHAN-JHIR .. Lalitpur .. 291
 NOH-JHIL.. .. Muttra .. 292

In Lakhanjhir Lakhan is an alternative form of Lachhman or Lakshman, and Lakhanjhir may mean Lakhan's jhil. But JHIR is perhaps another base, a form of CHHIR, mentioned under CHIRGANW since we have JHIRAULI.

Nohjhil is the jhil of Noah. But what Noah? In the Panjab, *teste* Cust (Oriental Essays, Sikhland, p. 28), Nuh or Noh is a sort of protecting deity whose special

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 47

function would seem to be to control floods and inundations. Hence the name may have been brought into Muttra by a colony from the west. In the same district there is also a Nagla Noha.

An alternative explanation is that in both names N has taken the place of L, and that Nagla Noha stands for Nagla Loha (the tribe) and Noh Jhil was originally Loh Jhil, the red swamp, so called from the colour of the vegetation. (V. s. Lohaghat, 283). Any one familiar with Indian jhils will remember a minute herb which sometimes covers the bed of a jhil where the water has receded as with a red carpet. But this derivation is more pretty than probable. The conversion of L into N, so frequent in Bengali and Uriya, is not natural to the dialect of Muttra.

JHIL in its earlier form must have been DHILAM, cognate with DHIRAH, ocean, and identical in sense and ultimate origin with DHARA, stream, current, from DHAV. to flow. Of similar origin are the rural Hindi words DHAB, JHABAR, and in Basti DHABRI, rice-land, with the same alternation of DH and JH of which there is no lack of examples. See in Cr: Dhoka & Jhoka, Jhanp & Dhanp, Dhada & Jhada; and compare Jhal-abor, used in Tirhut in the sense of flooded. The fact of JHILAM occurring as a river name in the Panjab confirms the above affinities.

(m) TAL, a lake.

I have translated Tal lake and JHIL swamp because the former word is used of the deep mountain tarns that never dry up and JHIL only of the shallow lakes in the plains. Otherwise the meaning of the two words is nearly coextensive and every jhil may be called a tal. It is impossible to find an exact English equivalent for either word.

Of TAL as a termination of a place-name we have seven examples, of which five come from Kumaun, viz:

NAINI-TAL	..	Kumaun ..	..	293
BHIM-TAL ..	..	Kumaun ..	..	294

48 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

MALWA-TAL	..	Kumaun ..	..	295
KHUPPA-TAL	..	Kumaun ..	..	296
NAUKUCHIA-TAL	..	Kumaun ..	..	297

Some at least of these names seem to be of hybrid growth subsequent to European occupation, and it may be doubted whether in them TAL is a genuine base or an addition to the original village name.

NAINI is elsewhere a common village name derived from the man's name NAIN as in Nainsukh. Here Naini is said to be a local goddess.

BHIMA is an epithet of Siva, and also a man's name.

MALWA is perhaps, as in the case of the country so named, MARVAH the plural form of Skr: MARU, desert, waste.

KHURPA is itself a compound with the disguised base—PA.

NAUKUCHIA is doubtful. If it is Persian, (new street,) how did it get transplanted to Kumaun?

Probably all the above names admit of being historically traced.

There remain two of greater interest

SURAHA-TAL	..	Ghazipur ..	..	298
SHUKAR-TAL	..	Muzaffarnagar	..	299

SURAHA is a name that recurs frequently throughout the Provinces. Thus in Bareilly Sursha, in Shahjahanpur Surha, in Budaun Sorha, in Etah Sorha, in Hamirpur Surha, in Jaunpur Soraha, in Ghazipur Surha, in Azamgarh Surahi, in Ballia Surahia, in Basti Sauraha and Suarha.

The last name suggests the probable etymology; for in Basti Suar and Usar are interchangeable forms of the same word, and the name Suarha in Basti answers to the name Usarha in Etawah. The latter is obviously derived from Usar, Skr: Usharah, a barren spot with saline soil. The form Suar or Saur is not found in this sense in Indian literature, and is now confined in vernacular speech to an obscure corner of the country, but it reappears in the

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 49

Persian SHOR, and we may thence conclude that it is not a mere dialectic form of Usar, but that the two forms co-existed in the early language. I have therefore little hesitation in taking Suraha Tal as the equivalent of Usraha Tal, the Tal surrounded by USAR land.

The names Soron and Soraon, also on our list, which will be analysed hereafter, stand for Saur-ganw or Usar-ganw.

Does SHUKARTAR really contain the base TAL? It would appear so, since the village Directory prints the name as Shakartal and the name of an adjoining village as Shakartari. It seems likely that the original name was Shankar-tal, but popular fancy has been at work on it and ended by converting it into Shukar-tar, or the star of the Planet Venus.

The pedigree of TAL is, Skr. Tataḥ, slope, declivity, Skr. Tatham, bank, Skr. Talam and Tallam, pond, Hindi TAL. Lassen says T can only become L through an intermediate D, but this theory still awaits the verdict of the phoneticians. In tracing the cognate Hindi TALAO we find an extant D form as required by Lassen's theory, viz. Skr. Tataḥ, slope, Skr. Tara, bank, Skr. Tataḥkah and Tadāgah, pond, Hindi Talāwa, H. Talāo, H. Talāb.

(n) KUAN is a well. The word is now mostly restricted to a well with a lining of masonry, earthen wells being called by the diminutive name Kuiyan.

KUAN as a termination occurs in

MAR-KUAN .. Jhansi .. 300

meaning the well in the black cotton soil found in the Trans-Jumna tract, vide supra Markundi (289).

KUAN comes from Skr. KUPAH, a hole, hollow, well, which Fick derives from KUP, to bubble up (wallen, aufwallen,) and connects with Greek Kupe and with Skr. Kumbha, a waterjar. Allied forms are found in Hindi with initial CH, as Chuan, Choa, Choha, Choya, vide Cr.,

50 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

and we may compare the river name Choil with the Kuana river in Basti.

Group D.—There remain a few words relating to village economy which occur as bases in place-names, THAR or TAHR, THANA, KHET, BAGH, BARI and SAR.

(o) Thar or Tahr, a word not now used, appears to have meant a cattle-pen, a camp or a temporary station in

ASOTHAR Fatehpur 301

ASO- stands for the name ASOKA, and Asothar may be rendered Asok's cattle-pen or camp.

The word THAR or THAL is the Hindi form of the Skr. STHALAM, which often occurs in the land-grants in the sense of dry land opposed to JALAM. It is also used in Sanskrit for a spot of high ground, a mound, and as such spots were preferably selected for camps and cattle-pens the development of meaning by which THAR came to stand for a camp is easily intelligible.

(p) Very closely allied to THAR is the base THAN or THANA, answering to Skr. STHANAM as THAR to STHALAM, and both words in place-names had evidently at one time the meaning of a station for cattle. But as the pastoral glided into the agricultural settlement, both words, but especially THAN, tended to assume a corresponding signification. THAR is now quite extinct in the spoken vernacular, and THAN scarcely seems to survive except in Thana, a police post, and Than, a stall in a stable; but both words have left landmarks of their earlier use in derivatives. Thar we recognize in the verb Thariaib, to collect cattle, which is still in vogue in the eastern districts; while Thana, after it had passed from the pastoral into the agricultural phase and became almost a synonym for Ganw, generated the word Thanait, a village headman. We have traced a similar development of meaning in the word Pur.

But THAN and THAR were also used to denote a semi-

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 51

permanent station of a wandering tribe, e.g. Mainather in Etah and Bharthar in Agra, and THAN seems to be so used in our example.

BHAR-THANA

.. Etawah ..

.. 302

a station of the Bhars. The Bhar tribe, now seldom heard of, was once dominant in Oudh and the adjacent districts and has left traces in many place-names.

(q) KHET in the official, and to some degree the popular sense of the word (cf. Beames I, p. 338), is a piece of cultivated land, a field. But like the English word field it has an older and wider meaning, and, if attention be paid to the vernacular use of the word, as distinguished from the official it will be found oftener applied to the level cultivated surface of a village as opposed to the forest or broken surface than to the little rectangular plots which we are accustomed to call fields. In this sense of open level ground it occurs in the word Ran-Khet, battle-field, and metaphorically in the curious phrase "Chand ne khet kiya hai," used of the rising of the moon.

The word is scarcely found in place names except in the hill districts, and there it indicates a level spot fit for cultivation.

The only instance in our list is

RANI-KHET

.. Kumaun ..

.. 303

a place in the hills.

Ranikhet, if not a corruption of Ran-khet, battlefield, must mean the great level space, viz. where the narrow glen opens out into valley. Rani, like Raj, is a prefix applied to anything great or grand.

(r) BAGH, a garden, orchard or enclosure of trees, is a foreign word introduced by the Musulmans, and, though now common, occurs but rarely in the names of places. We have however two instances in our list, both from Kumaun.

HAWAL-BAGH

.. Kumaun ..

.. 304

RANI-BAGH

.. Kumaun ..

.. 305

52 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

Hawalbagh is a perplexing name. Hawal suggests Haweli and Hawaldar, the guard and the captain of the guard, but in that case the word should have the Arabic strong H and it is not so written in the Persian column of the Government list. The name is plainly of modern origin and its meaning might be determined by local enquiry.

Ranibagh is queen-orchard, great orchard, viz. Rani-khet.

(s) BARI, an enclosure or a garden, is Skr. Vati, used in the same sense. Hence Am-wari, a grove of mangoes, and, as a place-name,

AMBARI Dehra Dun .. 306

Ambari has modified the cerebral R. That is the case also with Sisu-wari, a grove of shisham trees, a village name that occurs several times in the Meerut and Rohilkhand divisions, and, with Phulwari, a flower garden, originally Phul-barī, which appears as a place-name in Farrukhabad, and in the form Phulwaria in Azamgarh, Basti and Ballia. The change may be attributed to the partial coalescence of the base BARA, BARI with the suffix from WALA, WARI, of which we shall speak hereafter. With Ambari may be compared the name of the Panjab city Umballa, AM-BALA, i.e. AMBAVATAH.

(t) SAR, with the A naturally long but often shortened under the weight of preceding syllables, is generally referred, and in many instances rightly, to the Skr. SALA, a house, or SALAH, an enclosure, or the correlative Hindi SAR, a cowshed, as in Jaunsar (355); but it is often difficult to determine its origin, and it may be looked on as a popular toponymal suffix in which several bases have coalesced.

The most noted town with this termination is perhaps Amritsar in which Sar has been assumed to be Skr. SARAM, SARAS, a lake, the name Amritsar being rendered by Sir Monier Williams "lake of nectar" and by Schlagintweit

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 53

"well of immortality." These interpretations are open to the objection that they place Amritsar in a class of names almost without example in ancient times, those namely which embody an abstract idea; but so far as the base is concerned it is quite possible that SAR may mean lake.

Another suffixal base which sometimes takes the form -sar is Skr. SANDAM (also SHANDAH and KHANDAH), a noun of multitude, as in Amarsand, Pilibhit, usually pronounced Amarsar. Belsar in Ghazipur and Bilsara in Cawnpore seem to belong to this category, for we have the same name in our list under the form

BIL-SANDA .. Bareilly .. 307

which would be in Skr. VESHTA-SANDAM, a group of buildings; Veshtah had already in Skr. taken the form VELAM, garden, grove, which is the immediate origin of BEL-BIL-

BEL in the Eastern districts is the usual term for a sugar factory, answering to KHANDSAL in the West. In the latter SAL is no doubt SALAH, enclosure, or SALA, house. We find Khandsal as a place-name in Bijnor and Moradabad. If we track it eastward we find it becomes Khandsar and Khandsara in Shahjahanpur and Bareilly, and Kharsara in Farrukhabad and Allahabad. It does not seem to have taken root as a place-name eastwards of Allahabad.

Religious Names —

We come finally to a set of terminations belonging to places connected with Brahminical worship, chiefly in Kumaun, Muttra and Benares. They are BAN, PRAYAG, MATH, DWAR, and PAT, which are genuine bases, and DEO, ESAR, NATH, which are simulative bases.

The names to which we are here introduced take us away from the fields and gardens of rural life in which we have been lingering into the pandemonium of Hindu superstition.

BAN, a forest, Skr. VANAM.

The word has acquired a religious tint owing to the scenes of Hindu sacred history being laid chiefly in forests.

54 PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.

The instances are

ATHAR-BAN	..	Allahabad	..	308
BRINDA-BAN	..	Muttra	..	309
DEO-BAN ..	..	Dehra Dun	..	310
MAHA-BAN	..	Muttra	..	311

Atharban has not been ranked among compounds with BAN without some hesitation. Atharvana was a name for an ancient order of priests who are said to have composed the Atharva Veda, and after them possibly was named Atharvani in Kumaun where the Brahmans had much to say to the naming of places. But ATHAR BAN in Allahabad is better classed with Athar-par (Asthalapātaka) in Jaunpur, meaning a place where there was an ASTHAL, either a monastery or the retreat of an anchorite. Asthal is a frequent prefix in Muttra, where it appears from the names with which it is associated to bear the latter meaning; e.g. Asthal Bairagi, Asthal Hari Das, Asthal Ram Das, Asthal Chandarbhan, Asthal Gunga.

BRINDABAN, popularly BINDRABAN, seems to have been so named from the sacred shrub VRINDA, *Ocimum sanctum*, better known in Hindi as Tulsi.

DEOBAN is from DEVA in the sense of sacred, divine.

MAHABAN, the great forest, is from MAHA, great.

To the above list may very likely belong

DEOBAND..	..	Saharanpur	..	312
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The Gazetteer (p. 265) says, " Its original name was "Deviban or sacred forest, and there is still a grove near "the city in which there is a temple to Devi where a "religious assembly is held yearly in the month of Chait." The writer seems to have confused the adjective Deva, divine, sacred, with Devi, the Hindu goddess. There are temples of Devi everywhere, and it is not likely that the temple at Deoband had anything to do with the naming of the place; but it is quite possible that Deoband may have been formerly Deoban, sacred forest.

The final D may be due to a popular etymology. Near the city is a large expanse of water, called the

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 55

Devikund, with a high embankment lined with temples. An embankment is called in Persian *BAND*, and the Persian word is commonly used in India alongside of its Hindi counterpart *Bandah*. The change of name from *Deoban* to *Deoband*, when the *Ban*, or forest, had been cleared away and forgotten, and the *Band*, crowned with temples, remained the prominent feature of the place, is conceivable enough. No such hypothesis however is necessary to account for the accretion of the *D*. We have examples in the English word *sound* and the German *Niemand* and *Abend* in which the *D* is purely adventitious; so in Hindi we have the forms *pandrah*, fifteen, for Prakrit *Pannarah* (H. 135), and *bandar*, ape, for Skr. *vanrah*.

Prayag is a name often found, like German *Muenden* or *Minden*, at the confluence of two streams, and a strained derivation has been suggested from the Skr. *YOGAH*, union. But the Skr. *PRAYAGAH*, sacrifice, is quite intelligible if taken as a commemorative name and presents no difficulty, either phonetical or hermeneutical. The meeting of two rivers was doubtless regarded as an auspicious spot for sacrifice.

PRAYAG is found in

KARN-PRAYAG	..	Garhwal ..	..	313
RUDR-PRAYAG	..	Garhwal ..	..	314

Karn is a form of the name *Krishna*, and *Rudra* is *Siva*.

PRAG or *PRAYAG* is also the name by which *Allahabad* is known to the Hindus.

MATH in Hindi is a religious monastery or college of ascetics. We have it in

JOSHI-MATH	..	Garhwal ..	..	315
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which is perhaps for *Jotishi-math* or astrologers' college; but Skr. *MATHAM*, Prakrit *MADHAM*, Hindi *MANDHA*, all mean simply a hut, and the word in this sense under one form or another enters largely into the composition of place-names, so that in the absence of proof to the

56 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

contrary I should be inclined to take Joshi as a proper name and translate Joshimath as Joshi's hut.

DWAR is a door, temple.

In the list we find

HAR-DWAR	..	Saharanpur	..	316
KOT-DWARA	..	Garhwal	..	317
THAKUR-DWARA	..	Moradabad	..	318

Hardwar is the temple of Har or Hari; Kotdwara the temple in the fort or on the hill, for Kot has also the latter meaning. Thakurdwara is the temple of the lord or of the idol. It is a word commonly used, like Thakur-bari (from BARI, an enclosure), for any place where sacred images are kept. In the eastern districts Thakur is used, like Ishwar and Paramishwar, as a name of the Supreme Being.

As for Hardwar (316), the great place of pilgrimage where the Ganges issues into the plains, Hwen Tsang (Beale I. 198) says, "standing by the Ganges river is a "great Deva temple. In the midst of it is a tank through "which the Ganges is led by an artificial canal. The men "of the five Indies call it the gate of the Ganga river;" from which we gather that the name of Gangadwara was current in Hwen Tsang's time. But the tank mentioned by Hwen Tsang suggests that there was a still older name derived from HRADAH, a deep pool, perhaps HRADAMAH, which became HARDAMA HARDWA, and lastly by the attraction of the alternative name of Gangadawar, HARDWAR, and this name was naturally interpreted by the priests of the temple as the gate of HAR or SIVA. Since then there have sprung up two parties who dispute whether the name is HARDWAR or HARIDWAR, the gate of Siva or the gate of Vishnu.

There is a third divinity, a local godling of the hills, named Haru, who seems to have something to do with the place. In the Gazetteer (vol. xi, p. 801) we read:—"Haru "is a beneficent spirit to whom local accounts attribute "the sacred Ghat at Hardwar called Hari ki pairi."

PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES. 57

PAT as a termination in place-names in Skr. PRASTHAH, a plateau, place, dwelling.

It occurs in

BAG-PAT .. Meerut... .. 319

Bagpat or Baghpat is said to have been one of the five pats mentioned in the Mahabharata. The other pats were Sonpat, Panipat, Tilpat, and Indarpat, the settlements of Yuddhistira in the Khandava forest (Gaz: III, 347). The Gazetteer adds that the original name of Bagpat appears to have been Vyaghra-pratsha or "place of tigers." Among names with the characteristic BAG we find also Vyaghra-sala or Bagsar, Anglice Buxar, which on the same system should be tiger's hall. But we must, I think, in both cases refer the name to the hero BAG, deified under the name of Bagesar, of whom we shall hear anon, or to some other person of this name. We read of a Vyaghra dynasty and the name must once have been common.

There are three other terminations which are not, strictly speaking, bases, but serve as such, or at least their significance causes a base to be dispensed with.

ESAR is the Skr. ISHVARAH, meaning lord, ruler, especially as an epithet of Siva. It is sometimes simply Es, as in Jagdes for Jagat-es, lord of the world.

We have several instances of ESAR.

BAG-ESAR	..	Kumaun ..	..	320
BAT-ESAR..	..	Agra ..	..	321
GASH-MUKT-ESAS	..	Meerut ..	..	322
JAL-ESAR ..	..	Agra ..	..	323
LAKHN-ESAR	..	Ghazipur ..	..	324

BAGHESAR we have already mentioned as the deification of the hero Bag or Vyaghra.

BATESAR or Vatesvarah, lord of the Bargad tree, is an epithet of Siva, whose worship is curiously associated with trees.

GARHMUKTESAR is a double name, meaning the fort near Muktesar. Muktah in Sanskrit is an emancipated

58 *PLACE-NAMES IN UNITED PROVINCES.*

saint, but what particular individual is commemorated under this name I have failed to discover.

JALESVARAH, lord of water, is invoked in the fish Gayatri, and is there taken as the same as Varuna.

LAKHNESAR, i.e. Lakshmanesar, is obvious.

Another divinity, SAKAT or SAKTESAR, gives his name to Saktesgarh (246), a name that has been already explained in treating of the termination GARH.

DEO or DEVA, God, occurs in

BARM-DEO	..	Kumaun ..	..	325
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Barmdeo is the god Varmma. Here, as in the case of the Esars, the name of the god is used elliptically for the place of his worship.

In many cases however Deva is a mere title, formerly affixed to Brahman and latter to Thakur names, and in modern times incorporated in names adopted by all classes, as Baldeo, which occurs as a place-name in Muttra. Thus in many place-names ending in Deo the termination is part of the name of a colonist and carries no religious significance.

Nath means lord, master, leader; Skr. NATHAH. The names in the list which have this termination are

BADRI-NATH	..	Kumaun ..	..	326
BAIJ-NATH	..	Kumaun ..	..	327
KEDAR-NATH	..	Garhwal ..	..	328
SAR-NATH..	..	Benares ..	..	329

Badri, Skr. Badrika, is one of the sources of the Ganges. Of the other names I will not at present attempt to offer any explanation.

THE SOURCE OF THE SAYING ASCRIBED TO
JESUS IN THE BULAND DARWAZA
INSCRIPTION AT FATHPUR-SIKRI.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH.

THE famous *logion* or saying traditionally ascribed to Jesus, which occupies a prominent position among the inscriptions on the Lofty Portal or Buland Darwāza at Akbar's city of Fathpur-Sikri is familiar to many tourists. It is noticed by Sleemen in the following words:—

‘On the right side of the entrance is engraven on stone in large letters, standing out in bas-relief, the following passage in Arabic:

“Jesus, on whom be peace, has said, ‘The world is merely a bridge; you are to pass over it, and not to build your dwellings upon it.’”

‘Where this saying of Christ is to be found I know not, nor has any Muhammadan yet been able to tell me; but the quoting of such a passage, in such a place, is a proof of the absence of all bigotry on the part of Akbar.’

Sleeman recurs to the saying in a later passage, and at the beginning of his description of New Delhi or Shāh-jahānābād observes that

‘these Muhammadans seem as if they had always in their thoughts the saying of Christ which Akbar has inscribed on the gateway at Fathpur-Sikri.

“Life is a bridge which you are to pass over and not to build your dwellings upon.”’¹

Thus the matter rested, nobody being able to trace the source of the saying, until October 23, 1917, when Professor Margolisuth sent me a letter which cleared up the mystery.

¹ *Rambles and Recollections*, ed. V. A. Smith, Oxford Univ. Press, 1915, pp. 354, 504.

60 THE SAYING ASCRIBED TO JESUS.

Before making the formal announcement of his discovery it is advisable to devote a few pages to certain preliminary explanations, which are indispensable for a full understanding of the record in which the 'Jesus saying' is imbedded.

The great gateway, known as the Buland Darwāza or Lofty Portal, was finished in A.H. 983=A.D. 1575-6, as expressed in the Persian chronogram.

که تاریخ اتمام باب بلند
شده رشک طاق سپهر بلند

'The date of completion of the Lofty Portal is the envy of the arch of the lofty firmament.'¹

The date, 983, is signified by the letters of the four concluding words *rashk-i tāq-i sipihr-i buland*, according to the rules of the *abjad* notation.

The portal, in itself an architectural masterpiece of immense magnitude, probably was begun in either 1573 or 1574, shortly after Akbar's triumphal return from the conquest of Gujarāt, an epoch in his history. The emperor had arrived at Fathpur-Sikrī on October 5, 1573, and, after an interval, had again come into residence there on the last day of March 1574. In June of that year he embarked on his victorious river voyage to Patna. On the first day of A.H. 983=April 12, 1575, the imperial general concluded peace with Dāūd Khān of Bengal. That prince, having revolted, was killed on July 12, 1576. Thus the year A.H. 983 (April 12, 1575—March 30, 1576) was marked by the almost complete reduction of Bengal. The Lofty Portal, therefore, served to commemorate the subjugation of the eastern as well as that of the western kingdom. But it must have been begun before Akbar's departure for Patna in June 1574, and primarily must have been designed as a triumphal arch to form a memorial of the conquest of Gujarāt, a remarkable feat of arms and a turning-point in Akbar's reign. Unfortunately the

¹ The chronogram, published by Beale (*Miftāhu-t-tawārikh*, Cawnpore, 1867, p. 181) is anonymous.

THE SAYING ASCRIBED TO JESUS. 61

histories available give no information on the subject. The mosque was finished in A.H. 979 (= A.D. 1571-2, from May to May), as recorded in an inscription on the main arch. It is possible, and indeed highly probable, that originally the southern gateway had been completed about the same time as the rest of the building in a style agreeing with that of the existing northern gateway, and that it was demolished in 1574 or 1575, being then replaced by the Lofty Portal, which is out of keeping with the general design. It is, however, impossible to prove definitely that such an alteration took place, although it is extremely unlikely that the mosque should have been left for three or four years without a fitting entrance on the south.

There is no doubt whatever as to the erroneousness of the current statement repeated in a crowd of books that the inscription on the eastern side of the Buland Darwāza, dated in the Ilāhī year 46=A.D. 1010 (June 1601 to June 1602), records the erection of the Lofty Portal in that year, in order to commemorate the conquest of Khāndēsh or Dāndēsh, including the capitulation of Asīrgarh. The inscriptions does not say a word about the erection of the gateway. Its purpose is merely to record a flying visit to Fathpur-Sikrī paid by Akbar on his way to Agra when returning from the successful campaign in the Deccan, and thus to commemorate his victory. The historical part of the record in Persian may be translated as follows:—

‘His Majesty, King of Kings, Lord of a court like heaven, the Shadow of God, Jalālu-d-dīn Muhammad Akbar, conquered the realm of the Deccan and Dāndēs, formerly known as Khāndēs, in the Ilāhī year 46, equivalent to the Hijri year 1010. Having arrived at Fathpur, he proceeded to Agra.’¹

¹ The Persian text, as copied by two Muhammadan scholars, Shaikh Riāz Ahmad and Maulvi Shuaib, is printed in *Annual Prog. Rep. A.S., N. circle, for 1905-6*. That text may be accepted as correct. The copy in Latif, *Agra*, Calcutta, 1896, p. 146, exhibits variants, namely *musammā* for *mashhūr*, and *muṭātiq* for *muwāfiq*, which do not affect the sense. The two scholars named first are entitled to the credit of refuting emphatically the vulgar error concerning the date of erection of the Lofty Portal. They have also corrected certain other errors in

62 THE SAYING ASCRIBED TO JESUS.

I have shown in my book, *Akbar the Great Mogul* (pp. 106, 107), that Akbar never resided at Fathpur-Sikri after 1585, when he quitted the city for a stay of thirteen years in the north. His visit to the place in A.H. 1010 = A.D. 1601 was only a brief halt. He utilized the occasion to have his visit commemorated by causing the famous group of inscriptions, including the 'Jesus saying,' to be carved on the great triumphal arch which had been erected twenty-six years earlier, when Akbar was still a Muslim and believed in the merit of building mosques. In 1601 he had long lost all faith in Islām and was much more inclined to desecrate or destroy mosques than to build them. Even if he had wished to build the gateway in 1601 he could not have done so. Fathpur-Sikri had then been deserted for nearly sixteen years and was fast going to ruin. The Lofty Portal must have taken a year or more to build. There is no reason to doubt that the chronogram cited by Beale, whatever be its origin, gives correctly the date of the erection of the buildings.

We thus learn that the 'Jesus saying,' like the rest of the inscriptions in which it is included, was carved in A.D. 1601.

The artist was the celebrated Mir Muḥammad M'aṣūm, poet, historian, and official, who was specially skilled in the composition and designing of inscriptions.

'His metrical inscriptions adorn numerous mosques and public buildings from India to Ispahan and Tabriz. Besides the cathedral mosque at Fattehpur, his inscriptions are found over the gate of the fort of Agra, the fort of Mandu, and various other places' (Latif, *Agra*, p. 143 m).

While in Akbar's service he used to travel with a staff of sculptors so as to be ready to record an elegant inscription wherever required. He accompanied the emperor in the Deccan, and executed for Akbar the inscription on the

E. W. Smith's excellent monograph. The true date of the erection of the Lofty Portal was published by Beale and Blochmann in *Proc. A.S.B.*, 1874, p. 174, but had been completely forgotten.

THE SAYING ASCRIBED TO JESUS. 63

front wall of the Jāmi' Masjeid at Asīrgarh, which records the conquest of that mighty fortress on the 6th day of Bahman, Ilāhī year 45, corresponding with the 22nd day of the Muslim month, Rajab. It also commemorates the subsequent visit of Akbar to the fortress on the 8th day of Sh'abān, equivalent to February 12, A.D. 1601.

Mir Muḥammad M'aṣūm, while in attendance at the emperor's camp, must have inspected the mosques and tombs at Burhānpur, the Fārūqī capital. The town, only a few miles distant from Asīrgarh, was the headquarters of the imperial army. The numerous Fārūqī inscriptions cannot fail to have attracted the attention and aroused the interest of such an expert as the Mir. When I happened to observe that a saying attributed to Jesus, similar to if not identical with that carved on the Buland Darwāza, is quoted in an inscription on the tomb of 'Ādil Shāh Fārūqī at Burhānpur, the notion occurred to me that Mir Muḥammad M'aṣūm had probably borrowed the quotation from the record in the Deccan. But the obviously inaccurate description of that record in Rāi Bahādur Hira Lāl's book did not suffice for the verification of my hypothesis. Sir Charles Lyall, with whom I was in communication on the subject, kindly undertook to procure an accurate copy of the 'Ādil Shāh inscription through the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces.

The correct transcript of the text of the 'Jesus saying' at Fathpur-Sikrī, as written by Sir Charles Lyall, is:—

قال عيسى عليه السلام الدنيا قنطرة فاعبروها ولا تعمروها *

which means:

'Saith Jesus (upon him be peace), the world is a bridge; therefore pass over it, and build not on it' or 'do not make a dwelling upon it.'

Professor Margolisuth, after reading my work on Akbar, in which I had stated that the source of the saying had not been discovered, wrote to me on October 23, 1917, giving the welcome information that

THE SAYING ASCRIBED TO JESUS.

'the source of the saying ascribed to the Founder of Christianity (*Akbar*, p. 286) is the *Kāmil* of Mubarrad (*op.* 285 A.H.; Cairo, 1308 A.H., i, 59), when it is ascribed to Ḥaṣan of Baṣrah (*op.* 110 A.H.), a famous saint. He used to say that "the world is a bridge over which you pass, but which you do not make a dwelling."

There is nothing at all surprising about the false ascription of the saying.'

Sir Charles Lyall expands the reference discovered by Professor Margolisuth by noting that the quotation occurs twice in Wright's edition of the *Kāmil* (pp. 58, 231). The words are

اجْعَلِ الدُّنْيَا كَالْقَنْظَرَةِ تَجُوزُ عَلَيْهَا وَلَا تَعْمُرُهَا *

'Treat the world as a bridge; thou passest over it, and hast no abiding place thereon.'

Sir Charles further explains that Ḥaṣan is the subject of an article in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, and will be found mentioned at length in Vol. I of De Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikān's *Biographical Dictionary*. He was noted for his ascetic life, and curiously enough, the first time al-Mubarrad mentions him in the *Kāmil* (p. 57 15ff.) he says: "I have been told that two Christian monks came to Baṣrah from the direction of Syria, and saw in the distance al-Ḥaṣan al-Baṣrī. One of them said to the other—"Let us turn aside to this man, whose way of life seems for resemble that of Christ." So they turned in his direction, and found him with his chin propped on his hand, reclining as he lay, and saying—"I wonder at people who have been bidden to supply themselves with provisions for the way and have been warned to start on their journey, and yet the foremost of them wait for the hindmost. Would that I knew what it is that they are expecting (or waiting for)."—This reference to Christian monks suggests that al-Ḥaṣan had some of his doctrine from Christianity. A ribald poet of his time, Bashshār b. Bard, calls him a *Qass*, that is, a Christian priest. Asceti-

THE SAYING ASCRIBED TO JESUS. 65

cism, as such, is alien from Islam. One of Muhammad's sayings was that "there is no monkery in Islam," *laisa-r-rahbārīyah* (or *lā rahbānīyata*) *fi-l-Islām*. But al-Ḥasan was the model of an ascetic in all his ways, and there is little doubt that the pietism of early Islam drew its inspiration very largely from Christian sources. It would not therefore be at all improbable that some saying attributed to Jesus, current among the *rāhibs* or Christian monks of the mid-river land (which, you know, was Christian before the Muslim armies conquered it) may have lain behind the utterance of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces having given the necessary instructions, the required facsimile of the Ādil Shāh inscription at Burhānpur has been supplied by Rai Bahādur Hīrā Lāl. Sir Charles Lyall was then in a position to write to me on May 14, 1919:

"The problem of the Buland Darwāza inscription is solved. I have to-day unpacked the box containing rubbings of Burhānpur inscriptions sent by Rāi Bahādur Hīrā Lāl, and find that the following is the Arabic text of the inscription on 'Ādil Shāh's tomb, No. 98 of the C. P. inscriptions:=(The inscription is in 3 lines.)

انظروا الى اهل القبور فاعتبروا يا اولى الابصار
لما قيل غفلة الاحياء اكثر ام حسرة الاموات
قال عيسى عم الدنيا قنطرة فاعبروها ولا تعمروها

"Look upon the people of the tombs, and be admonished, ye men of insight:

For as much as it is said—'Is the heedlessness of the living greater, or the sorrow of the dead'?

Jesus said (on him be peace!) 'The world is a bridge: therefore pass over it, but build not thereon' "

The investigation being thus complete, it may be convenient to summarize its results. The 'Jesus saying' at Fathpur-Sikri is part of an elaborate inscription executed under the direction of Mīr Muḥammad M'aṣūm in A.D. 1601 to commemorate both the conquest of Khāndēsh and a flying visit paid by Akbar to his former capital. The inscription does not commemorate the erection of the

66 THE SAYING ASCRIBED TO JESUS.

Buland Darwāza, which had been completed in A.D. 1575-6 as a memorial primarily of the brilliant Gujarāt campaigns. It is almost certain that Mīr Muḥammad M'aṣūm borrowed the 'Jesus saying' from the earlier inscription on the tomb of 'Ādil Shāh Fārūqī at Burhānpur, where the saying is quoted. It can be traced back to Ḥasan of Baṣrah, who died in A.H. 110 = A.D. 728-9, and probably it was communicated to him by his Christian associates as being according to tradition a saying of Jesus. Whether or not the ascription is correct no man can affirm with confidence. The record of the Gospels preserves only a few of Our Lord's sayings, and many more must have continued to be current. The sentiment quoted in the work of Mubarrad from Ḥasan of Baṣrah and copied in the Indian inscriptions does not seem alien to the teaching of the master.

The necessary annotations are most conveniently combined in a single note.

NOTE.

The Burhānpur inscription is No. 98 in the book entitled *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar* (Nagpur, 1916, p. 71), compiled by Rāi Bahādur Hīra Lāl. The compiler, who is not an Arabic scholar, was misled into asserting that the Arabic inscription is a passage from the Koran. He also misunderstood the contraction *am*, for the nearly similar form meaning 'uncle,' and so committed the absurdity of calling Jesus 'uncle of the world.' 'Am, really is an abbreviation of the phrase *'alaihi-s-salām*, عليه السلام, meaning 'on him be peace,' as explained by Sir Charles Lyall. This paper being concerned only with the history of the 'Jesus saying,' it is unnecessary to make observations on the sundry errors in transcription and translation which disfigure the publications dealing with the Buland Darwāza inscriptions. The Burhānpur records seem not to have been published in any accessible form. Copies of the inscriptions from both Burhānpur and Asīrgarh were sent by Cunningham to Blochmann, who had them ready for publication in 1878, when he died (*Archæol. S. Rep.*, vol. ix, 1879, p. 117n). The papers seem to have been lost or mislaid. Some of the inscriptions are said to have been printed in the *Journal of the Antiquarian Society, Central Provinces*, a periodical long extinct, which I have not seen. Perhaps Sir Charles

THE SAYING ASCRIBED TO JESUS. 67

Lyall may find time to deal further with the material now supplied by Rāi Bahādur Hira Lāl. It may be well to note that the correct date of the capitulation of Asīrgarh is January 17, 1601 (o.s.). Most books give the date wrongly.

A NOTE ON TWO BRASS IMAGES.¹

BY R.B. DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A.

I.

BRASS image (ht. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ ") of the Jaina *yakshī* Śrīdevī standing facing [Plate 1(a)]. She has four arms, and like the Brahmanical goddess of Fortune (Lakṣmī) holds the four symbols of Viṣṇu, namely, the *chakra* (wheel), *gadā* (mace), *śaṅkha* (conch), and the lotus, being carved on her lower right hand which is stretched down in the *varamudrā*. Above the head of the *yakshī* is a triple umbrella, the well-known Hindu symbol of royalty. The male figures on both sides of the goddess are presumably attendants. The metal is cut away from behind the figure to give it the appearance of an image in the round. The ears of the *yakshī* are adorned with rings which also served the purpose of fixing the image by means of nails.

The back of the image contains a well-preserved inscription [Plate 1 (b)] in Nāgarī characters which reads as follows:—

॥ संवत् १६५५ वर्षे । वैशाख (ख) शुदि ६ शुक्ले । श्रीकाया संघे । नंदित
गच्छे (च्छे) । भट्टारक श्री ७ रामसेन तत्पुत्रे भट्टा. श्रीत्रिभुवनकीर्त्ति । महं
रंगासुत म. श्री कर्ण भ्रातृ सर तांग श्रीकर्णसुत महाव जी राम जी गोत्रदेव्या
श्रीदेवी वासग^२ नित्यं प्रणमति—प्रवलगोत्रे ।

Translation.

“On Friday, the 6th of the bright fortnight of Vaisākha, in the year Samvat 1655. In the Kāshṭhāsāṅgha, in

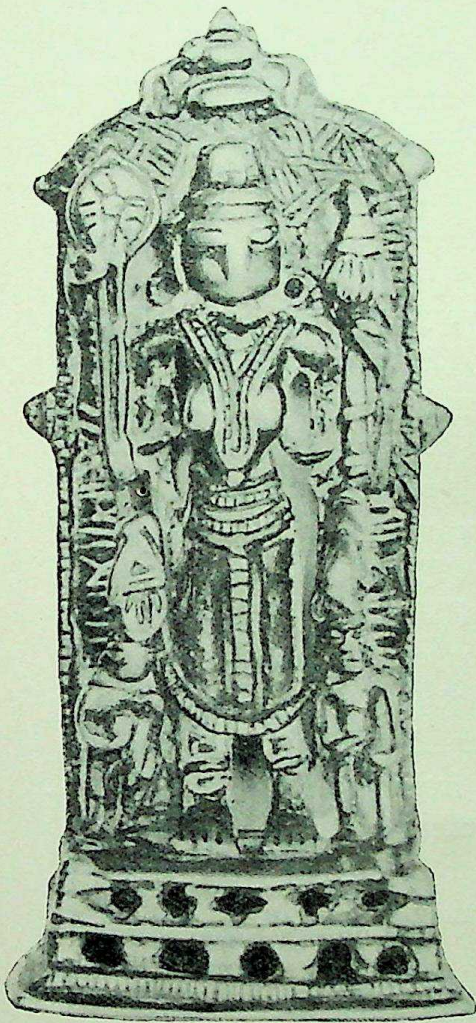
¹ These two images belong to Mr. R. Burn and were purchased by him from dealers in Allahabad and Agra. Nothing is known of their original *provenance*. [R. B.].

² वासग is apparently the *apabhraṃsa* of उपासक, a layman.

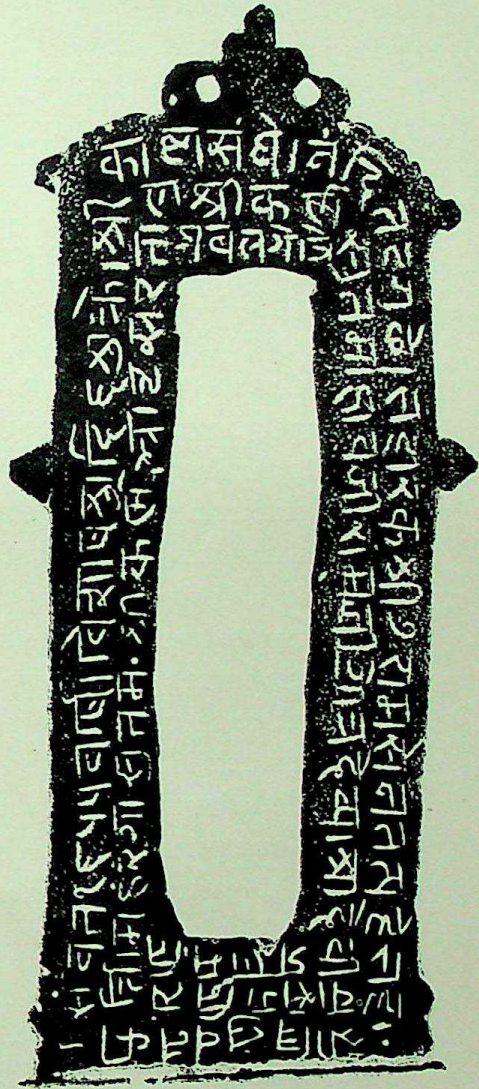
A NOTE ON TWO BRASS IMAGES.

69

the naṁditaṭagachchha (there was) Bhaṭṭāraka, the seven times illustrious Rāmasena [and] in his line the Bhaṭṭāraka, the illustrious Tribhuvanakīrtti. Mahāmraṅga's son [was] M. Śrīkarṇṇa : his (Mahāmraṅga's) brother Sara-



1(a).



1(b).

tāmṇa. Māhāvaji Rāmaji, the son of Śrīkarṇṇa, in the Prabalogotra [and] a votary of Sridevī, the goddess of [his] gotra, salutes daily."

It will be seen from the above translation, that the relationship between Tribhuvanakīrtti and Mahāmraṅga

70 A NOTE ON TWO BRASS IMAGES.

is not indicated, and the two names are separated by a full-stop. It is, therefore, possible that Rāmsēna and Tribhuvanakīrtti, who are both designated as Bhāṭṭārakas, bear no family connections with the persons named in the latter part of the inscription. Bhāṭṭāraka, in Jaina inscriptions, is generally the title of teachers or *upādhyāyas*, though it is also applied to the names of rājās and mahārājās. Tribhuvanakīrtti may, therefore, have been the *guru* of Māhāvajī Rāmajī, the donor of the image.

The main interest of the image centres in the fact that it supplies the name of the *yakshī* represented by the image. Sculptural representations of Jaina *yakshīs* or goddesses, for there is no doubt that they are venerated by the Jainas as such, are not very common.

My operations at the Deogarh Fort in the Jhansi district (A. P. R., Archæological Survey N. C. for 1917-18) have supplied monumental evidence of the fact that each Tirthankara had his corresponding female energy or *yakshī*, and I was so fortunate as to discover lithic representations of as many as twenty of them. They are all labelled with their own names and those of the corresponding Jinas. The exact date of the inclusion of these minor divinities in the Jaina theistic scheme is not yet ascertainable. That these *yakshīs* were already worshipped by the Jainas in the Kushana period is evident from the fact that in the Lucknow Provincial Museum there is an inscribed image of Sarasvātī which was caused to be made by a follower of that faith and must be a Jaina representation of the goddess of learning.¹

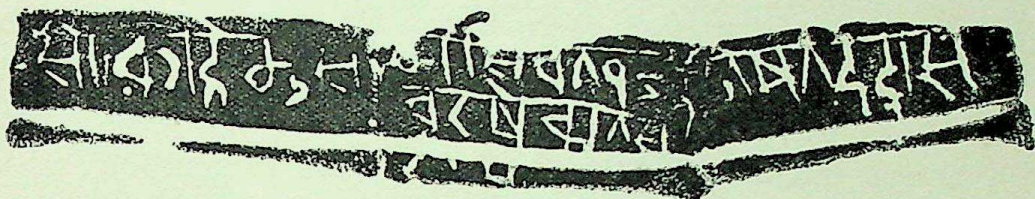
II.

Brass image (ht. $4\frac{3}{4}$ ") of the goddess Durgā, riding her vehicle the lion. She has four arms and three of them hold a sword, a trident and a bowl (*kapāla*). The symbol in the fourth hand is uncertain. The tail of the lion is curved upwards and reaches up to his head. To the

¹ For the names of the *yakshīs* and other particulars about them, see Dr. Burgess on *Digambara Jaina Iconography* in *I.A.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 459 seq.

A NOTE ON TWO BRASS IMAGES. 71

right of the goddess is seated Gaṇapati with a battle-axe in his right arm. The figure to the left of Durgā must be identified as Bhairava, for behind it is a standing dog. Behind the head of Durgā is a hook by which the figure was fixed to a wall or other support. The carving of the sculpture is very crude.



I read the inscription incised on the base as follows :—

सावग^१ हेमु सन^२ (?) संवत् १६७ × वर्षे कात सुदी ५ लिखितं दे[व]
दास.

“The layman Hemu, on the 5th of the bright fortnight of Kārtika, in the year 167 ×, written by Devadāsa.”

Sāvag, the title of Hemu, can only be the *apabhramśa* of Śrāvaka, a Jaina layman. The image must therefore belong to the Jaina religion.

¹ I owe the reading of this word to Pandit Ramajna Pandeya, Vyākaraṇāchārya of the Sarasvatī-Bhavan.

² The meaning of these two syllables is not known. Can it be the Persian word *سنة* meaning year? The date of the inscription falls in the reign of Jahangir, so the use of the word in a Nāgarī epigraph is not inconceivable.

BENARES ICONOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

BY B. C. BHATTACHARYYA.

FOR some time I was examining and exploring the southern part of the city of Benares and came across some ancient images and statues, worthy of attention and full of iconographical interest. They are not in their original sites, some of which could be known from inquiry. A few of the images though mutilated¹ are casually worshipped and others are lying uncared for at the foot of trees or on the bank of a sacred tank. The images may be described, one by one, by the help of illustrations entitled below.

FIG. 1.—Found at a place near the Purānā Durgābāri in Bengali Tola, set against a wall. Its *provenance* is unknown. A standing statue of a form of *Durga* called *Sarva-mangalā*. It has four hands, all broken more or less. Only the lower left and the lower right hands are distinctly visible. The left hand holds a fruit, presumably *Mātulūṅga phala* (*Citrus medica*) from its appearance, and the right one is in the *Varada* posture. There is a lower garment from the waist down to the feet. A girdle fastens her cloth round the loins. The female signs of breasts are traceable. The deity stands by the side of her vehicle, a lion reclining on its four feet. The figure appears to be very old. The construction of such sculptures due to the Tantrik influence of the Pala kings is generally attributed to the period between 800-1200 A.D. The cognisance of lion and *Mātulūṅgā* flower belonging to the statue agrees with the *Dhyana* of *Sarva māṅgalā*, which I

¹ The Hindu Scripture strictly forbids any worship of mutilated images.

BENARES ICONOGRAPHICAL NOTES. 73

quote in the footnote¹ and therefore I may call the figure *Sarva mangalā*.

It measures 3' × 3'. Made of buff-coloured sandstone.

FIG. 2.—Found encased in a broken miniature shrine situated in the verandah of a small house, in the muhalla called Daunriabir, north of Bhelupur Thānā. The figure is said to have been recovered from the foot of a fallen *Nim* tree where it was originally situated. It is an image of Vaiṣṇavī, the consort of Viṣṇu, seated in the posture called *ardha-paryankāsana*. The whole body is like that of Viṣṇu with the difference that it has the female sign of two plump breasts. The figure has four hands holding the canonical attributes of Viṣṇu sc., discus, club, conch-shell and lotus [broken away]. The goddess wears a *kirita-mukuta* and is richly adorned with ornaments. An elaborate *Vanamāla* hangs round her body. On the waist may be seen several pendants of ornaments. On the back panel of the image are five figures of the same deity carved in relief. Probably they are due to the *kāvyayūha* or miracles of the goddess. The dhyāna of the image is given in the footnote.² The figure may be ascribed to the Gupta period from a comparison of the Vaiṣṇavī figure of the Indian Museum Ms. 2 of the Gupta gallery.³

It measures 2' 3" × 1' 3". Buff-coloured sandstone.

FIG. 3.—The present site of this, as well as the fig. 4 is a small muddy platform, in the same muhalla of

¹ “चतुर्वाङ्गः प्रकर्तव्या सिंहस्था सर्वमङ्गला” हेमाद्रिःव्रतखण्डम् ।

(Bibliotheca Indica), p. 81.

“भक्तानां धनदां वरं च दधतीं वामेन हस्तेन तद्दक्षेणाभयं मातुलंगमुफलश्रीमङ्गला-
भावये ।”

‘Śrītattva-nidhi,’ p. 10 (Venkatesvar Press).

²

“सुसिद्धा वैष्णवीकार्या शङ्खचक्रगदाम्बुजा
वनमाला कृतापीडा पीतवस्त्रासुशोभिता ॥” (देवीपुराण)

“वैष्णवी विष्णुसदृशी गरुडोपरि संस्थिता
चतुर्वाङ्गश्च वरदा शङ्खचक्रगदाधरा ।” रूपमण्डन

(quoted in the Hindu Iconography by Gopinath Rao).

³ Anderson’s ‘Catalogue of the Indian Museum,’ Part II, p. 333.

74 BENARES ICONOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

Daunriabir, on which stands a small temple of modern construction, containing some old broken images. The original *locale* of these figures are unknown. Fig. No. 3 represents the lower part of Naṭeśa or Naṭarāja Śiva. The upper part of the sculpture is completely absent. The Śiva seems to be dancing on a recumbent human figure. He stands upon one leg. A hanging garland is noticeable. Two attendants stand on either side represented as moving towards each other. A detailed description of Naṭarājas Śiva, so common in Southern India, may be found in G. Rao's 'Hindu Iconography,' Vol. II, Part II, p. 573.

FIG. 4.—An image of Kubera, god of wealth. It is extremely realistic in form. The photograph seen from a little distance has the chance of being mistaken for one of an actual human figure. It is a statue in the round, holding a money-bag with his left hand. The figure wears a *jaṭā-mukuta* and a stylish necklace round its neck. It has, besides, armlets and bracelets. The upper body is naked, the lower has a trace of garment. The figure has a small pot-belly so characteristic of Kubera images. The style of the sculpture leads us to place it in the Gupta period. It may be compared with figures of Kubera No. 3908, 3909, 3912 of the Indian Museum. It fits in with the Dhāyana of Kubera as given in the footnote.¹

It measures 3' 4" × 1' 2".

FIG. 5.—A colossal representation of a Bodhisattwa in the courtyard of the Tilbhāṇḍeśvar temple. It is a

कुवेरश्च प्रवक्ष्यामि कुण्डलाभ्यामलङ्कितम् ।

हारकेयूरार्चितं सिताम्बरधरं सदा ॥

गदाधरश्च कर्त्तव्यं वरदं मुकुटान्वितम् ।

.. .. .

महोदरं महाकायं षट्पादकसमन्वितम् ।

गुह्यकैर्वज्रभियुक्तं धनं वयं करेस्तथा ॥

'Matsya Purana' adhyāya, 232-235.

The description states that Kubera should be represented as holding a club. The object held by our figure looks like either a club or a purse of money. I am inclined to take it as the latter.

BENARES ICONOGRAPHICAL NOTES. 75

statue cut in the round. The original habitat is unknown. It has lost its two hands and probably the lower part of its body, a little of which below the waist is under the ground. What remains of the body measures above 4 ft. and so the whole length of it may be estimated at about 10 ft. There is a broad necklace round the neck and two big earrings hanging from the ears of the figure. Bodhi-sattwa images are not later than the Gupta period and so it very probably belongs to that period.

FIG. 6.—Sculpture in the same locality representing the river goddess Ganges. The figure has two hands, in one of which she holds a lotus with the stalk. Her right hand rests upon the body of a female attendant. There is another attendant on her left side. She seems to stand upon a *makar* or crocodile, her vehicle.¹

It measures 22" × 9".

FIG. 7.—An erect figure of a form of Śiva recognisable by the sign of the Bull, Nandi couchant beside its left foot. It has four hands, all broken. There is a garland probably of human skulls reaching the feet of the deity. A *jaṭāmukuta* is faintly visible on the head. The figure strongly resembles the fig. Misc. 3 (Anderson Cat. II, p. 349) of the Calcutta Museum. Consequently, it belongs to the Gupta period. Locality—Tilbhāṇḍeśvar, on the plinth of a red temple, placed against the wall.

It measures 3' 11" × 1' 4".

FIG. 8.—An image of Suryya, the sun-god, standing on a lotus. The horses and the charioteer are wanting. The main figure has two hands holding lotuses partially damaged. Behind his head is a plain halo, on either side of it are two female figures in "Pratyālīḍha" postures represented as shooting arrows; they are probably representations of sun's rays. The figure of Suryya wears boots—a characteristic of Sūrya figures. Between his two

¹ The sculpture as a whole bears some identity to the figure of Gangā, illustration given in G. Rao's 'Hindu Iconography,' Vol. II, Part II, Plate CLV.

76 BENARES ICONOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

feet is a female figure, probably of Ushās or Dawn. To the right of the main figure is an erect male figure holding two indistinct objects (a pen and an ink-pot?). To the left, bearded male figure with a big staff in his hand. These two figures are known as those of *Daṇḍa* and *Piṅgala*. By the sides of these figures are represented two wives of Sūrya, Savarnā and Chhāyā, the former holding a *chowri* or a fly-flap, the latter's hands are broken off.¹

The sculpture appears to be fairly old. It is situated at the foot of a Bo tree just to the south-east of the Bhe-lupur Thānā.

It measures 2' 3" × 1' 2". Made of sandstone, painted red.

FIG. 9.—An erect figure of Buddha. The figure is devoid of head being completely broken off. The neck shows a decent necklace. Probably a thin garment is worn by the figure as it shows no sign of nudity. The statue is made of red-stone of Mathura, as was the material of Buddha images of the Kushan Age. The general style of the sculpture leads me to assign it to the early Gupta period. This conclusion of mine was supported by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, now in the Calcutta University, to whom I showed a photograph of this image. Locality—the sculpture is situated under a tree on the Durgākund road, to the south of the Viziānāgrām House. Its early site is unknown.

¹ The Dhayāna of Surya:

स्वस्व कारयेदेवं पद्मदलं सुलोचनं । सप्ताश्वैकचक्रश्चरथं तस्य प्रकल्पयेत् ।

... ..
प्रतीहारौ च कर्तव्यौ पार्श्वयोर्दण्ड पिङ्गलौ । कर्तव्यौ खड्गद्वयौ च पार्श्वयोः
पुरुषावुभौ ।

'Matsya Purana,' adhyāya 232-235.

स्वरूपरूपः स्वाकारोदण्डः कार्योऽस्य वामतः
दक्षिणे पिङ्गले भागे कर्तव्यस्यातिपिङ्गल ॥

... ..
राक्षी सवर्णाद्या च तथा देवी सुर्वचस ॥

हेमाद्रिः व्रतखण्ड

pp. 148-149.

BENARES ICONOGRAPHICAL NOTES. 77

FIG. 10.—A standing four-armed image of Viṣṇu. This is a very perfect sculpture of Viṣṇu. Except the four hands so badly damaged, the image is otherwise quite intact. It is boldly and spiritedly designed and carved. The mild serenity of expression of the figure endowed with a superhuman stateliness, the placid and meditative gaze of the standing figures, and above all the most successful pose of the kneeling worshippers showing their devout expression render the whole piece of sculpture a real triumph of the Indian artist. Whether we regard the grace of the composition, the exquisite finish of the statue or the delightful atmosphere of poetry and religion which surrounds this sculpture, we are bound to rank it among the masterpieces of the world.

The main figure of Viṣṇu is standing upon a lotus, has an ornamental nimbus and Śrīvasta symbol on his chest and wears a high diadem *kirīṭa-mukūṭa*, ear-pendants, torques, necklaces, armlets and a sacred thread. A girdle adorned with pendants (technically known as *Rasanā*) decorates his waist and a garland (*vana-mālā*) is thrown round his body reaching down to his knees. Below his lotus seat is the figure of goddess Earth seated cross-legged in front over a coiled serpent. An expanded cobrahood surmounts her head. She is flanked by two kneeling attendants facing her, one from each side, with folded hands. They appear to be *nāginis* from the shape of the lower part of their body and from the existence of the outspread cobrahood over their head. To each side of this figure is an image of a goddess riding a crocodile, holding an indistinct object. She looks like the river goddess Ganges. Immediately under the lower right and left hands of the main figure are represented two standing male figure richly attired in ornaments probably of Brahmā and *Īśa* (Mahādeva), the former having a *kamanḍalu* visible near his waist. Behind these figures are standing two female figures, one holding a *chouri*, another a *vinā* or a lotus, evidently of Śrī and Puṣṭi respectively.

78 BENARES ICONOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

The kneeling figures on two sides of the main image are two devotees, a male and a female, with folded hands in adoration. The former has close-cut hair and a beard and the latter is bedecked with various ornaments.¹

Locality—on the southern bank of Saṁkhudhārā tānk. The image is said to have been recovered from the bank of the Ganges into which it was thrown at an unknown early date.

It measures 5' × 2'. Made of black basaltic stone. The sculpture is evidently a work of the Pāla period and belongs to tenth or eleventh century, A.D.

The whole sculpture bears a close resemblance to the sculpture No. A. 7 of the Nagpur Museum.

FIG. II.—A composite figure of Maheśa-murti showing four busts on four sides. The posture of hands is different in each figure. Otherwise the seated bust seems to be quite the same on each side. A torque and a necklace are visible on the necks as also the earrings in the ears. The figure is seated cross-legged in a *yogāsana*.

Cf. FIG. 109.—Smith's "History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon."

Dānavulapād and VI, CXVII Rao's, "Hindu Iconography," Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 382. This sort of image is sometimes called *Trimūrti*.

It measures 2'7" × 1'9". The sculpture appears to be old. Its *provenance* is unknown.

1

“दक्षिणेन गदां पद्मं वासुदेवस्य कारयेत्
वामतः शङ्खचक्रे च कर्तव्ये भूतिमिक्षता ।
अधस्तात् पृथिवी सत्यं कर्तव्या पादमध्यतः ।
दक्षिणे प्रणतं तद्भूतं गत्सु तमन्तं निवेशयेत्
वामतस्तु भवेत्तक्ष्मीः पद्मदस्ता सुशोभना ।”

(*Matsya-Purāna*).

“ब्रह्मेशो पार्श्वगौ नित्यं वासुदेवो ऽस्ति पूर्ववत् ।”

Agni Purāna, 49th *adhyāya*.

“श्रीं पुष्टीं चापि कर्तव्यं पद्मवीणाकरान्विते ।”

Ibid.

Also cf. Hemādri, *Vratakhanda*, *adhyāya* 1, pp. 111-112.

The figures whom I identified as worshippers may be Garuḍa and Lakṣmī respectively.

THE INLAND CUSTOMS REVENUE OF THE
PROVINCE OF AGRA UNDER THE
COMPANY.¹

BY D. DEWAR, I.C.S.

There is no part of the administration of the East India Company that has been more adversely criticised than its policy regarding inland customs revenue. Much of the criticism is doubtless justified, but those who decry the Company's system are apt to forget that it replaced a far worse one.

Under the Indian administration *rahdari* or transit duties were levied on all merchandise that passed through the country. Duties were also levied on all goods sold in bazars and markets. The *rahdari* was a toll levied on weight without reference to the value of the commodities taxed. Every zemindar through whose estate a road or cart track passed, erected a toll barrier and levied duty on everything that came that way. The duty levied in each case was very small, being five or six dams (1 dam = 1/1450th rupee) on a bullock load weighing four maunds. But this toll was demanded at distances less than a mile apart. According to a report submitted to Jonathan Duncan, grain sent from Narwan to Benares—a distance of twenty miles—had to pay transit duties 22 times. Nor did these levies end the exactions to which it was subjected. When the grain arrived at Benares it had to pay a duty of 37½ dams. In addition to this six chatacks of

¹ Records relating to the Inland Customs Revenue of the Province of Agra exist in the Imperial Record Room, Calcutta, Record Room of the Board of Revenue, Allahabad, and Record Rooms of the Commissioners of the following divisions: Agra, Allahabad, Meerut (a few only) and Rohilkhand (a few only).

80 *THE INLAND CUSTOMS REVENUE OF*

grain were appropriated by the Raja and 1 seer and 8 chatacks went to charity.

These transit and ganj duties were as economically unsound as it is possible for a tax to be. They were vexatious, they afforded ample opportunities for fraud and undue exactions, they hampered trade because the farther the distance traversed the greater the amount of the tax to be paid. They were inequitable because the same tax had to be paid on inexpensive commodities as on valuable articles.

Needless to say this system of taxation did not appeal to the Company. In the Benares State it abolished them in 1781 and authorised the Raja of Benares to levy an *ad valorem* duty of 5 % on all merchandise produced in the state or that passed through it.

This change in policy entailed a considerable increase in the taxation on loads of valuable articles. The exporters of raw silk and piece goods in particular suffered by the change, which resulted in a great falling off in their trade. In consequence the duty was reduced from 5 % to $2\frac{1}{2}$ % in 1782.

Immediately on assuming the administration of the Ceded Provinces the British Government instituted an enquiry into the working of the system of levying transit duties which they found in force.

The various collectors reported unfavourably upon it.

The Collector of Gorakhpur—Mr. Routledge—wrote as follows to Mr. Graeme Mercer, the Secretary to the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor and Board of Commissioners in the Ceded Provinces of Oudh, in a letter dated January 14th, 1803:

“The exports from Azeemghur Mahole and Nawaubgunge Rheilly are cotton cloths of all sorts, sugars, tobacco and saltpetre. The imports are salt and, in small quantities, iron, copper and spices. The exports of Gooruckpore are timbers, cattle and a few coarse cloths; from Bootwal brass, iron, sheet copper, dam-

THE PROVINCE OF AGRA.

81

mer, borax, long pepper, cow tails, assaphoetida, cassia or coarse cinnamon, large cardamoms, ivory, booj putter, cut beeswax, honey and a few other trifling articles. The imports are salt, sugar, saltpetre, and soap. Notwithstanding every article of commerce may be produced in the greatest abundance, in all these districts trade of every sort is in a very languid state owing to the numerous impositions to which not only manufactures but every common necessary of life is subject." "These impositions," he states, "have indeed operated as an almost total annihilation of trade in Gooruckpore, the sale of cloths, etc., being in general confined to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood in which they are manufactured. It is impossible from the materials I have received either to form an estimate of the trade or to calculate the percentage that may be levied on any sort of goods . . . their imports of every sort, whether merchandise or common necessities, pay already syer duty on their first arrival in any part of the country, and a rhadarry duty on passing from one pergunnah to another. Manufactures and the products of cultivation are taxed both on being exported from pergunnahs of which they are the growth, and a vexatious rhadarry duty is levied on them on passing through every other pergunnah, which greatly enhances the price, and, although the rates are fixed, the mode in which the duties are levied renders them liable to great abuse, and they are also so extremely numerous that it is impossible for a byoparry to know what he has to pay at any of the chokis unless he should be furnished with a written account of them. The number of these chokis in Gooruckpore is 173, in Azeemghur 106, in Nawabgunge Rheilly 36, and in Mahole 19 . . . these duties appear to me to have been the principal cause of the decline of trade and from the representations made to me, both of undue exactions and the hardship of

82 THE INLAND CUSTOMS REVENUE OF

paying duties according to the present rates, I am of opinion that nothing would tend so much to the revival of trade and the rapid prosperity of the country by opening free intercourse than the total abolition of these I would recommend that a fixed syer duty be collected under proper rates at the principal markets in each pergunnah, but so moderate as to be, for some time, only sufficient for the payment of a legal or public weighman, a cutwaul and a chowkeedaree establishment, and which I am convinced would be cheerfully paid by merchants and byoparies in consideration of the protection and advantages they would derive from such an establishment and which would also be a great addition to the general police of the country."

The opinions of the other Collectors coincided with that of Mr. Routledge, accordingly Regulation XXXVIII of 1803 was passed with the object of relieving the commerce of the province from the vexatious and oppressive *sayer* and *rahdari* dues, and of levying in their place "regular and defined customs or duties on the imports and exports in these provinces."

This Regulation imposed an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent. on all articles of merchandise imported and one-half of the above duty on all exports.

It is to be observed that the above Regulation did not abolish the old bazar and ganj duties. These are retained until 1805 when they were replaced by town duties. These town duties were levied on all commodities and amounted to about four per cent. of the value of the article sold.

The imposition of these customs duties entailed the establishment of a number of custom-houses at the principal marts, each with its establishment of writers, examiners and weighmen.¹

¹ At Gorakhpur Custom House the following establishment was sanctioned for the collection of Government customs and town duties in 1803 :—

THE PROVINCE OF AGRA.

83

In addition to the customs and town duties, the Honourable Company derived a considerable revenue from the tax on salt.¹ Regulation XXXIX of 1803 reserved to the Company the right of importing and selling foreign salt and of manufacturing and selling salt in the Ceded Provinces. This Regulation was however rescinded by Regulation VI of 1804, under which the East India Company ceased to import, manufacture and sell salt. While abolishing the monopoly the Regulation imposed a duty of 12 annas per maund on all salt imported and one of 4 annas per maund on all salt exported.

The Customs Law of 1803 (i.e. that imposed by Regulation XXXVIII) remained in force for a few months only. In the following year was passed Regulation IX of 1804 which reduced to ninety the articles subject to customs or transit duties. The taxable commodities included piece goods, indigo, sugar, tobacco, ghee, pepper, spices, hides, leather, soap, charcoal, saltpetre, shawls, silk, drugs, furniture, blankets, but not grain, bullion, jewels or articles of European manufacture.

This Regulation established custom houses at the following places in the Ceded Provinces: Gorakhpur, Cawn-

					Rs.
1	English Writer	..	..	..	100
1	Daroga	..	..	..	100
1	Mashriff	..	..	..	50
1	Naib Mashriff	..	..	..	12
1	Tahvildar	..	..	..	15
2	Persian Register Navis @ Rs. 10..	..	..	..	20
1	Siayah Navis	..	..	..	10
1	Chitti do.	..	..	..	10
3	Matasaddis	..	..	..	21
1	Jassendar..	..	..	..	10
1	Tallashi Daroga	..	..	..	7
1	Weighman	..	..	..	4
12	Chaprassis	..	..	..	42
1	Dafteri	..	..	..	6
	Paper, etc.	..	..	..	20
					—
	Lucknow Sicca Rupees	..	..	..	427
					—

¹ The *Salt Manual* contains a historical note on the arrangements made under British rule for the production, supply and taxation of salt in the Bengal Presidency.

84 THE INLAND CUSTOMS REVENUE OF

pore, Allahabad, Etawah, Farrukhabad, Agra, Bareilly, Moradabad, Aligarh, Saharanpur, Meerut, Kalpi.¹ The Regulation did not affect the Province of Benares, in which were custom houses at Benares and Mirzapur. The more important of these custom-houses, i.e. those at Cawnpore and Farrukhabad, were placed under special Collectors of Government Customs, the others were controlled by special Deputy Collectors of Government Customs or by the Collectors of Land Revenue in addition to their other duties.²

Regulation IX of 1804 required the importer of dutiable goods to take out a *rowana*, that is to say a document authorising him to import (or export) specified goods. *Rowanas* were granted after payment of customs duty. This could be paid only at the custom houses. Although the *chaukis* could not accept payment of duties, they had to detain all articles not accompanied, by a *rowana*.³ The detriment to trade of this system may

¹ The cost of the subordinate customs establishment at Gorakhpur in 1805 amounted to Rs. 1,691 per mensem— a considerable increase on the figure for 1803.

Establishment of Collector of Customs Sadr Custom House.

	Rs.
English Writer	100
Daroga	200
Mashrif	50
Tahvildar	30
Weighman	30
Daroga and Mashrif of Talashi	17
Serishtadar	15
2 Persian writers of Rowannas	30
2 Hindu do. do.	20
Siaya Navis	12
Chittiyari	10
7 Matasaddis	49
30 Chaprassis	120
Total amount per mensem	683

In addition to each customs house a number of *chaukis* were established at the principal roads, ferries and towns where there were no custom houses.

The establishment of the *chaukis* subordinate to the Gorakhpur custom house cost Rs. 908 *per mensem*, bringing the total cost to Rs. 1,691 p.m.

² In 1807 Jacob Rider was Custom Master at Benares, Robert Grant and Robert Bathurst were Collectors of Government Customs at Cawnpore and Farrukhabad respectively.

³ A copy of the form of a *rowana* is given in Shakespear's *Duncan Records*.

well be imagined. The importer had his goods stopped at the first *chauki* he encountered and had to go to the nearest custom house to take out a *rowana* before his goods were allowed to pass on. It frequently happened that *chaukis* were established at long distances from custom houses. This, not only meant considerable delay in obtaining a *rowana*, but also resulted in the officers at the outlying *chaukis* being under very loose control. Needless to say that this laxity of control resulted in their indulging in all manner of corrupt practices.

"From the darogha to the chaprasi, from the wholesale dealer to the retail trader, all were leagued in one vast conspiracy against the interests of Government."

If it was found that goods were going to places at which there was neither a custom house or another *chauki*, they were probably let through without payment of duty on the tender of a bribe, and even those bound for places where there was a custom house probably in many cases escaped owing to collusion between the various subordinate customs officials.

The distance of the customs *chaukis* from the custom houses brought into existence a class of brokers, known as *artias*, who used to take out *rowanas* in advance (paying the established duties) for the different kinds of goods for which they expected *rowanas* would be required. These *rowanas* they used to dispose of at considerable profit to traders arriving with goods at the *chaukis*.

Thus it is evident that a great deal that was paid by merchants importing goods never found its way into the Government coffers.¹

¹ The following table shows Customs Receipts for 1808 and 1809 of Customs and Town Duties:—

		1808		1809	
		1215 F.		1216 F.	
		Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Agra	..	3,15,600	9 11	6,04,004	15 7
Allahabad	..	2,32,393	1 0	2,05,536	9 8
Aligarh	..	90,830	12 9	1,07,584	12 7

86 THE INLAND CUSTOMS REVENUE OF

The most unsatisfactory state of affairs led to the formation in 1808 of a Committee of Finance for the revision of the whole customs administration.

As the result of the deliberation of this Committee Regulation IX of 1810 was passed, abolishing all the old customs rules on the ground that they were defective, obscure, complex, and that the taxes imposed by them were unequally distributed and the mode of collection harassing.

This Regulation abolished seven out of the fourteen custom houses then existing, leaving those at Agra, Meerut, Cawnpore, Farrukhabad, Allahabad, Benares and Mirzapur.

The Regulation enacted that in order to avoid undue hardship no *chaukis* were to be situated at a greater distance than four miles from a custom house, except in the case of those subordinate to the custom houses of Agra and Meerut or "under any other Collector of Customs

	1808			1809		
	1215 F.			1216 F.		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Bareilly	69,838	9	6	61,163	2	7
Bundelkhand	93,137	5	3	1,28,925	7	5
Cawnpore	1,86,504	0	3	2,16,838	4	11
Etawah	56,071	5	5	78,430	10	7
Farrukhabad	83,015	8	10	97,965	9	5
Gorakhpur	56,036	5	9	57,176	3	9
Moradabad	1,01,320	13	0	72,668	10	8
Saharanpur	2,35,435	0	5	1,76,423	7	6
Total	15,10,183	8	1	18,06,721	14	8

The abkari revenue of the
above districts was .. 6,38,055 7 2 7,37,173 9 7

N.B.—This does not include the revenue from the custom houses in the Province of Benares.

In March 1808 the Collector of Moradabad wrote:—

"I am inclined to recommend that the collection of customs and town duties should be suspended throughout the Ceded and Conquered Provinces. No measure would probably conduce so much to the increase of trade as the suspension in question, and the increase of trade would necessarily promote the interests of agriculture, more particularly in its present state. The temporary sacrifice of so inconsiderable a revenue would, I imagine, be in a great degree nominal, a portion at least would still be realized at the Custom House of Benares. Other produce of the land would increase and consequently pay a larger revenue by the removal of every obstacle to its exportation.

for any special reason or purpose which shall be reported to the Board of Revenue or Commissioners." These exceptions to the four-mile rule were made, in the words of the Regulation, "for the security of the public revenue derived from the article of salt in the ceded and conquered provinces, and for preventing the clandestine conveyance of shawls through these provinces to any foreign territory."

This Regulation, however, raised the number of dutiable articles from ninety to over three hundred.

In the same year Regulation XVII of 1810 raised the duty on all the superior kinds of salt and made the carriage employed in conveying contraband salt liable to confiscation.

Regulation IX of 1810 may have mitigated the hardships suffered by the honest trader, but it certainly led to a great deal of smuggling. A custom house surrounded by *chaukis* within a four-mile radius was obviously unable to secure the levy of duty on half the merchandize that passes through the district in which it was situated.¹

The Collectors of Government Customs at Agra and Meerut profiting by the fact that the four-mile rule did not apply in their jurisdictions did their best to make the customs law effective by establishing chains of *chaukis* along the Ganges and the Jumna. They further directed

¹ The following quotation from a letter, dated 8th October, 1812, from the Deputy Collector of Government Customs, Farrukhabad, to the Board of Commissioners, will suffice to show how easy it was to smuggle under the 4-mile rule:—

"Since the Custom arrangements under Regulation IX of 1810 have been carried into effect in this Zillah, a great part of the salt trade which formerly passed through Farrukhabad in its export route to the eastward has been diverted to Thutteea, a large village in the vicinity of the river: to this lately established mart the merchants bring their salt either without any rowannahs at all or with ones which have served for several dispatches and answer the purpose of evading the enquiries of the Police Darogahs and Tehseeldars at Thutteea. They are met by the Oude merchants, who transport the salt across the Ganges into the Vizier's Dominion, and thus the payment of customs duties is evaded."

In order to check this particular system of smuggling the Collector suggested the establishment of a *chauki* at Thatia each year during the cold weather. This proposal was sanctioned.

Similarly at other places *chaukis* at a greater distance than four miles were gradually instituted, so that the four-mile rule eventually became almost a dead letter.

that the ghats or landing stages at which there were no *chaukis* to be closed to merchandize. The Board of Commissioners, however, objected to this procedure, on the ground that "the Regulation was never intended to interfere with the usual track of inland trade, or authorize the shutting of any accustomed ghats, but merely to select the most convenient places for keeping an eye on the passing trade." The Board therefore directed the opening of these closed ghats and desired that "the officers of the several chowkees at the ghats should extend their superintendence to the different other ghats situated within their respective chowkees." Now the average distance between two *chaukis* was fully ten miles and the establishment at each consisted of a *matasaddi* on seven rupees a month, and three peons on four rupees a month. A number of ghats were placed under the supervision of a controlling officer drawing Rs. 40 per mensem. Needless to state that the *chauki* officers made little or no attempt to stop smuggling at the intermediate ghats, but merely used their power to fill their own pockets. This explains the assertion made by Shore that Rs. 100 or 150 would be paid for the post of writer to a *chauki*, the pay of which was Rs. 7 a month, and out of which the writer had to find his own stationery. The Board, however, sanctioned the purchase of patrol boats, with a view to check smuggling. Another method of defrauding Government was for the owner of contraband goods, when seized to go at once to an *artia* and obtain from him one of the *rowanas* he had had already taken out at the customs house in order that he might resell it. Even if the Collector of Government customs declined to accept such *rowanas* they were usually accepted by the Board on appeal, even if they did not quite agree with the consignment.

Goods of which the value was less than Rs. 10 were exempted from taxation in 1813. Before this all consignments were liable to pay tax.

In 1812 custom houses were established at Bareilly

and Ghazipur, and in 1814 one was opened at Saharanpur.¹

But notwithstanding these an enormous amount of smuggling went on.

In 1818 the Collector of Meerut stated that unless an European patrolling officer was sanctioned it was hopeless to prevent these abuses, accordingly Government sanctioned the appointment of Mr. Lumley to superintend the ghats on the Jumna and Ganges to the North-East and North-West of Meerut.

That this officer earned his salary is evident from the following extract from a letter dated March 31st, 1819, written by the Collector of Government Customs, Meerut:—

“The benefit derived to the Government since the employment of an European in the Saharunpore district will amount to the net sum of one hundred and fifty thousand rupees, and this benefit has been obtained in a part of the district where trade is not generally extensive.” In a later letter, the Collector speaks of the patrol; Mr. Lumley as the

¹ The office of Collector of Government Customs used to be a very lucrative one. Each Collector was allowed a commission of 5% of the collections at his custom house and those subordinate to him and 2½% on the town duties collected.

The following sums were drawn as commissions for the year 1813-14.

Name of Collectorship.	Amount drawn.		
	Rs.	A.	P.
Agra	50,546	5	9
Meerut	24,916	11	2
Cawnpore	41,305	10	2
Farrukhabad	8,119	15	1
Allahabad	6,904	10	8
Bareilly	9,843	8	5
Mirzapur	36,637	0	3

The officers holding these appointments in 1814 were—

Agra ..	Edward Walter Blunt	Collector of	Govt. Customs.
Meerut ..	Catharine Hampden Hoppner	Deputy Collector	„ „
Cawnpore ..	Robert Grant	Collector	„ „
Farrukhabad ..	Mordaunt Ricketts	Deputy Collector	„ „
Allahabad ..	Joseph Littledale	Collector	„ „
Bareilly ..	Charles Pattenson	Deputy Collector	„ „
Mirzapur ..	Robert Barlow	„ „	„ „

The Collector of Government Customs at Benares was George Poyntz Ricketts.

These were all covenanted civil servants of the Company.

90 *THE INLAND CUSTOMS REVENUE OF*

"only individual in the Saharunpore district in whose correct conduct I can place any reliance."

That the Meerut custom house subordinates were not peculiar in their dishonesty there is ample proof. On January 24th, 1818, Mr. J. Wyatt, the Acting Collector of Government Customs at Bareilly, wrote:—

"It is very evident from various and repeated complaints made to me, that the umlah of this office had been in the habit of receiving and embezzling immense sums of money formerly, and that the sums which Imam Ulee Peshkar, himself the leader of corruption, had embezzled and amassed in various ways had been divided equally amongst the rest of the umlahs."

Even more emphatic was Mr. Stirling, a subsequent Collector of Government Customs at Bareilly, who on October the 28th, 1819, addressed the Board of Commissioners as follows:—

"GENTLEMEN—

"I have the honor to transmit to your Board for your information the following sketch of the state of this custom house containing also several propositions for the more effectual realization of the Revenue in this department and for the prevention of the frequency of malversation of the native officers.

"This Custom House seems scarcely since its commencement to have been conducted with proper management and sufficient care to prevent the occurrence of abuses and certainly within these few years appears to have been conducted without appropriate vigilance and the interest of Government not to have been promoted with all the attention that might have been expected. Abuses have crept in to a prodigious degree and it will be only by active measures and fundamental changes that good can be produced, the evil not only prevails at the sudder station but has spread itself to all its branches.

“Corruption in all its shapes has taken up a position and has maintained itself for a long time: different ghauts have become venal and the Jemadar makes little effort to conceal this scandalous and disgraceful sale of places. Rowannahs can be purchased at so much per hundred from the native officers of the kutcherry and every native officer’s house is a perfect shop for their disposal. The farmer of the town duties I understand has presented to the umlah a gratuity of four hundred rupees.

“It is only a few days since some thousand rupees value of goods were sold at Shagehanpore having been imported from the Territories of the Nuwab Vizier without Rowannahs, the darogah and his people receiving a handsome present for their taciturnity. So neglectful are the Darogahs of their duty that Rowannahs and goods come in without the former having been regularly signed and passed by the Darogahs of the chowkies thro’ which they are conveyed. The two fairs of Doulee and Futtugunge which occur twice or three times a week and which formerly produced two or three hundred rupees a month at present scarcely produce thirty rupees, and goods from these fairs are passed into the city without paying scarcely a single ana to Government.

“Is it to be believed that even merchants at Agra pay to the Umlah of this Custom House a monthly stipend that their goods may not be molested nor be under the necessity to pay duty on passing the different chowkies in this district?

“The Wuzunkush, a servant upon the small salary of ten rupees a month, is supposed to make several thousands during the year. The darogah of Pilibeat is also taxable with fraud and embezzlement, and in short, since the spring is so polluted the current becomes more and more impure as it flows. But corruption and embezzlement are by no means the

only evils prevalent at this office: collusion and conspiracy flourish, they have been nourished and have now strengthened themselves. From the Peskar down to the lowest Mutusudee, nay even to the very chupprassees, connexion and deceitful agreement exists and they have all resolved not to inform against the other, and until this formidable barrier shall be passed, this chain of wickedness cut asunder, nothing will come forth in the shape of information or these dark deeds be brought to light Everything I have witnessed since my arrival here has given strength to the suspicion of the greatest frauds having been practised by these officers. Situations which require persons of greater integrity than ability are filled, not with honest and upright men, but with the most corrupt and unprincipled race of men who being of low origin have no character to support, no ties of family to restrain their vile passions, and no acquired principle to check their natural dispositions. Such men are not to be governed by the mere fear of imprisonment. Their crimes are seldom established in a court of Justice, and they frequently possess influence sufficient to have the judgment wholly withdrawn, or so distorted in their favour as to be disrobed of all its severity.

"Many of the acts I have pointed out could easily be proved, the rest without much difficulty might also be established, but as misconduct is general, dismissing one or two of the most guilty would have little effect and no permanent good would arise, if at all it would only be temporal. Since I have endeavoured to state the existing evils, the enunciation of which does not comprehend half their number or detect them in all their native depravity. I shall now detail what I consider to be the proper remedies.

"By increasing the salaries of the principal officers, men of respectability would be induced to accept

situations in this line and by this they would be less tempted to run a risk of forfeiting their character and situation: the low salaries that are at present bestowed are quite inadequate to the responsibility placed on them or to counteract the inducements to corruption which are held forth by the wealthiest part of the community—the native merchants. No man of any standing will accept a situation in the customs, the salary is insufficient to clothe and feed him in a respectable native style; and this being the case all natives who accept situations are generally of a very low quality and depend upon peculation making up to them for the deficiency of salary. It may be urged as a reason why high allowances should not be granted that then they would not exert themselves in apprehending goods uncovered by Rowanahs, but when it is known that confiscations in this custom house do not exceed one or two hundred rupees annually this must fall to the ground and is no longer a motive to induce their activity, as they are given up wholly to embezzling they find their advantage lies in the first instance in allowing the goods to pass unmolested for a small donation, and when they have once let goods pass in this manner they ever afterwards find themselves too weak to resist such pressing (and probably unobserved by a third person) temptation.

“At present the corruption of the chapprassees is more difficult, but I should think that when the darogahs and other chief men are firmly attached, there would be little fear of those inferior officers being often guilty, especially when the Darogah had the power to dismiss them whenever they were suspected of connivance with merchants and misconduct in the discharge of their duty. Altho’ I urge suspicion I think it is far from being a liberal motive of conduct, yet in situations appertaining to the custom, it perhaps

94 *THE INLAND CUSTOMS REVENUE OF*

forces itself with more reason upon us than in any other line.

"With respect to the fairs and markets of the two places above mentioned, Futtehgunge and Dowlee, the same mode of conduct might be pursued as obtains at Furruckabad, where I understand every piece of cloth is unpressed with a seal before it enters the city, which is not the case here, where every arrangement and every semblance of order in the conduct of business seems to have disappeared, if it ever existed, and nothing but confusion and disorganization in full anarchy predominate.

"I have waited with patience in hopes that the old and most responsible officers would conduct themselves with propriety and with some appearance of fidelity, but they have disappointed all my expectations and are evidently the most guilty. It occurs not unfrequently that gangs of smugglers penetrate the ghauts (landing places). As the establishment of chapprassees scarcely allows them the means of opposing force to force, and as the Regulations I believe do not admit of assistance being demanded from either the Magistrate or Tannadar (police officer), I beg leave to propose that an establishment of sowars (mounted men) or a few irregular horse may be put under my orders that they may patrol with effect the distant Ghauts and Chokies, some of which are 30 koss from the Sudder (head) Station. This measure would greatly check maladministration in the native officers and reduce the extensive smuggling that is carried on in this district in which there are a number of high-spirited Mussulmen who are inclined to oppose the public authorities.

"I am also of opinion it would be of great service and productive of good effects if the Collector of Customs were allowed to put up any goods for sale whose value did not amount to 100 Rupees, or even as

low as 50 would be much benefit to Government as almost all goods that are seized seldom exceed those sums, by which the informers and seizers would be immediately rewarded for their services. Of course the bounds of liberties are liable often to be surpassed, but I should think this discretion entrusted to the Collector might be so controled as to be kept within due limits.

“It is stated in the Regulations that no money is to be received at the chokies, but I believe that this Regulation is not enforced at every Custom House; indeed I observe that the three chokies transferred to this from the Furruckabad Custom House, used to take money and to send the Durghasts (applications) and the money to the Sudder and rowannahs are sent in return. I am not aware of any evil arising from this liberty being entrusted to the Darogahs of chokies if they are remunerated according to their responsibility. Indeed I think there might be many reasons stated in its favour if their production were necessary.

“I should also recommend the frontier chokies to be strengthened and augmented. Such arrangement would, I imagine, tend to the preservation of the revenue and ensure its realization. That the receipts of this Custom house have never exceeded two lacs and forty thousand must wholly be attributable to want of integrity and good faith in the public officers and to want of regularity and system in official transactions; the resources of the district when regarded have every appearance of being great. Shagehanpoor produces sugar-cane in vast abundance, and the different kind of articles that are made from that, comprising a great number, are exported to all parts of the country and it likewise exports several sorts of cloth.

“To the Pilibeat chokey come all the various articles that are brought from the northern Hills whose

importation might be by a little indulgence probably increased, and besides these all sorts of wood pass that chokey, not to mention several great fairs that are held in that quarter, going and coming from and to which goods must pass the said chokey. The several chowkies lately joined to this Custom House are chiefly remarkable, I fancy, for a quantity of Cotton and Indigo that pass them from the Moradabad district and for cloths of certain kinds. Bareilly is not conspicuous for any one article in particular so much as for many various sorts, there are a number of cloths manufactured and printed which are exported to various different parts of the country.

“The Jageer of Rampoor produces fine cloths which being imported pay duty. The several other chokhes I am not well acquainted with.

“These resources which are but superficially mentioned, would present grand prospects, but in effect they have never yielded more than Rs. 2,34,000 in any year, whereas it is supposed that with proper attention and arrangement they might be brought to produce five lacs. Certainly the materials do not seem wanting if the means and skill were present to make the proper use of them. In the above statement if I have mentioned any thing which is not true it has not been from intention and if in the proposals I have made I am chargeable with ignorance I must plead the shortness of my experience which I cannot pretend to put in competition with that of my superiors, and have only to assure them of my willingness to forward the interests of the Government and with their interests to compound those of their subjects that neither the former may be disregarded nor the latter be sacrificed, as I am convinced it is not your wish to encroach too far upon the wealth of the country, whatever desire you may have to preserve the just rights of Government.

"In conclusion I beg to say my main object in writing this is to show the necessity of the Board affording me every legal assistance in the discharge of a duty which often is invidious and which becomes more difficult when even the officers of my own Kutcherry are in a measure insubordinate and unfaithful to the trust reposed in them. The desultory style in which I have written this letter requires an apology. I have inscribed my thoughts exactly as they occurred without putting them into order; not having much time I have not been able to digest them, and I hope by transmitting them in this state the Board will not deem me deficient in proper respect and regard for their high authority."

Notwithstanding these and other emphatic pronouncements of Collectors of Customs, the Board declined to extend the system of European patrols.

To assert that the policy of that august body seems to have been to legalise smuggling rather than stop it—is to speak strongly, but it is difficult to put any other interpretation on a Proclamation of the Board of Commissioners, dated October the fifth, 1821, which runs:—

Proclamation.

1. Whereas it has been deemed necessary to modify the system under which goods not exceeding 10 Rupees in value are permitted to pass free of duty, the Board of Commissioners for the ceded and conquered provinces, under the authority of the most noble the Governor General in Council dated the 21st August 1821 have directed the following notification to be published for general information.

2. Persons passing thro' the outer range of chookees attached to any custom house, and not entering the City or Town at which the Collector of Customs is stationed, shall be allowed to carry with them any goods belonging to them of which the value may be

98 THE INLAND CUSTOMS REVENUE OF

less than 10 Rupees and of which the weight may not exceed one maund of the local standard, without being subject to the payment of any custom duty, or required to procure a Rowannah, altho' the said goods may be liable to a transit duty under the rules of Regulation 1810 or other Regulation in force.

3. Persons entering cities or towns at which a Collector of Customs and Town duties is stationed shall similarly be allowed to carry with them free of duty, and without hindrance, the several articles specified in the annexed schedule....¹

4. It is further declared that as the present indulgence is designed for the relief of persons *bona fide* carrying with them inconsiderable quantities of the articles in question for their immediate use: any person who shall take advantage of the indulgence, by dividing a dispatch of goods into two or more dispatches with a view of evading the customs, or any resident dealer, who with a like fraudulent intent, shall convey or cause to be conveyed the said articles in quantities such as to be entitled to the benefit of the Proclamation with the design of storing them in larger quantities within any City or Town, to be there retailed, shall be subject to the penalties prescribed for case of smuggling."

In order fully to appreciate the meaning of this Proclamation it must be remembered that the usual mode of smuggling salt was by bringing it into the Company's territories on the heads of coolies. Now one maund was just the weight of a head-load: hence under this proclamation any one could bring in as much salt as he wanted by putting it on the heads of coolies, in loads of not more than 1 maund!

In 1823 the finances of the country being considered in such a condition as to hold out the prospect

¹ This schedule included almost all commodities, but fixes the maximum value at Rs. 5 in most cases and the weight at from 1—20 seers; 5 in the case of salt.

of a permanent surplus of income over expenditure, the Government set aside the local duties levied at the principal cities of the Bengal Presidency to the improvement of such towns, and appointed committees of the public officers to apply the funds to this purpose.

Regulation V of 1823 established 5 custom houses in the Delhi Territory at Delhi, Hansi, Hissar, Panipat and Gurgaon.

In 1826 the Board of Revenue for the Western Provinces proposed the transfer of the superintendence of customs revenue to the newly constituted Board of Customs at Calcutta.

"Our time," they wrote, "is fully occupied with matters belonging more especially to the Revenue Department, and by adopting the proposed measure, not only will an uniform system of arrangement and management be introduced, which cannot fail of being beneficial to the public interests, but more attention will be paid to subjects which it now falls within our province to discuss, without always having leisure or means in our power to do them justice It can scarcely admit of doubt that the Board at the head of the Department, when vested with distinct control on the several custom houses, and possessed of the means and power to compare the results of each, and to arrange an uniform system for the whole, will not only be enabled to dispose of all questions of detail with greater facility, but also to suggest and give effect to general measures with a far stronger chance of success than can be expected from the partial and less complete superintendence exercised by a Revenue Board, whose proceedings must always be loaded with details of business more immediately connected with the Revenue Department." The Board of Customs were in full accord with these sentiments and stated that the proposal would in their opinion be beneficial "as leading to the introduction of one uniform system of management, and securing thereby a

100 *THE INLAND CUSTOMS REVENUE OF AGRA.*

greater degree of regularity in all matters of detail, as well as more economy and efficiency in measures of general improvement at the several custom houses."

This correspondence resulted in the passing of Regulation IX of 1826 which transferred the control of the customs in the N.-W. P. to the Board of Customs, but cases involving penalty for breach of the customs laws had still to go before the Board of Revenue apparently to accelerate the adjudication.

Meanwhile Mr. George Sannders, the Collector of Government Customs at Agra, had (in 1823) proposed a re-arrangement of the chaukis in his jurisdiction. The plan advocated by him was to remove the chaukis in the interior and replace them by chaukis on the boundary between the Bharatpur, Dholpur and Gwalior States and the Company's territory in positions to command the trade routes and to place a second line of chaukis along the Jumna to act as a check on the first line.

European and Eurasian patrols were to be appointed to supervise these lines of chaukis.

These proposals do not appear to have found acceptance, and in 1827 Mr. Sannders "in anticipation of sanction" carried out his plan in a modified form, and his proceedings were sanctioned. This was the origin of the great salt line.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

I.

A FURTHER NOTE ON THE BRASS-IMAGE OF ŚRĪDEVĪ.

(I) IDENTIFICATION OF THE IMAGE.

The brass-image, of which R.B. Mr. Sahni has given a description in the foregoing pages, seems to me to represent a *goddess* rather than a *yakshiṇī*. I am not quite sure if Mr. Sahni's identification is tenable. The word 'gotradevī,' which must be understood as an epithet referring to and qualifying Śrīdevī,¹ hardly leaves any room for doubt that she was a *devī*, a goddess, viz. the family goddess of the donor. Of the two kinds of goddesses which every devout Jain family is supposed to worship, one is known as *jñātidevī* or "caste-goddess" worshipped in the house, and the other *kuladevī* or "family-goddess" worshipped in separate temples.² The word gotradevī of the present epigraph is evidently a synonym of the term kuladevī and means a family goddess.

That Śrīdevī is not a *yakshiṇī* is further evidenced by the fact that her name does not occur in the list of the 24 *yakshiṇīs* who are described in Jain works as attendants upon the 24 Tirthaṅkaras.³ A *yakshiṇī*, though possessed of supernatural powers and looked upon as a semi-divine being, stands lower than a *devī* in spiritual status and need not be confounded with the latter.⁴

¹ Although the word gotradevyā is in the 5th or 6th case ending, as the form shows, it must be in apposition with Śrīdevī which, though uninflected (like the other words in the inscription), is logically the object of *pranāmati*. Such discrepancies need not be seriously considered in an inscription like this where the language is a curious medley of vernacular and loose Sanskrit.

² Cf. Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 276.

³ For their names according to the Śvetāmbaras, see Ind. Ant., 1884, p. 276; and according to the Digambaras, see *ibid.*, 1903, pp. 461-3.

⁴ This does not imply that the *yakshiṇī* is not held to be an object of worship. She is indeed worshipped with as much fervour and devotion as a *devī*, especially by those who hanker after wealth and other earthly and immediate pleasures. The *yakshas* and *yakshiṇīs* play an interesting rôle in the history of the Tantrik Literature of the Hindus as well. The mode of propitiating these devayonis, as Amarasiṃha calls them in his lexicon, is called *yakshiṇī sādhana*—a rite which is described at length in all Tantrik Manuals. For details see Tantrasāra (by Kṛishṇānanda), Mantramahārṇava, Mantramahodadhī, etc. The conception of the

Besides, the figures of yakshas and yakshiṇīs are generally represented in Jain iconography as sitting in the posture known as 'lalitāsana' (i.e. with one foot, viz. the right of the males and the left of the females, down) and with 'varadamudrā' (i.e. holding up the right hand before the breast open, with the palm outwards).¹ But the image under notice represents the goddess as *standing*, and though the varadamudrā is probably shown, it does not by itself constitute a positive proof in favour of the figure being labelled as a representation of a yakshiṇī, for this mudrā is a characteristic as much of gods and goddesses as of yakshas and yakshiṇīs.

I am of opinion, therefore, that the figure represents a goddess whose name appears in the inscription as Śrīdevī and who is described there as the family goddess² of the donor Māhāvajī Rāmajī. Her four hands holding the characteristic symbols of Viṣṇu³ indicate that she was originally identical with the Hindu goddess of the same name, viz. the Consort of Viṣṇu,⁴ and that subsequently, like several other Brahmanical divinities (e.g. Sarasvatī), she was taken over by the Jains and assigned a place in their pantheon. The exact date of this borrowing is not known. But it is of interest to note that the name of Śrīdevī as a Jain goddess occurs in the Ādipurāṇa ascribed to Jina Sena Suri (783 A.D.), where it is said that she was one of the goddesses deputed by Devendra to wait upon, during her pregnancy, Meru (called also Maru) devī, mother of the first Tīrthaṅkara Vṛishabhadeva.

(2) READING OF THE INSCRIPTION.

The reading of Mr. Sahni, as given in his transcript, is unimpeachable, except for the few minor points noted below:—

Jain yakshas and yakshiṇīs is, substantially and in certain particulars, not very different from what we read about these beings in Hindu works, and it is interesting to find that, as in the case of gods and goddesses, some of the names (e.g. Kubera), are common in both.

¹ For illustrations of yakshas and yakshiṇīs see plates, nos. i—iv, after p. 464 of Ind. Ant., 1903.

² In his translation Mr. Sahni correctly renders the words 'gotradevī' by "goddess of his gotra," but in his note he designates the figure as a "yakshi."

³ The upper right hand holds chakra (disc), the left one gadā (club); the lower right hand is in the varadamudrā (instead of *holding* the lotus) and the corresponding one on the left side holds Śaṅkha (conch-shell). Among the Jains there seems to exist a distinction between Śr and Lakshmi, as the Ādipurāṇa mentions the two names side by side, but what is the exact nature of this distinction is not very clear.

⁴ This Śrī must be distinguished (i) from the famous Śrīvidyā, otherwise known as Lalitā and Tripurasundar (the consort of Parama Śiva), of whom Śaṅkarāchārya, Vidyāraṇya and Bhāskara Rāya were the most devoted worshippers; and also (ii) from the Śrī of the Śrīsūkta.

- (i) There is a stop after the first Śrikarṇa, just before the letter *bhrā°* of *bhrāṭi*.
- (ii) I read *Saratāṇa* instead of *Saratāṃna*. That which is taken to be a nasal mark above *tā* is really a part of the vertical stroke of *Śra* in the word *Śrikāshṭhāsaṅghe* in the line above.
- (iii) The name of the donor is *Māhāvajī°* and not *Mahāvajī°*.
- (iv) In the last phrase, *prabalagotre*, the second letter is *ba* (ब) and not *va* (व).

Mr. Sahni is perfectly right in reading the phrase *prabalagotre* at the close of the inscription; for though grammatically its position in the end is rather anomalous, there being no syntactical relation between it and the words immediately preceding (viz. *nīyaṃ prāṇamati*), there appears to be no doubt that the engraver meant it to stand at the end.¹

(3) NOTES.

(a) *Kāshṭhā Saṅgha*.—This saṅgha originated in the time of the illustrious Umāsvāti Āchārya, the successor of Kundakunda Āchārya and the 6th Digambara pontiff of the Nandi Āmnāya, counting from Bhadrabāhu II. According to Dr. Hoernle² Umāsvāti³ ascended the pontifical chair in 44 A.D. and died about 85 A.D.⁴

(b) *Nanditaḷagachha*.—The history of this gachchha is not known to me.

(c) *Bhaṭṭāraka*.—For the use of this word as a priestly title (in Jain inscriptions) in the sense of 'reverend' see reference in Fleet's 'Gupta Inscriptions,' p. 17, note 1.

(d) *Rāma Sena and Tribhuvana Kīrti*.—The inscription declares plainly that Bhaṭṭāraka Rāma Sena and Bh. Tribhuvana Kīrti who belonged to the paṭṭa or line of Rāma Sena, were members of the Kāshṭhā Saṅgha. And as a matter of fact their names are found in the list (nos. 53 and 72) of the pontiffs of Kāshṭhā Saṅgha published in the *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara* and reproduced in "An Epitome of Jainism" by Nahar and Ghosh, Appendix (E), p. LXXVIII. But the surname Kīrti suffixed to the name of Tribhuvana would seem to point

¹ More strictly, according to the mode of engraving followed here, we ought to read the last portion of the inscription in this order: वासग नित्यं प्रबलगोत्रे प्रणमति । But this would be a still more clumsy construction.

² Ind. Ant., 1891, p. 351.

³ In Dr. Hoernle's table (*ibid.*, p. 351) the name of the pontiff is given as Umāsvāmin which is only a variant of the more popular name Umasvāti. Cf. Dr. Hoernle's note against this name and Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84, p. 117.

⁴ Cf. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 'History of Mediaeval School of Indian Logic,' pp. 8-9.

to the fact that he was a muni or pontiff of the Nandi Saṅgha, there being a rule that the pontiffs of this order were to be distinguished by one of the four surnames, viz. Nandi, Chandra, Kīrti and Bhūṣaṇa.¹ This involves, however, no contradiction, for, as we have already observed, the Kāsthā Saṅgha was in a sense an offshoot of the Nandi Saṅgha or Nandi Āmnāya, with which Umāsvāti's name is associated.

Tribhuvana Kīrti appears to be connected with Māhāvajī Rāmaji, the donor of the image, by some spiritual relation, being apparently, as Mr Sahni rightly suggests, his guru or preceptor.

(e) *Mahaṃ raṅgā*.—(i) This may be a single word, being the name of a person or a term of honour;

(ii) or, more preferably, it may be split up into two distinct words, viz. Mahaṃ and Raṅgā. On this assumption Raṅgā would be a proper name, and Mahaṃ an honorary epithet qualifying Raṅgā and meaning probably something like ‘adorable, laudable, worthy of being worshipped.’² I do not remember to have come across the word ‘mahaṃ’ used in this sense elsewhere. But it is a plausible assumption and works well. To take, according to the first (i) alternative, Mahaṃ raṅgā as one word, signifying either a proper name or an epithet, would introduce a difficulty into the text. Thus if it is supposed to be a proper name the letter *ma*° after °*raṅgā suta*, which is undoubtedly the initial letter of a word of honour, remains unexplained. And if, on the contrary, it is a mere epithet the name of the person to whom it refers must be supposed to have been left out—which would be an absurd omission. The second alternative is free from these difficulties. In this case the letter *ma*° would stand for *Mahaṃ*. The epithet being once given in full is repeated only in part on the analogy of bhaṭṭāraka, just in the earlier part of this inscription, which is repeated by mere bhaṭṭā°.

(f) *Saratāna*.—(i) This word may be a corruption of Saratrāṇa, or more properly Suratrāṇa, a Sanskritised form of the Persian sultan, meaning ‘king.’ The word Suratrāṇa, in the sense of a ‘king’ (usually Mahomedan), is frequently found in Jain-Sanskrit works. Cf. Meru-tuṅgachārya's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, p. 263.³

(ii) Or the word may be interpreted as the name of an individual as Mr. Sahni has taken it. And it seems to me that this is the more plausible explanation, as in the former alternative the whole sentence

¹ See introduction to paṭṭāvali A., para. 12, as published by Dr. Hoernle in *Ind. Ant.*, 1891, p. 347.

² From √मद्, ‘to worship.’

³ See footnote 3, p. 164 of C. H. Tawney's English Translation of the book as published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

105

becomes very clumsy and complicated, and does not yield good sense.

(g) *Vāsaga*.—It seems a Jain 'layman' or 'householder' as distinguished from a *Samāṇa* or 'monk.'¹ The form is derived immediately from the Jain term "uvāsaga" by elision of the initial *u*. For similar elision cf. Pali *posatha* from *uposatha*. For the use of 'uvāsaga' cf. 'uvasagadasāo,' the name of the 7th Āṅga of the Āgamas of the Śvetāmbara Jains.

(4) GENEALOGY OF THE DONOR.

The half-stop after the first Śrīkarṇa shows that the sentence ends there. So we get M. Śrīkarṇa as the son of M. Raṅgā. The word *bhrātṛi* following Śrīkarṇa may be construed either with Śrīkarṇa, or more probably with M. Raṅgā. Māhāvajī Rāmajī was the son of Śrīkarṇa, who may be held as identical with the son of M. Raṅgā. Assuming that the above interpretation is tentatively acceptable the genealogical table may be thus constructed:—

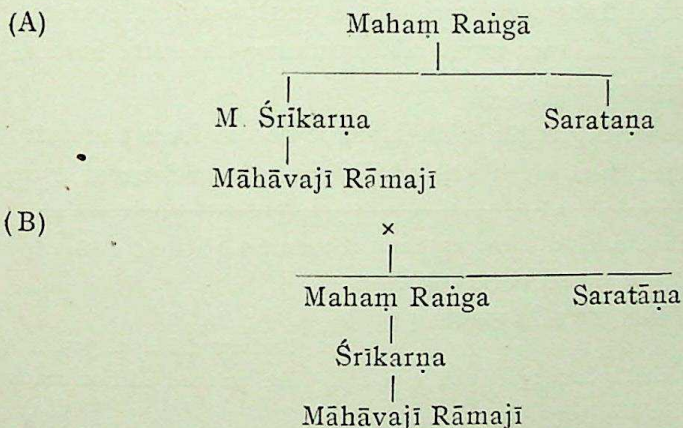


Table marked as (B) is perhaps the more correct one.

GOPINATH KAVIRAJ.

II.

BENARES AND ITS PANDITS—(continued).

2. *Śrīkaṇṭha Dīkshita*.—Śrīkaṇṭha was the author of the well-known commentary on Nyāya Siddhānta Mañjarī—the मञ्जरीदीपिका or barely तर्कप्रकाश. From the existence of the work in various parts of the country it may be supposed to have once been the most widely

¹ Dr. Hoernle explains the term 'Uvāsaga' thus: "An uvasaga (Skr. *upāsaka*) is a person, who has become a follower of Mahāv. ra, without, however, renouncing the world and taking the monastic vows peculiar to Jainism. He takes on himself a certain set of vows, which while distinguishing him as a 'believer' or servant of Mahāvira, are not inconsistent with his remaining an ordinary member of society." (F. note 1 to his English Translation of Uvāsagadasāo).

read of all the commentaries on Jānakīnātha's teatise.¹ The author, a native of Benares, was the son of one Viśvanātha Dikshita and Kāśī,² and was a Śaiva in belief. The title of Nyāya Vāgīśa is found prefixed to his name as in the following form :—

श्रीमद्विद्वन्मुकुटमाणिक्यराजिनौराजनौराजितपदद्वन्द्वन्यायवागीश-
श्रीदीक्षितश्रीकण्ठशर्म^० etc.³

I do not doubt that this Śrīkaṇṭha or Śitikaṇṭha⁴ was really identical with the guru of Mahādeva Puṇatāmkar who testifies to his deep scholarship in high eulogistic terms. Thus in the Bhavānandī-prakāśa Mahādeva speaks of him as an adept in Mīmāṃsā and an authority in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy ;⁵ over and above this he is described as a great poet, almost rivalling the glory of Kālidāsa.⁶

Śrīkaṇṭha was a worshipper of Siddheśvarī. At the end of Tarkaprakāśa he makes the confession that his grasp of the knotty points of Tarkaśāstra was owing to the grace of Siddheśvarī.⁷ In the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, there exist four little tracts, written by Śrīkaṇṭha in his own hand, all containing the same invocatory formula—श्रीसिद्धेश्वर्यै नमः .

The exact time of Śrīkaṇṭha's life is made known from the dates of the 4 MSS.⁸ referred to above, dates which range from Samvat 1709

¹ Edited by Gaurīnātha Śāstri, Benares, Samvat 1941.

² योऽसौ काश्यां समुत्पन्नो विश्वनाथाख्यधौमतः ।
तस्य श्रीकण्ठकृतिनः कृतिः कल्यतां मुदम् ॥

Tarkaprakāśa, p. 355.

³ I quote from Weber's Catalogue, Vol. I, p. 207. The printed edition reads °शितिकण्ठ instead of °श्रीकण्ठ (see p. 67).

⁴ Mahādeva calls his guru Śrīkaṇṭha Dikshita in the Sarvopakārinī, Śitikaṇṭha Dikshita in the Bhavānandīprakāśa, and by the two names indifferently in the Nyāyakaustubha (e.g. Śitikaṇṭha in Pratyaksha and Śrīkaṇṭha in Śabda sections). cf. also Hall, p. 25, lines 1-2.

⁵ मौमांसानिपुणोऽनुपादकणभुक्शास्त्राव्यपारङ्गमः ।

Beginning of Bhavānandīprakāśa (Anumāna Khaṇḍa).

⁶ पुरस्कृतपुरोहितं सभायां, कवितायां किल कालिदासमन्यम् ।
निखिलाखिलशास्त्रविदुरीणं, शितिकण्ठाभिधं सद्गुरुं नमामि ॥

Nyāya Kaustubha (Pratyaksha Khaṇḍa).

⁷ अतिकर्कशतर्के यद्वृद्धं स्फुरितं मम ।
सिद्धेश्वरौपदद्वन्द्वकराणां तद् विजृम्भणम् ॥

⁸ (1) Avachhedakatāvichāra, copied in Sam. 1709.

(2) Smritisamśkaravichāra „ „

(3) Daśalakarasaramañjari of Siddhantavāgīśa, copied Sam. 1710.

(4) Prādyupāsargasya bodhakakhaṇḍanarahasyam „ „ 1714.

The above 4 MSS. were all transcribed by Śrīkaṇṭha (लिखितमदः श्रीकण्ठेन, श्रीकण्ठेनालेखि etc.).

(1652 A.D.) to Samvat 1714 (1657 A.D.). And this is quite in keeping with the date of the author's pupil, Mahādeva.

GOPINATH KAVIRAJ.

III.

THE TRAINING OF ASSISTANT MAGISTRATES AND COLLECTORS.

The following circular dated 25th of August 1835, issued by the Sudder Board of Revenue at Allahabad, may be of interest to the members of the Society, if only as an illustration of the length to which written communications often went in the days of the Company.

D. DEWAR.

To

The Commissioner of
SIR,

The Sudder Board of Revenue having reason to believe that the junior officers in many of the districts possess few advantages for acquiring a knowledge of their duty, and that the public derive little benefit from the services of those gentlemen from the want of a regular systematic mode of instructing them in their duty and employing them to the full extent of their powers. The Board believe also that the object and principle of the union of the two offices of Collector and Magistrate, and the facilities which it affords for the administration of a district by a judicious distribution of duty and responsibility, is little understood, I am consequently directed to explain for your information the system which has been adopted and successfully acted upon by the Collector and Magistrate of Azimgurh, with a view to your enforcing the introduction of a similar mode of transacting business, with such modifications as local peculiarities and the common diversities of character may require, into the districts of your division.

2nd. It must be premised that it is essential to the success of the plan that the Collector himself should regularly attend his public office, a point of duty which the Board doubt not you are already careful to enforce and which any Commissioner must be held directly responsible should he suffer those under his authority to neglect.

3rd. The next essential is that the Collector should require that his assistants regularly attend office, and it is the duty of the Commissioner to see and know that the Collector does require that regular attendance of the assistants in office during office hours, to enforce the performance of this duty, should the Collector neglect it and if necessary to report any failure, after due warning given, to the Sudder Board.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

4th. The Collector himself and his assistants being each in his own place in office, the next matter is the distribution of business.

5th. It is the object of Government that the Collector and Magistrate should retain in his own hand the general superintendence and conduct of every department of his office, and should prescribe the principles on which his subordinates are to conduct their duties in the same way as it is the duty of the Commissioner to lay down the general rules and principles for the Collector's guidance.

6th. The Collector then is to maintain his position as the controlling head and spring of action of every department of his office. He is not to make a transfer in perpetuity of any branch of his duty. The time which he gives to the actual transaction of business should be reserved for matters of the greatest moment, none of which in any department should be disposed of except under his cognizance and approval. At the same time he is to be far from taking up the childish but the Board fear too prevalent notion, that every matter connected with his office is of too great importance to be committed to any other than himself. It is incumbent on him to have just confidence in his junior officers. There are few men to whom public business appears easy at first sight, but one case well understood serves as a rule and guide to an hundred, and when young men are judiciously brought forward, and can have the benefit of the advice of an experienced senior whenever required, there are few cases of common occurrence which may not safely be left to their management. It is a melancholy sight to see a man delaying the march of business, harassing with hopeless expectation those who have concerns to transact with his office, and blighting the rising prospects of the Junior Service by weakly and pertinaciously imagining that no one but himself can perform office duties; nor is it intended, as the Board believe many Collectors suppose, that they should revise all the orders given by their assistants. When there is more work than can well be done once, it is idle to do the least important portion twice, and all the benefit of relief from details is lost. Ten minutes occupied in hearing from an assistant the abstract of his operations, and correcting or settling his views, will more benefit him and the public than days spent in revising his work in his absence.

7th. The real mode in which the head of the department is to derive aid from the junior officers and is to do his own duty to the public by teaching his subordinates to perform theirs, is by making a due distribution of work to each according to his ability, explaining the principles on which it is to be performed, holding the subordinates to their responsibility for its due performance, affording every facility of

reference to himself, and cheerfully assisting with his advice on all occasions of difficulty.

8th. I am directed to explain somewhat more in detail the mode in which the sketch above given may be filled up.

9th. The Collector and Magistrate may, for instance, assign to an assistant the Revenue management of a certain Tuhseeldaree or the police of one or more thanahs or both. In the same way he may commit to one the conduct of the Abkaree Department or he may assign to the same assistant all of these several duties within a limited tract, say the extent of one Tehseeldaree and may give him the trial of the Foujdaree and Revenue cases within the same tract. The Collector will of course apportion the nature and extent of the duty assigned to each to the ability and experience of the party. But he is not to set aside any one on the ground of youth and inexperience, or to employ him on the mere pretence of signing and correcting papers—every one is to have a substantive duty assigned him, and to be held responsible for its careful performance.

10th. In assigning one or more of those departments of duty, where the officer is young and without experience, the Collector should require that the assistant should take a note of each matter which comes before him and of the order passed by him upon it; and the first duty of every day should be to report to the Collector from his notes what cases were tried on the preceding day and what orders were passed on them. The Collector should encourage the assistant always to have recourse to him in all cases of doubt, and should require that in any case of importance the assistant should verbally state the case and obtain his opinion before passing an order.

11th. In the early part of an assistant's career the Collector may find it expedient now and then to call for and examine a case from among those disposed of by the assistant, in order to ascertain how he performs his duty and should verbally make to him any observations which may appear necessary. But as the assistant acquires experience, and the Collector is aware of his mode of transacting business, this minute kind of surveillance may be altogether abandoned.

12th. If any party should complain to the Collector against an assistant's decision, the Collector should not make a formal case of appeal of the matter, but should call the assistant to sit with him, direct the party dissatisfied to state his objections and require the assistant to explain from his notes the case and the nature of his order. If the order be right the Collector should countersign the proceeding, and refer the party, if still dissatisfied, to the Commis-

NOTES AND QUERIES.

sioner. If the order be erroneous, the error should be pointed out and the assistant directed to revise it.

13th. When any new and general question may arise, all the assistants, if there be more than one, should be invited to attend its discussion and encouraged to form and express an opinion, and when the Collector has formed his own judgment on the point, a note should be entered in a book kept for the purpose for future reference as the rule of practice of the office.

14th. In like manner in the conduct of settlements of the land revenue, the Board have already pointed out in my Circular No. 8 dated 24th February last the mode in which assistants should be employed in deciding boundary disputes and other judicial questions connected with settlements; they may also be employed when the Collector has resolved on the juma of a pergunnah in making a distribution of it on the different muhals and in preparing the various papers required to be submitted to the Commissioner and in receiving and recording the papers of rights, responsibilities and village administration ordered to be taken from the proprietors or communities with whom engagements are exchanged.

15th. In those duties the services of the assistant may be highly valuable in expediting progress and thro' their instrumentality a body of statistic information connected with the internal economy of villages and the habits and management of the agricultural communities may be collected and recorded. The assistant, for instance, should note the rules laid down in the papers of administration given in for enforcing payment from defaulters, for fixing the rights of separate sharers, for making good the losses, for the nomination of the persons to engage directly with Government, for transfers of property, etc. Whenever in his progress he meets with any new head of information, or any variation from the already recorded mode of procedure, he should add that to his list. If copies of these memoranda be circulated to others similarly employed, and copies of their notes reciprocally received, not only will there be at once a record obtained, derived from the people themselves of all the different tenures and modes of administrations and of enforcing rights and responsibilities among themselves of the whole district, but a useful manual will have been prepared for those who come after and if the parties who give in the statement should thro' carelessness or unacquaintance with the object of the record omit any important point, a reference to the manual will at once enable the officer to have the omission supplied.

16th. I am directed to observe that in laying out the above system for relieving the labours of the higher and calling forth the

powers of the subordinate officers, the Board are not proceeding on mere assumption, but merely promulgating what has been already attempted with success. They have known a Magistrate of a district in which the Foujdarry Department was peculiarly heavy get through the weary task of disposing of the police reports of 18 thanahs in half an hour by being waited on in his room in office by a trained assistant with a paper of notes mentioning the reports which had been received and the orders passed on them and receiving from him the few heavy cases which he had reserved for the Magistrate's own orders with a verbal statement of their nature.

17th. In the district of Azimghur the Collector and Magistrate is at this time deriving all the benefit anticipated from persevering in a systematic method of training his assistants to the discharge of their duty and devolving upon them the labour of the details of administration. Tho' the Magistrate's duty in that district is very heavy, and the Collector's far from light tho' both the Collector and his Deputy are engaged in the revision of settlements to an extent exceeding that of any other district in the provinces, the Collector has found time to rearrange a most confined record office and neglected serishta; clear off a load of arrears of business of old standing, and has ample time to give to the deliberate consideration of matters of general importance.

18th. The Board are much concerned to believe, as observation has forced them to believe, that there are very few districts in the country in which the assistants are properly taught their duty, or are in fact acquainted with it. There is hardly a higher duty to the public than that of instructing, guiding and bringing forward the junior officers, and the Board believe that many of the assistants themselves lament and complain of the useless idleness and unacquaintance with public business to which they are condemned by the injudicious facility or culpable supineness or monopolizing tenaciousness of their immediate superiors in office. The Board rely on your using every exertion to introduce a better system and enforce the adoption of the plan which I have sketched out, and at the time of your periodical visit to the districts of your division they will expect you to state in some detail how far you find the Collector acting up to the Board's expectations in this respect.

19th. I am directed to add that the Board attach the utmost importance to the carrying on your own duty of control on system and principle. They desire that you will carefully consider and enforce the adoption in the districts under your charge of the general rules and principles which you may receive from them, and that you will keep your attention constantly on the alert to correct anomalies and irregu-

NOTES AND QUERIES.

larities which the Collector of any district under your surveillance may introduce or suffer to remain unattended to. You may confidently rely on the support of the Board in carrying thro' this object. The Board observe that is only by acting on a known method in conformity with understood principles strictly enforcing the laws enacted in all cases provided for, and carefully maintaining their spirit where the strict letter may not be applicable; it is by these means alone that the people can know what to expect, that the mass of investigations, applications and orders having no real connection with the Revenue Department which now clog the offices of the Collectors, can be got rid of, and dependance for all information on native officers, and the many other evils and inconveniences which attend the unavoidably frequent changes of the European superintendence of districts obviated.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) R. ALEXANDER,

Acting Secretary.

SUNDER BOARD OF REVENUE,)
 ALLAHABAD,)
The 25th August, 1835.)

REPORT.

SINCE the last annual meeting of the Society which was held in March 1919, the Lord Bishop of Lucknow resigned his place on the Committee but continued to be a member.

The third number of the journal appeared in June 1919 and the fourth number is now with the publishers and should be out by the middle of May. This will contain part I of an article on Place Names in the U. P. by P. Whalley, I.C.S. (Retired); also part of one on the Inland Customs Revenue of the Province of Agra under the Company by D. Dewar, I.C.S., and notes on the saying ascribed to Jesus at Fatehpur Sikri by the late Dr. A. Vincent Smith; on Two Brass Images by Pt. Daya Ram; and on Benares Iconography by Professor B. C. Bhattacharya.

The present list of members contains 129 names, 11 having been added since the meeting in March 1919. Mr. Jesse introduced one new member, and the remainder were introduced by the President or the Secretary. I hope that other members will make efforts to add to the names on the list.

As regards funds, the Rs. 4,000 mentioned in last year's report has been granted to the Society by the U. P. Government. Notwithstanding this, the Society is producing only one number of the journal yearly—the reason being want of material.

At present there is in hand only the continuation of the two articles that are appearing in the next issue of the journal, and the report by Pt. Hiranand Shastri on the Society's excavations at Sankisa. I appeal to members for contributions.

During the year one of our members, L. Sita Ram, gave a lecture on Ajodhya on January the 28th, 1920, at Lucknow under the auspices of the Society.

D. DEWAR,
Hony. Secy.

PROCEEDINGS.

THE Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Muir College on March 10th. Mr. Burn presided. The annual report was read by the Honorary Secretary and approved.

The President then addressed the meeting.

In the course of his address he referred to remarks made at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society by the late Dr. Vincent Smith in which that gentleman expressed the opinion that the U.P. Historical Society was the weakest of the new Societies in India. He then read a letter from the Lieutenant-Governor in which His Honour drew attention to Dr. Vincent Smith's comments, writing "they are his last words to the scholars of the province among whom he held so high a place. I am very anxious that this province should not lag behind. I will help any considered scheme to the best of my ability. Will you kindly lay your heads together and advise how best we can redeem our inferiority in historical output."

The President pointed out that the Society had been handicapped by being inaugurated during the war when every one was working at high pressure.

He asked the members if they could throw out any suggestions calculated to make the work of the Society more useful. He pointed out that there were some valuable Persian records of historical interest in the Benares Collectorate of which the Society would do well to take advantage.

The Honorary Secretary proposed that the Government grant of Rs. 4,000 be utilised to pay experts to take up research work on special lines and publish the results in the journal.

Lala Sita Ram suggested that excavation work be undertaken at Ajodhya. The Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani was not sure whether the grant of Rs. 4,000 by Government had not been intended to help the association in the publication of its journal. The President said that only a fraction of the sum was at present required for printing the journal and thought that the remaining amount could be used for any purpose directed by the Society.

Lala Sita Ram expressed the opinion that the journal might be produced more cheaply in some local press.

Other suggestions were that the Society should work in co-operation with the University Research Department, that the records in Collectors' offices be indexed and published so as to facilitate references and be otherwise helpful to students of research. The President stated that the Honorary Secretary had in hand the preparation of a handbook which would indicate the nature of the records in the various offices and be otherwise helpful to research students.

Another suggestion was that lectures on archæology should be arranged more frequently and the President stated that efforts were being made in that direction. The Hon'ble Mr Chintamani expressed the desire that Mr. W. E. M. Campbell should give research lectures.

The President said that a number of Mughal paintings were in possession of the Maharaja of Benares. Some of these are possibly of historical value. Lala Sita Ram suggested that these might be photographed and copies be made available for the public.

The statement of accounts for the year ending March 8th, 1920, was presented by the Honorary Treasurer and adopted subject to the approval of the auditors.

The following members of the council were elected for the ensuing year :—

<i>President</i>	..	Mr. R. Burn, C.S.I., I.C.S.
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	..	The Hon'ble Justice Sir P. C. Banerji, Kt. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Md. Rafique.
<i>Honorary Secretary</i>	..	Mr. D. Dewar, I.C.S.
<i>Honorary Treasurer</i>	..	Mr. S. B. Smith.

MEMBERS.

Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams.

The Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Mr. M. Nizamuddin Hasan.

The Hon'ble Justice Sir George E. Knox, Kt., I.S.O.

Lala Sita Ram.

Mr. C. J. Brown.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.

Mr. Abdul Majid.

Mr. W. Jesse.

Dr. C. Weir.

PROCEEDINGS.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS of the United Provinces Historical Society for
the year ending March 8th, 1920.

RECEIPTS.			
	Rs.	A.	P.
Balance in Bank on March 1st, 1919 ..	1,198	6	6
Subscription realised :—			
for 1918 .. Rs. 40-0			
for 1919 .. Rs. 336-4			
for 1920 .. Rs. 388-0			
	764	4	0
Grant from Local Government ..	4,000	0	0
	<u>5,962</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>

EXPENDITURE.			
	Rs.	A.	P.
To Fixed Deposit ..	3,000	0	0
Stamps and stationery	23	6	0
Messrs. Longmans Green and Co. ..	390	13	3
Stenographer ..	56	0	0
Discount on cheques ..	2	8	0
	<u>3,472</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>3</u>
Balance at bank on March 8th ..	2,479	5	3
Balance with treasurer ..	10	10	0
	<u>5,962</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>

LIST OF MEMBERS.

[Any errors in this list, and any change of address, should be intimated to the Honorary Secretary.]

Honorary Members.

THE PATRON (*ex-officio*).

THE VICE-PATRONS (*ex-officio*).

SIR JOHN MARSHALL, M.A., Litt.D., C.I.E., Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India.

SIR RAM GOPAL KRISHNA BHANDARKAR, Litt.D., K.C.I.E., Poona.

Ordinary Members.

ABDUL MAJID, B.A., M.R.A.S., Golagunj, Lucknow.

ABDUS SALAM KHAN BAHADUR, MAULVI, Rampur State, U.P.

AHMAD ALI KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR MAULVI, The State Library, Rampur State, U.P.

ALAKH DHARI, Esq., Manager, Oudh Commercial Bank, Fyzabad, U.P.

BADRE ALAM, SHAH, Ghazipur, U.P.

BANERJI, THE HON'BLE JUSTICE SIR P. C., Church Road, Allahabad.

BANERJI, MR. SUKUMAR, M.A., Canning College, Lucknow.

BENARES, THE MAHARAJ KUNWAR BAHADUR OF, Fort Ramnagar, Benares State.

BENNET, REV. N. O. G., Chaplain, Lucknow, U.P.

BHARAT SINGH KUNWAR, C.S. (retd.), Shankargarh, Allahabad District, U.P.

BISHOP, T. B. W., Esq., I.C.S., Nanpara, Kheri.

BOURDILLON, B. H., Esq., I.C.S., U.P.

BRIJ CHAND SHARMA, PANDIT, Deputy Collector, Gorakhpur.

BROWN, C. J., Esq., Canning College, Lucknow.

BURN, R., Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Commissioner, Benares Division.

BURRELL, P. S., Esq., Principal, Queen's College, Benares.

BUTCHER, MISS FLORA, M.D., Tanakpur, R. & K. Railway, Naini Tal District.

CAMERON, M. B., Esq., Principal, Canning College, Lucknow.

CAMPBELL, W. E. M., Esq., I.C.S.

CHATTERJEE, AGHOR NATH, RAI SAHIB, Headmaster, U.P.

CHATTERJEE, THE HON'BLE MR. A. C., I.C.S., Delhi.

CHATURVEDI, HARI CHARN, Esq.

CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

LIST OF MEMBERS.

- CHINTAMANI, THE HON'BLE MR. C. Y., Editor of the *Leader*, Allahabad.
 COLE, B. L., Major, Mayo College, Ajmere, Rajputana.
 COLLETT, A. P., Esq., I.C.S., Gorakhpur, U.P.
 COLLETT, C. M., Esq., I.C.S., U.P.
 DANIELS, S. R., Esq., I.C.S., Lucknow.
 DARBARI, BUDH SEN, BABU, M.B.E., Deputy Collector, Muzaffarnagar,
 U.P.
 DEWAR, D., Esq., I.C.S., Raisina, Delhi.
 DODD, R. J. S., Esq., I.C.S., Superintendent of Police, Cawnpore.
 DOUGLAS, REV. M. S., Cawnpore.
 DRAKE, BROCKMAN D. L., Esq., I.C.S., Saharanpur, U.P.
 DUBE, KAMLAKAR, PANDIT, Deputy Collector, Sitapur, Oudh.
 DUTT, A. C., Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S., Professor of History, College House,
 Bareilly.
 FISHER, CANON B. H. P., Cawnpore.
 FREMANTLE, S. H., Esq., I.C.S., C.I.E., Meerut.
 GAIROLA, THE HON'BLE PANDIT TARA DATT, Pauri, Garhwal.
 GOBIND PRASAD GHILDIAL, B.A., PANDIT, Deputy Collector, Unao,
 U.P.
 HABIB-UR-RAHMAN KHAN, MAULVI, Habibganj, Aligarh District.
 HARGREAVES, H., Esq., Archaeological Survey, Lahore
 HARRIS, E. F., Esq., The College, Ajmere.
 HORWOOD, T. B., Esq., I.C.S.
 IJAZ ALI, MAULVI SAIYYID, Deputy Collector, Almora.
 ITRAT HUSAIN, Esq.
 IZZATULLAH, MAULVI.
 JESSE, W., Esq., Principal, Meerut College, Meerut.
 JEVONS, H. S., Esq., Professor of Economics, The University, Allaha-
 bad.
 JHA, AMAR NATH, M.A., Professor, Muir College, Allahabad.
 JOPLING, C. M., Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow.
 JOSHI, JANARDANA, PANDIT, Deputy Collector, Saharanpur, U.P.
 KASMANDA, SURJ BAKSH SINGH, Rajah of, Sitapur Dist., U.P.
 KNOX, THE HON'BLE JUSTICE SIR GEORGE, Kt., I.S.O., LL.D., Allahabad.
 KNOX, K. N., Esq., I.C.S., Settlement Officer, Gorakhpur, U.P.
 LACY, THE REV. CANON, Allahabad.
 LAMBERT, G. B., Esq., I.C.S., Lucknow.
 LINDSAY, B., Esq., I.C.S., Judicial Commissioner of Oudh, Lucknow.
 LUARD, LT.-COL. C. E., Political Agent, Manipur, Mhow, C.I.
 LUCKNOW, THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF, Allahabad.
 MIRJA, HABIB HUSSAIN, Headmaster, Government High School, Shah-
 jahanpur.
 MISRA, PANDIT SHYAM BEHARI, Bulandshahr.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

119

- MISRA, CHAMPA RAM, PANDIT, Deputy Collector, Partabgarh.
- MISRA, RAM GOPAL, PANDIT, Deputy Collector, Ghazipur.
- MUHAMMAD MUZAMMIL-ULLAH KHAN, Khan Bahadur, Bhikampur, Aligarh District.
- MOLONY, E. A., Esq., I.C.S.
- NASIR ALI, Khan Bahadur, Diwan, Patandi State.
- NANAVATTY, E. M., Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Sultanpur, U.P.
- NEHRU, J. L., Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Church Road, Allahabad.
- NEHRU, THE HON'BLE PANDIT MOTI LAL, Advocate of the High Court, Allahabad.
- NICOL, MISS GEORGINA, Tanakpur, R. & K. Railway, Naini Tal District.
- NIZAMUDDIN HASSAN, Esq., B.A., B.L., 91, de la Touche Road, Lucknow.
- NORTON, E. L., Esq., I.C.S., Political Officer, Basra.
- PANDAYA, SHRI SADAYATAN, Ahraura, Mirzapur District, U.P.
- PARASNIS, RAO BAHADUR D. B., Happy Vale, Satara.
- PARMANAND, MR., Professor of History, Muir Central College, Allahabad.
- PRASAD, MRS. JWALA, Prasada Bhavan, Shahjahanpur.
- POWELL-PRICE, I. C., Esq., I.E.S., Allahabad.
- RAFIQUE, THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE, Allahabad.
- RAM KAMAKHYA DATT, Esq., Lucknow.
- RAM RATAN LALL, MUNSHI, Special Magistrate, Gonda.
- RAM SWARUP VAISH, Esq., Government High School, Moradabad.
- RANDLE, H. V., Esq., Professor, Queen's College, Benares.
- RICHARDSON, E. A., Esq., Assistant Director of Public Instruction, Allahabad.
- RUST, N. A., Esq., I.E.S., Allahabad.
- SALE, J. F., Esq., I.C.S., Benares, U.P.
- SALIG RAM, Rai Bahadur, M.B.E., Krishna Villas, Ghazipur.
- SILBERRAD, C. A., Esq., I.C.S., Gorakhpur, U.P.
- SINGH, THAKUR JOGENDA, Morefield Grange, Simla.
- SITA RAM, LALA, B.A., 3, Muthiganj, Allahabad.
- SMITH, S. B., Esq., Professor of History, Canning College, Lucknow.
- SPILLER, LT.-COLONEL W. M. H., R.A.M.C., Cawnpore.
- STEWART, D. M., Esq., I.C.S., Gorakhpur, U.P.
- THOMPSON, THE HON'BLE MR. J. P., Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab, Lahore.
- ULFAT RAI TANDAN SAKSENA, Inspector of Post Offices, Moradabad.
- VINDESHVARI PRASAD SINGH, COLONEL, Chief Secretary, Fort Ramnagar, Benares State.
- VOGEL, Dr.
- WEBB, W. H., Esq., I.C.S., Collector, Agra.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

WETHERILL, H. H., Esq., Inspector of Schools, Fyzabad.

WILLIAMS, L. F. RUSHBROOK, Esq., Delhi.

WOLFE, G. C., Esq., Military Finance Department, Grand Hotel, Calcutta.

Institutions.

St. John's College, Agra, Principal.

Muir Central College, Allahabad, Principal.

Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, Principal.

Christ Church College, Cawnpore, Principal.

Queen's College, Benares, Principal.

M.A.O. College, Aligarh, Secretary, Lytton Library.

Hindu University, Benares.

Allahabad University, Professor of Modern Indian History.

Secretary to Government, U.P., Miscellaneous Department.

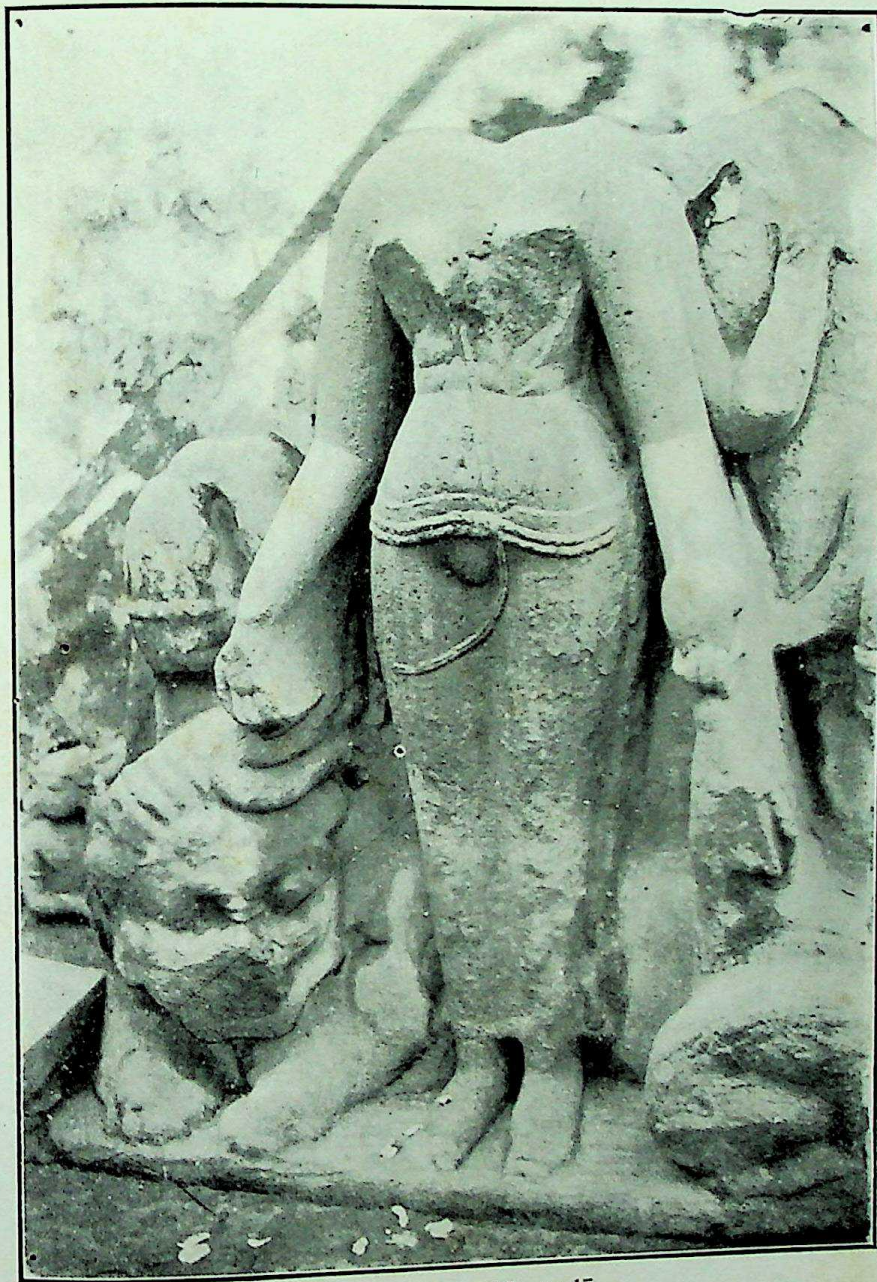


Fig. 1. Sarva Mangalā.
From Purāṇā Durgābāri, Benares.

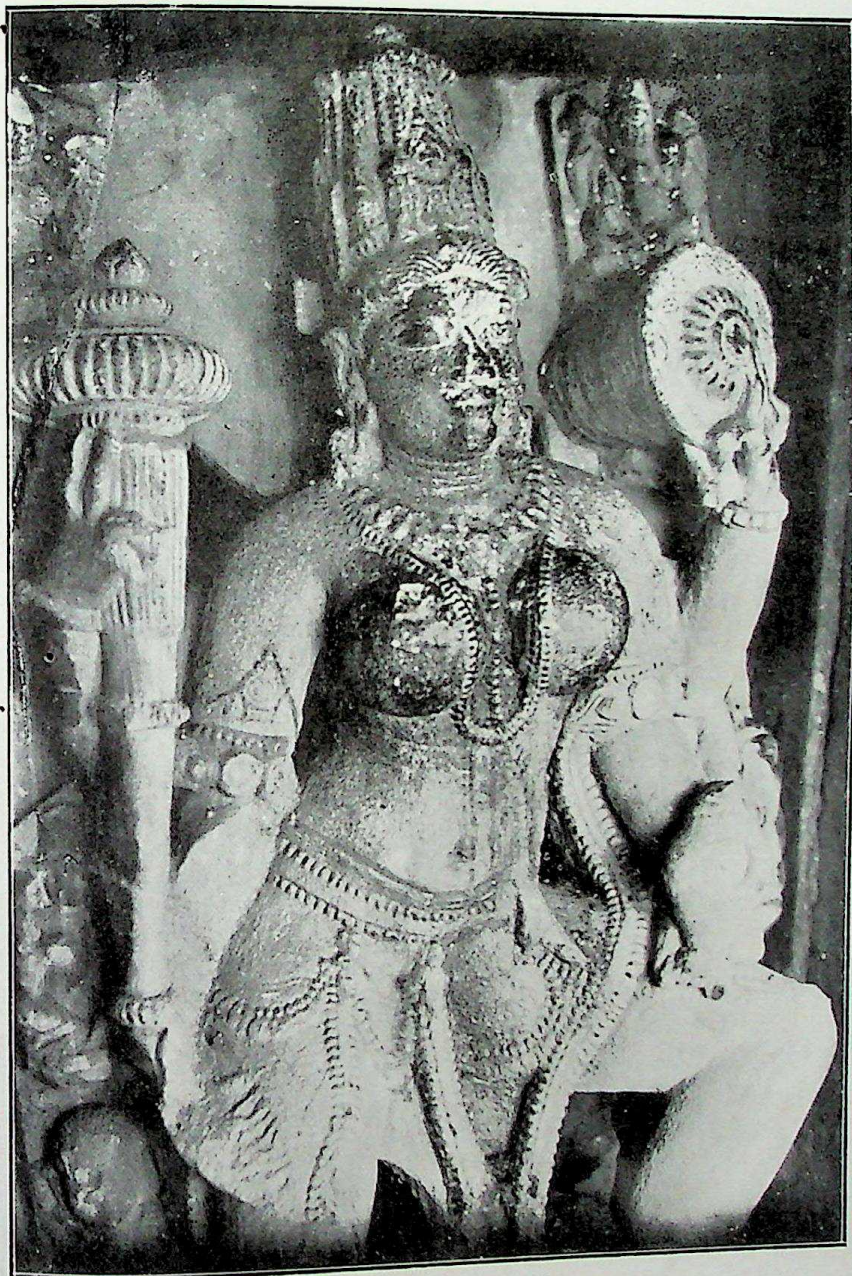


Fig. 2. Vaiṣṇavi.
The author's collection, Benares.



Fig. 3. Lower part of Naṭeśa.

Fig. 4. Kubera.
From Donriyā bir, Benares.



Fig. 5. Bodhisattva.
Tilbhāṇḍesvara Temple, Benares.

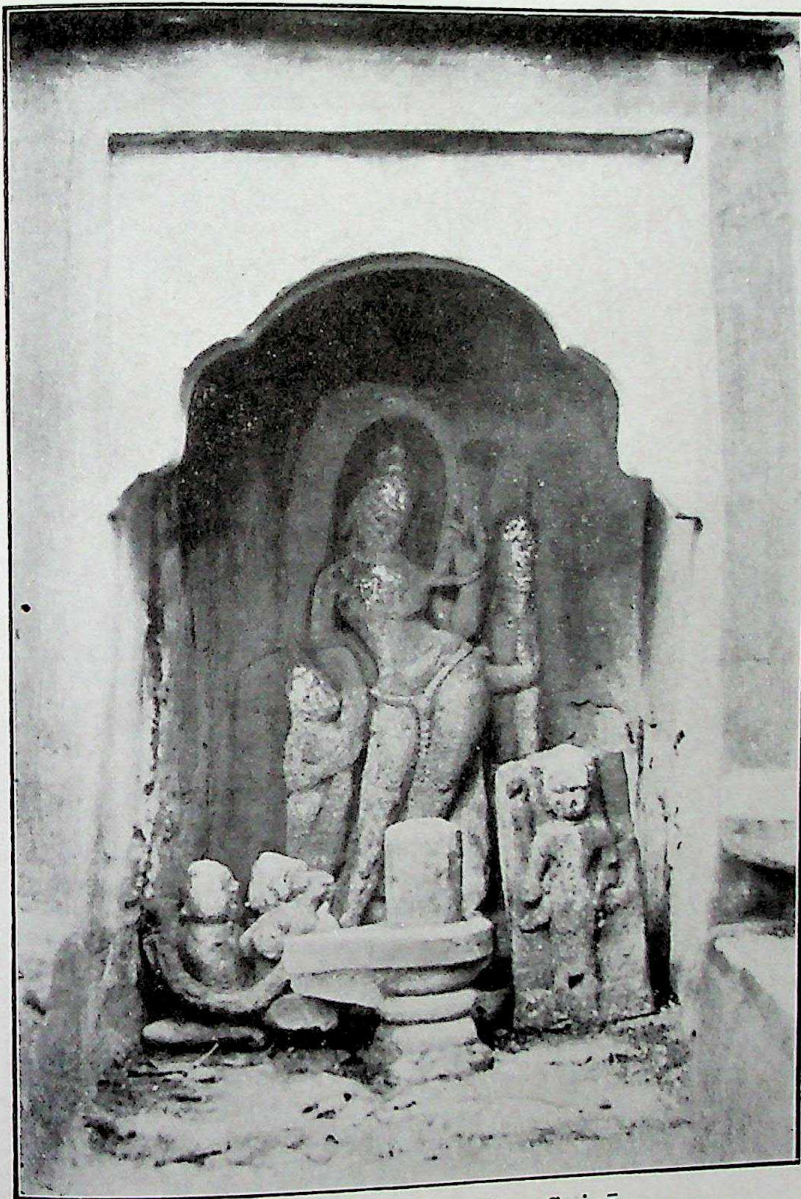


Fig. 6. The River goddess Gaṅgā.
Tilbhāṇḍeśvara, Benares.

Digitized by Sarayu Foundation Trust, Delhi and eGangotri

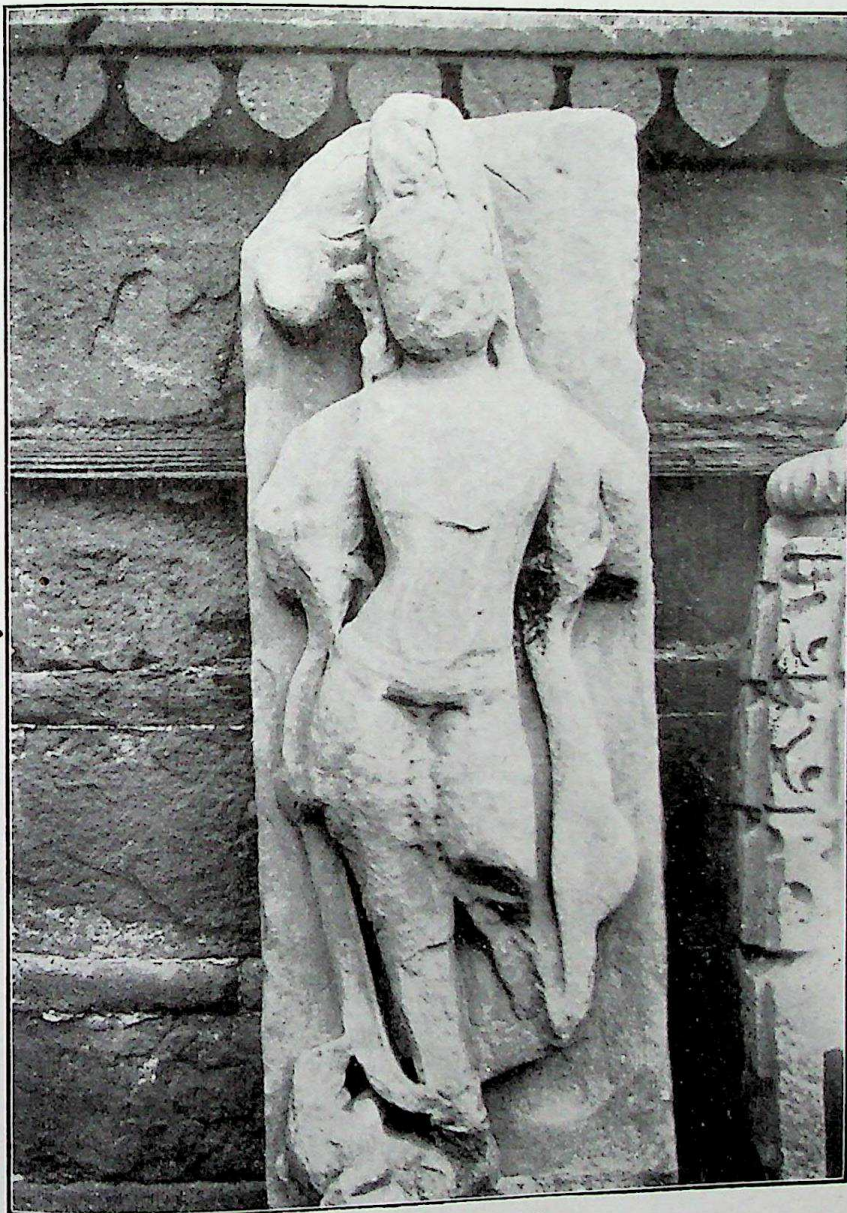


Fig. 7. Śiva (Standing).
The author's collection, Benares.

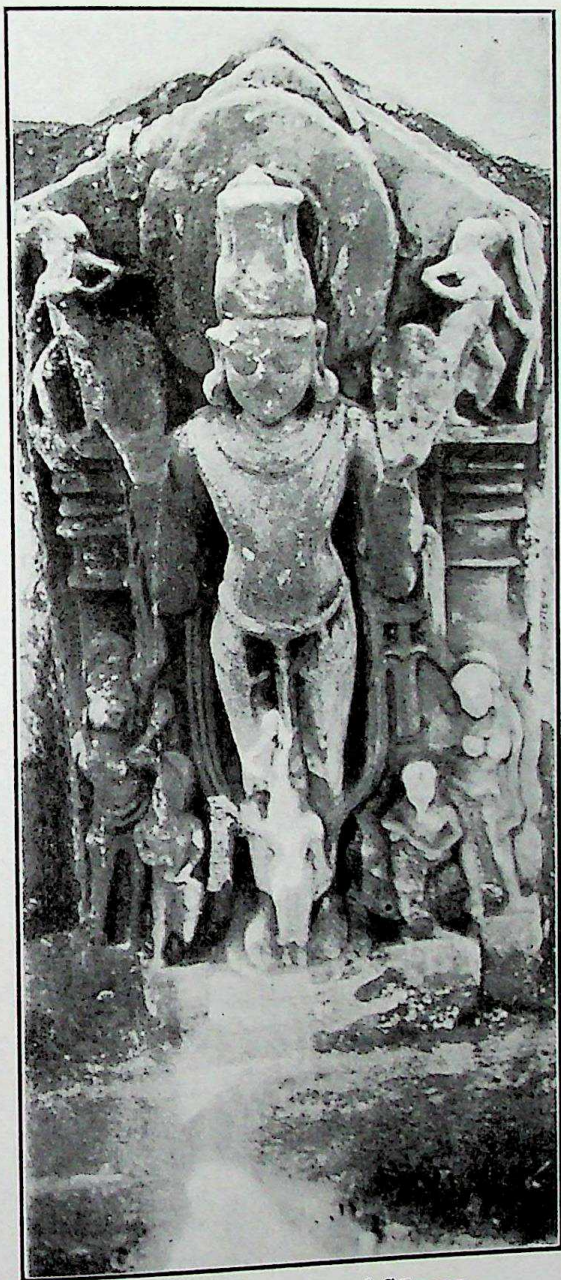


Fig. 8. The Sungod Sūryya.
Bhelupurā, Benares.

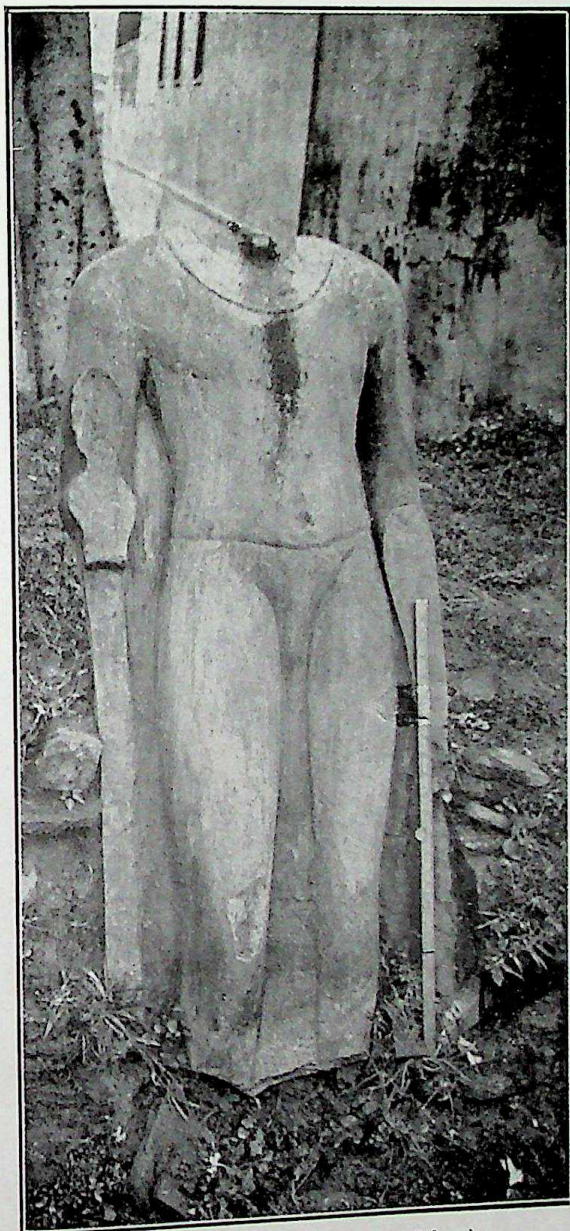


Fig. 9. Buddha (Preaching).
On the Durgā Kunḍ Road, Benares.

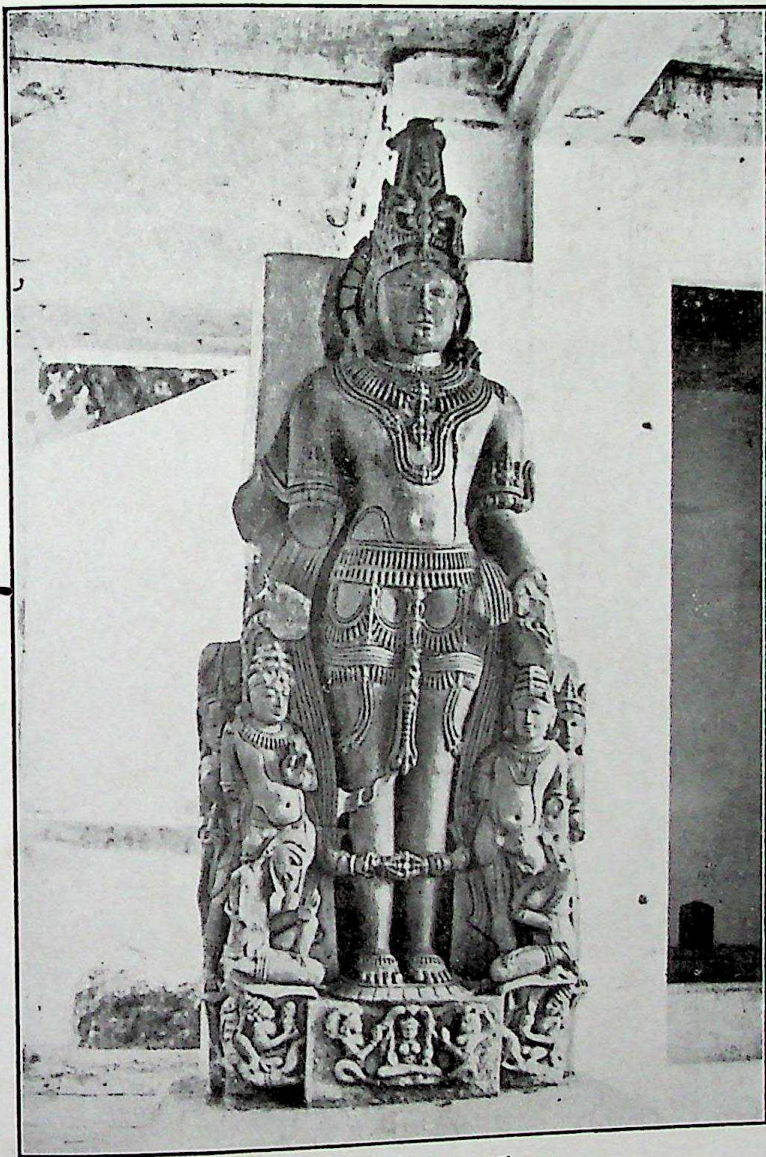


Fig. 10. Vāsudeva Viṣṇu.
From Śaṁkha dhārā, Benares.

APR 17 1917

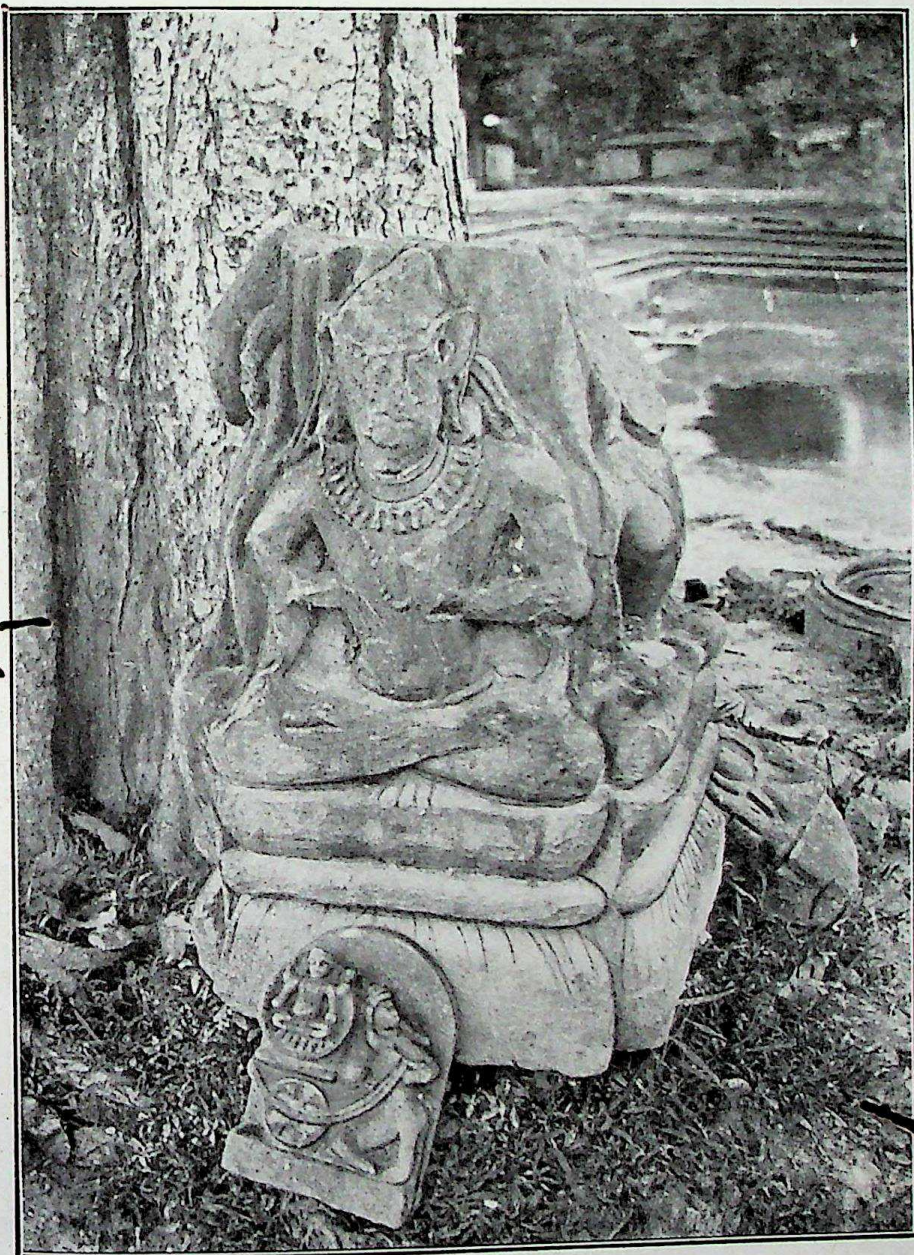


Fig. II. Mahesha-mūrti.
Saṁkhadhārā, Benares.

